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THE
MIDDLE AGES

300–1500

THE MIDDLE AGES

300-1500

By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON
Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of
European History,
The University of California

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THE
MIDDLE AGES

300–1500

CHAPTER XXI

FREDERICK II AND THE FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL EMPIRE (1250); ITALY (1197–1282); GERMANY (1197–1273)

Importance of the years 1197–8

The sudden death of the Emperor Henry VI in 1197 marks a crucial point in the history of Germany and Italy, and the relations of empire and papacy in the Middle Ages. Frederick II, son of Henry VI and Constance of Norman Sicily, was a little child at his father's decease; and within a year the papal throne was ascended by Innocent III (1198–1216), in point of ecclesiastical power and temporal supremacy the greatest pontiff the Roman Church has ever possessed. In intellectual vigor and moral force also Innocent III was a fit successor to Gregory VII and Alexander III. We have already seen Innocent III as the instigator of the Fourth Crusade and of the Albigensian Crusade; and we have seen how adroitly the papal hand was played in the Balkan peninsula and in southern France for the enlargement of the power and wealth of the Holy See. We must now follow the progress of events in Germany and Italy during his pontificate and after, a process which is the last chapter in the long conflict between empire and papacy, big with the fate of these two countries.

Papal guardianship of Frederick II

The Pope at once assumed the guardianship of young Frederick II on the ground that the papacy was overlord of the Norman kingdom in virtue of the arrangement made in 1053 between Leo IX and Robert Guiscard, in spite of the demur which Henry VI had made in 1190 that he had taken the kingdom by conquest and that therefore no vassalage to the Holy See was attached to possession of the kingdom. The question was partly one of feudal law, partly one of fact. But the Pope was in a position to waive any disclaimer inasmuch as the Queen-mother and the Norman Italians, who had fought desperately to preserve the independence of their land in 1190 and had vainly endeavored to make Tancred king, hated the Hohenstaufen rule and yielded without protest to the papal action. The Norman kingdom had been forcibly incorporated within the Holy Roman Empire, and many in the realm were quite willing to see it recover its independence of German domination, even if that independence was qualified by papal suzerainty, which had never borne heavily on them, and indeed had hitherto been largely a paper claim.

Civil war in Sicily and Lower Italy

As matters fell out, however, neither the Pope nor Frederick II reaped any profit in Sicily; for after the death of Henry VI a fierce civil war broke out in the island between the Normans and the Germans. The redoubtable Markward of Anweiler, the leader of the German forces, made himself master of the great island; while Innocent III sent the Count of Brienne, an ex-crusader, into Apulia as his military commander. Markward died in 1202, but was succeeded by Diepold, who destroyed the papal army in 1205, the Count of Brienne perishing in the battle. Southern Italy for ten years was torn by the strife of the factions. Germans and Italians, Saracen and French mercenaries, the Genoese and the Pisans fought for territory, for spoil, for trade advantages. The papal " shepherd " and the papal " lamb " — for such Innocent III and the young Frederick II were derisively dubbed — were impotent in the situation.

Double election and civil war in Germany

Meanwhile in Germany a contest developed between the Hohenstaufen and the Guelfs. Perceiving the futility of electing young Frederick II emperor, both because he was a child and because he was in the Pope's hands, the Hohenstaufen party elected Philip of Swabia, the youngest son of Frederick Barbarossa. The Guelfs, loyal to the memory of Henry the Lion and the principles that he had stood for, countered by putting up his son Otto IV of Brunswick, who, of course, was immediately recognized by Innocent III. Germany was thrown into civil war — a war of partisans rather than of principles.

Sectionalism

The period following the death of Henry VI may justly be considered one of the most critical periods in German history. Philip dissipated recklessly the Hohenstaufen estates and the crown lands in order to purchase supporters, and thus mined the ground underneath his own feet. The archbishop of Cologne whose city had intimate commercial relations with England, was the chief ecclesiastical supporter of Otto IV, for whom his cousin, Richard Lion-Heart of England, sent over English gold to support the Guelf cause. On the other hand, the Archbishop of Mainz espoused Philip of Swabia. Germany was divided by sectionalism and partisanship. The south (except the Zähringen lands — German Switzerland and the county palatine of Burgundy) was Hohenstaufen in sympathy; the north was Guelfic except Anhalt and Brandenburg, whose rulers were ancient foes of Henry the Lion. The Rhenish cities, too, were Guelfic save Mainz, whose jealousy of Cologne threw her into the Hohenstaufen camp. The Hohenstaufen were winning out in the struggle when suddenly Philip of Swabia was assassinated by Otto of Wittlesbach, probably with the connivance of the Bishop of Bamberg, because Philip had refused to cede the county palatine of the Rhine to him (1208).

Struggle between Innocent III and Otto IV

Otto IV was now without a competitor. The Hohenstaufen party was in a state of collapse. In 1209 he was crowned in Rome as emperor, after having renounced the imperial claims to the lands of Matilda, so long a source of feud between emperor and pope. But within a year Pope and Emperor fell out. For Otto IV hot-headedly insisted upon carrying the war between Guelf and Hohenstaufen into southern Italy and Sicily, with the purpose of deposing young Frederick II and reannexing these territories to the Empire. Innocent III refused to yield to the demand.

Frederick II as counter-emperor

When it became clear that Otto IV, in spite of being a Guelf, as emperor was determined to play the old Hohenstaufen imperialistic policy and would not abandon Italy and Sicily, the Pope absolved the German princes and barons of their oath of allegiance to him and in 1212 put up Frederick II to be emperor. If Europe was astonished to see the son of Henry the Lion playing a Hohenstaufen part, it was more astonished to see a pope supporting a Hohenstaufen for the imperial crown. Innocent III was no theorist, but a shrewd politician. In Germany civil war was renewed. In Italy the powerful Azzo, Duke of Este, and the cities of Verona and Pavia rebelled against Otto IV. In vain he tried to stem the torrent of opposition to him by marrying Beatrice, the daughter of Philip of Swabia. The Swabian party repudiated her and him. On the map of Europe Innocent III moved kings like chessmen. He was fortified by an alliance with Philip II of France and subsidized by French gold. For the French King had found it necessary to placate the Pope for having divorced his Queen Ingeborg of Denmark and flouted the papal ban imposed therefor. Moreover, Otto IV's cousin, King John of England, was backing him as his brother Richard had done before, and with new and keener interest now, owing to Philip II's conquest of Normandy and Anjou (1204). The Guelf-Ghibelline feud was international in scope and alignment. Half of Germany, the French King, and the papacy supported the Hohenstaufen cause. The other half of Germany, the Count of Flanders, and England supported the Guelf cause. The tremendous battle of Bouvines (1214) resolved the tangle, as the result of which Otto IV and the whole Guelf party were utterly ruined, the French retained possession of the English territories in France without anxiety, and Innocent III, guardian of Frederick II, was the triumphant political as well as ecclesiastical master of Europe. The luckless son of Henry the Lion died at Brunswick in 1218, having lived the last four years of his life on lean subsidies furnished out of England.

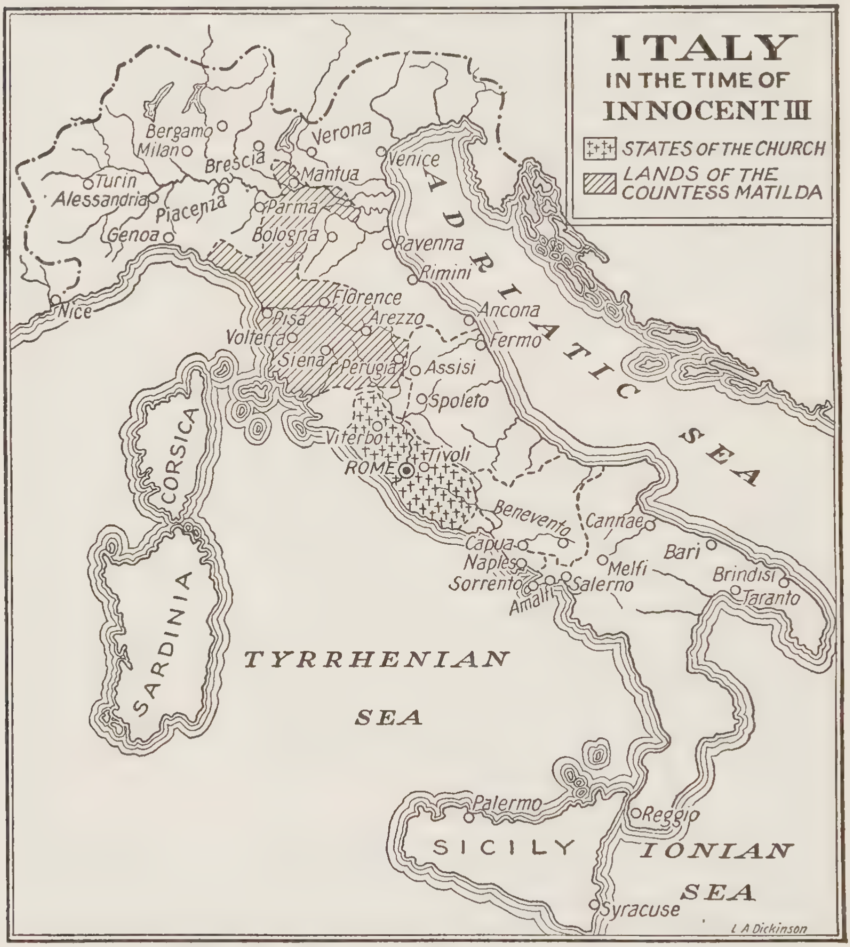
International scope of the Guelf-Ghibelline feud

Battle of Bouvines (1214)

Frederick II's embarrassments

In 1214 a new chapter opened in German, Italian, and papal history. The youthful Frederick II was but twenty years of age. In spite of his remarkable abilities he was too young and too embarrassed by circumstance to be able yet to have an independent policy. He confirmed the cession of the States of Matilda to the Holy See, acknowledged the vassalage of Sicily to the papacy, and promised liberty of ecclesiastical elections. His political advancement had been rapid, but his power had a string attached to it, for it had been made by and under the Pope's protection. Frederick II was not a free ruler. Moreover, he was embarrassed by promises that had been extorted from him. He was already married to Constance, daughter of the King of Aragon and widow of the King of

Hungary — a match arranged by Innocent III — and had a son, Henry. The Pope required that Frederick II renounce the throne of Sicily in favor of this infant, who was to be king under the suzerainty of the papacy. For it was the papal policy to weaken the imperial power by division of the imperial territories. In addition, in 1215 Frederick II had assumed the cross and promised to make a crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Land.


ITALY
IN THE TIME OF
INNOCENT III
STATES OF THE CHURCH
LANDS OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA
Bergamo
Milan
Verona
Brescia
Venice
Mantua
Turin
Alessandria
Piacenza
Parma
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
Rimini
ADRIATIC SEA
Nice
Florence
Ancona
Pisa
Arezzo
Volterra
Fermo
Siena
Perugia
Assisi
Spoleto
CORSICA
Viterbo
Tivoli
ROME
Benevento
Cannae
Capua
Bari
Naples
Melfi
Brindisi
Sorrento
Salerno
Taranto
Amalfi
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
Palermo
Reggio
SICILY
IONIAN
SEA
Syracuse
L A Dickinson

As he grew older, the young Emperor realized the nature of the hostages that he had given to fortune in these commitments, and the shrewd and dangerous policy of the Pope. Not content with separating Sicily from the Empire and with possession of the Matildan lands, the Pope aimed to engross the rest of Tuscany within the Papal States and to extend his political control over Lombardy. From the Peace of Constance, in 1183, down to the death of Henry VI, in 1197, the papacy had not

Ambition of Innocent III in Italy

interfered openly in the politics of northern Italy. The imperial power was too strong. But when the Empire was rent by rival aspirants for the imperial crown, Innocent III, whose ambition was to rule all Italy as a prince, saw his opportunity. He interfered in Lombardy, where the Lombard League had ceased to exist and where the towns again were at feud, to enforce peace between Pavia, Cremona, Bergamo, and Parma, and not only imposed his authority as "pacificator," but claimed the "right of the Church" to landed property in Lombardy which had long been in litigation between the cities and the imperial crown and to which the cities asserted right of possession. The Pope yielded only when the cities contracted to pay an annual sum into the papal coffers for right to retain possession. But the concession compromised their independence and gave the papacy a handle upon the Lombard cities.

Lombardy

Tuscany

In Tuscany Innocent III's course was bolder. In the time of Frederick Barbarossa the Tuscan cities had formed a league similar to that in Lombardy in order to effect the expulsion of German domination in Tuscany, and the towns in the duchy of Spoleto had confederated with them. This organization had been petted and promoted by the papacy during the struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and his son Henry VI and the popes. But now Tuscany found little sympathy from the Pope. The towns were told in clear and harsh language that they had no right to form any sort of political association without papal sanction, and recognition of the political authority of the papacy over them was demanded. When the towns protested their independence, Innocent III immediately occupied the frontier places of Tuscany and the duchy of Spoleto with papal troops and forced young Frederick II, still too young to be other than docile, to ratify the oath of fidelity which he compelled the Tuscan cities to take to the Holy See. In the March of Ancona and the Romagna the Pope successfully followed the same course. The latter territory especially was ardently coveted by the papacy.

In fine, Innocent III reconquered the patrimony of St. Peter, drove the imperialists out of Spoleto and Ancona and the Matildan lands, and founded "the papal state which had long existed in writing both forged and genuine, but which had never yet enjoyed more than a fragmentary, intermittent and contested existence."[1] Moreover, by skillfully playing the rival candidates he extracted immensely favorable terms for the Church within the Empire — recognition of the Papal State and of papal appeals, abandonment of the right of spoil, and renunciation of the right of enjoying ecclesiastical revenues during a vacancy.

Death of Innocent III (1216)

When Innocent III died, in 1216, he probably believed in the peaceful permanence of his political arrangements. He counted upon the docility of young Frederick II. But events were soon to disclose that an eaglet cannot be transformed into a pigeon. The Emperor had now reached mature manhood, and in him the papacy found its most astute and implacable foe. Frederick II's reign is the third stage in the conflict between empire and papacy in the Middle Ages. Unlike the first stage, in which Germany was the battle-ground between Henry IV and Gregory VII, and unlike the second stage, when Lombardy was the chief field of struggle, in this third stage all Italy and Sicily were the battle-ground, and Germany only incidentally entered into the conflict. Hence from this time forward the history of Italy is so distinct from that of Germany, though not without relation, that each is a separate chapter of the reign of Frederick II.

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[1] Fisher, *op. cit.*, II, 59.

Beginning of Frederick II's independent rule

The son of Henry VI had no mind to abandon the Hohenstaufen imperial tradition. Germany, Italy, and Sicily were to be kept united. Even if, in the sequel, Frederick II was compelled by circumstances practically to leave Germany to its own devices, he inflexibly fought to preserve the union of Italy and Sicily. Forced to choose which kingdom he must sacrifice, he wisely perceived that the union of feudal Germany and Italy was less practicable of continuance than the union of Sicily, half-Arabic though its civilization was, and Italy.

Friction with Honorius III

The means used by the papacy to compel him to desist from his design and to make him a pliant tool of the Holy See was threat of excommunication unless Frederick II fulfilled his boyhood promise to go upon a crusade. As long as Honorius III lived, a mild old man who had once been his tutor, Frederick II was able to postpone that undertaking. He clearly perceived that the crusades had lost their significance and that his duty and his interest were to stay at home and govern his kingdoms. He placated the Pope by employing the secular arm in suppression of heretics and at the same time adroitly heaped privileges and lands upon the Church at the expense of the towns, in hope of embroiling them with the papacy. Like a true Hohenstaufen he hated the towns and was suspicious of the political program of the popes. All Frederick II's renewed promises, all his pretended preparations for an expedition, were subterfuges. Even his marriage with Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem, but whose realm was Cyprus, was done with the purpose of diverting the rich commerce of Famagusta from Venice and Genoa to Sicily.

Threats of papal anathema finally compelled Frederick II to go to the Holy Land. The history of his singular "crusade" (1228–9) has already been related. But its bearing upon events in Italy is pertinent in this place. During his absence papal troops invaded the territory around Naples, and mendicant friars under papal instruction throughout Italy, working in the towns, instigated them to insurrection. When the Emperor returned he found Italy seething with revolt. If one condemns the Emperor for his anachronistic policy of trying to crush municipal liberties and city autonomy in Italy, one must reprobate the Pope's course of utilizing spiritual authority against the Emperor for political purposes and material ends — for the aim of the Pope was to make a kingdom of this world for the Holy See in as much of Italy as possible. The papacy followed a two-faced policy towards the Lombard and Tuscan cities, which it alternately coerced or petted according as it feared or did not fear Frederick. Within a year both parties discovered that they had gone too far, and that the design of each was impracticable; and a peace, which lasted for seven years, was made in 1230.

Character of Frederick II

In this interval the whole policy of Frederick II as king-emperor was revealed, and it is this remarkable policy that now must be considered. No other medieval ruler had so original or so well-thought-out a program of government as he. He was the precursor of modern kingship, the forerunner of the great organizers of monarchy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has been called the " first modern man." No more unmedieval character than he lived in the Middle Ages. In Lower Italy and Sicily he was able to execute this policy almost completely, and it is there that his political ideas may best be studied. In the rest of Italy and in Germany conditions were otherwise, and his policy was more compromised.

Administration

So original was Frederick II's genius that no analysis, however searching, wholly explains his character. He is the most enigmatic figure in medieval history. Yet partial explanation is afforded if we take into consideration his ancestry, his environment, his education. From his father he inherited the Hohenstaufen ideal and policy of universal empire, together with the imagination, strong will, and unusual intellectual ability of the Staufer dynasty. From his mother he inherited the tradition of strong personal rule derived from Robert Guiscard and Roger II. In addition to these faculties, when he came to the throne of Norman Sicily, he found, thanks especially to the Great Count Roger, the most highly developed and most perfectly working administrative system to be found in Europe. From the inception of the Norman monarchy in southern Italy and the great island adjacent to it a form of government had grown up different from that to be found elsewhere in Europe. Both Greek and Saracen had ruled these lands; the population was a mixed one, half Oriental in blood and culture, and the institutions reflected this double heritage. The Norman had imposed his strong political and military domination, and his race remained to the end the dominating element in the government. But the Norman rulers were wise enough not to oppress their Greek and Saracenic subjects — religious toleration prevailed — and prudent enough to leave them in unmolested possession of those intimate practices of daily life and thought which they had inherited. They recognized, too, the superiority of certain Byzantine and Arabic administrative institutions and adopted them or adapted them to their own purposes, thus sparing needless resentment and at the same time utilizing these institutions to check the power of the Norman feudality. Thus by intelligent combination of institutions, balanced proportion of ingredients, and firm control the Norman dynasty had built up a state unique in medieval history. In the matter of higher culture, education, literature, the fine arts, Norman Italy and Sicily also exhibited a remarkable blend of different civilizations.

Legislation

Frederick II began by establishing law and order within his "*regno.*" Between 1221 and 1225 he broke the insubordinate baronage, revised the statutes, reorganized taxation, recovered crown lands that had been usurped during his minority, suppressed unlawful exemptions and privileges, razed private castles, and erected royal *châteaux,* which were garrisoned by regularly paid troops (many of whom were Saracens) instead of feudal vassals, and repopulated wasted regions with colonists — some of these again were Saracens — such as that at Lucera, which furnished him with twenty thousand loyal soldiers. When he returned from the East and found the baronage had been egged into insurrection by the Pope during his absence and the Sicilian towns persuaded into rebellion, he crushed both, speedily and effectively. In 1231 in the famous Constitutions of Melfi the theory and the practice of absolute monarchy were proclaimed. It is significant that this code bore a double title, in Latin and Greek, the *Liber Augustalis* or *Basilikos Nomos,* which has been declared to be "far the fullest and the most adequate body of legislation promulgated by any western ruler since the death of Charles the Great."[1] Roman, Lombard, Norman, and Mohammedan laws were herein co-ordinated, even fused. But the spirit was Roman. Rule of reason, not privilege, prevailed in it. For example, the ancient feudal law by which women were excluded from succeeding to the property of counts, barons, or knights was abolished as contrary to reason and natural right. Archaic graduated fines for offenses, which varied according to the social status of the offender and had been handed down from the old Germanic codes, were annulled, and penalties were established that were uniform for all. This is an evidence of the influence of Byzantine law. Defendants were to have formal counsel. Trial by ordeal and trial by battle were abolished. Procedure and proof as far as possible were to be conducted in writing. Indictment was formal and written — the Roman *libellus.* All judicial records — and this applied also to property deeds — were required to be written on parchment for better preservation, instead of on the friable papyrus current in Salerno and Amalfi (for the Arabs had introduced cultivation of the papyrus plant into Sicily). The judges were not counts or barons, but legists.

But Frederick II could be conservative as well as radical. He was not

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[1] Fisher, *op. cit.,* II, 184.

Social ideas

a theorist, but an eclectic, taking the best of everything and preserving old-established institutions where he thought it prudent to do so. Thus he respected social distinctions between noble, burgher, peasant, and villein and safeguarded the status and dignity of the Norman aristocracy. A feudal noble, even a simple knight, had the right to be tried by his peers. " No villeins are allowed to bear witness, even against mere knights, and the value of judicial testimony is gauged by a scale based upon the social hierarchy. A count can be convicted by the testimony of two counts, or of four barons, or of eight knights, or of sixteen burgesses. Two barons or four knights or eight burgesses will suffice to convict a baron." This arithmetic ratio: 2–4–8–16, is interesting. A special penal tariff provided for injuries done to noble persons by their inferiors or their equals. Thus Frederick II did not provide for perfect equality before the law. But the nobles preserved only their social privileges. They were deprived of all administrative, political, and judicial authority, which was vested in the crown.

Taxation and finance

Frederick II's taxation and finance were equally intelligent and modern. Old-fashioned feudal services were transmuted into money payments. A general tax was imposed, according to fortune, upon every subject, whatever his rank or social status. These assessments were based upon carefully devised land registers, and in the burgher class determined upon receipts from commerce and industry by an inspection of their books. Both these kinds of records were original with the Arabs and Byzantines in Sicily. The enormous commerce of Palermo and other ports provided a large income from harbor dues and tariffs. All these fiscal operations were centralized in a *doana* — the word is Arabic — or treasury board, the officials in which were Norman, Jew, Greek, and Arab, but the Norman predominated. Indeed, among them we find Norman-English and French-Norman names. Amid the jarring elements and mixed ingredients of his "*regno*" absolutism probably was the only form of just and effective government practicable. Yet one can detect the inchoate elements of a parliamentary system in Sicily based on his fiscal policy, which might have had fruition if the enlightened Emperor had not been overwhelmed by misfortune. Thirteenth-century England was not alone in possessing the elements of a parliament, although circumstances made it possible for her to develop the institution as nowhere else.

Commerce, industry, agriculture

The material improvement of southern Italy and the Fortunate Isle under Frederick II was very great. Agriculture was promoted, swamps drained, vineyards and fruit orchards set out, new species of plants, such as dates, indigo, cotton, and sugar, and improved breeds of livestock introduced. Serfdom was abolished on the royal domains and tenant farming encouraged. Internal tolls were abolished. Commercial treaties were negotiated with the Italian maritime republics and with the sultans of Egypt and Tunis. A fleet of eighty-five vessels, manned by marines and sailors from every Mediterranean country, was created, two of the admirals of which were Arabs. Government monopolies of salt-making, mining, and silk manufacturing increased the revenue.

Complications of Frederick II's Italian policy

If Frederick II had been willing or able to confine his rule to the kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily, he might have given permanence to his remarkable policy, and he certainly would have lived a happier life. But inheritance, tradition, duty, and ambition required him also to be German king and Roman emperor. There was the rub. His imperial pretensions and his Italian policy embroiled him with the papacy and the Lombard cities, and in the pursuit of them he lost Germany and failed to master either the papacy or Italy. His prodigious ability and immense resources could not avail against the hostility of his double enemy. But whether one deplore the futility of his Italian design or rejoice in its failure (having sympathy for the burgher population and developing municipal liberties), it is at least true that Frederick II's heroic endeavor saved all Italy, including the Lombard and Tuscan towns, from falling under the yoke of the temporal power of the popes. For if Innocent IV had wholly succeeded, all Italy would have been converted into papal political dominion. Absolutistic as Frederick II was, his policy subserved liberty more than that of the papacy. Yet neither Emperor nor Pope could adhere to a consistent policy. Against the dictates of his reason and in order to escape the charge of heresy Frederick II sometimes had cruelly to pursue heretics and support the worst practices of the Inquisition. The ruler who was so much a free-thinker that he is remembered as the arch-heretic of the Middle Ages was sometimes compelled by the exigency of politics to be ferociously orthodox and to minister to the purposes of the Curia.

Conflict with Lombard cities

The Lombard cities were the cause of the failure of Frederick II's policy, as they had been of his grandfather's. Whether, if the papacy had not made common cause with the Lombard cities in order to destroy Frederick II's rule in Italy, the Emperor would have followed so drastic a course as he did is a matter of speculation. He was not hostile to burghers as a class of citizens, but he was opposed to free, self-governing, and independent municipalities. He wanted them to be of the same status as the towns in his Sicilian kingdom. " The jurisdiction which we wish to have is simply that of any king in his land," he told them. " We wish to bring back Italy, which lies in the center of our dominions [between Germany and Sicily], to the recognition of our majesty and to the union of our empire." In actuality this was no more and no less than the prerogative of the king of France with reference to the French provinces and communes. But the Lombard cities were older and far more politically developed than the French communes. They were more than free cities, they were city-states. Moreover, they had a recognized independent status, legally granted and guaranteed by the Peace of Constance in 1183, which was their charter of liberties and an organic law of the Empire. The parallel between the Lombard cities and the Emperor and the English Parliament and Charles I in the seventeenth century is not a forced one, in spite of the distance in time which separates the incidents. The articles of Constance were the palladium of Lombard liberties, as Magna Charta was the palladium of English liberties, and in each case an absolutistic prince sought to abrogate it with disastrous result. It must be argued, not in favor of Frederick II, but in explanation of his conduct, that he regarded the Peace of Constance as a temporary agreement binding only upon Frederick Barbarossa and not a permanent instrument of government binding upon his successors. One may say that this was a legal quibble invented by the legists in his service. But it is to be remembered that the pope in the previous century had made the same argument regarding the Concordat of Worms, holding that the agreement was voided by the death of Henry V.

In 1226 the Lombard and Tuscan cities revived their city-leagues. The Emperor promptly outlawed thirteen cities — Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Verona, Piacenza, Vercelli, Alexandria, Lodi, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Bologna, Ferrara. It was a magnificent gesture, but it was imprudent. The papacy — which really had no more use for free cities than the Emperor — changed its tune. Innocent III had endeavored to dissolve the city-leagues. Gregory IX, who became pope in 1227 and was a fiery pontiff, saw the necessity of preserving the leagues as a means to check the Emperor's course. Yet with supple inconsistency when a republican insurrection in Rome later drove Gregory IX out, he invoked the aid of the Emperor to restore him. Never was the old adage that " politics makes strange bedfellows " more aptly illustrated.

Peter de Vigne and Ezzelino da Romano

A year later Frederick II rescinded the sentence against the cities, for conditions in Germany called him thither, and when he returned to Italy his " crusade " intervened to give the Lombard cities a breathing-space. Again also he was called into Germany upon coming back from Jerusalem and was absent from Italy for five years, leaving the government in the hands of Peter de Vigne and the terrible Ezzelino da Romano (1232–59), who was vicar of the March of Treviso. Ezzelino's military talents were of the first order, but his cruelty staggered the imagination of the age, and his memory still lives among the Trevisan peasantry. The darkest blot on Frederick II's character is his toleration of the excesses of this monster of Italian history.

The subjugation of Italy fell between 1232 and 1238. In 1232 Frederick established a German garrison in Verona, which was the key to the Brenner Pass, the most important military road into Germany. In 1236 Vicenza was subdued, in 1237 Padua, Treviso, and Mantua. In the next year the Emperor won the brilliant victory of Cortenuova, where the forces of the Lombard League were decisively beaten and the humiliation of Legnano canceled. In 1239 the March of Ancona was overrun by his son Enzio, who was made imperial legate for all Italy. It was now that Frederick II found himself in a position to extend to Italy the theory of government and the administrative institutions which he had enforced in Sicily. Italy had not seen such a government since the days of Justinian.

Battle of Cortenuova (1237)

Yet this grandiose series of officials and this meticulous administrative division of territory were largely an affair on paper and without reality. Any effort to convert all Italy into a compact and homogeneous realm under absolute monarchical sway would have been impossible of accomplishment even if the papacy had not entered the lists as the most formidable and implacable foe of the Emperor. The letter of the law was incontestably on the side of Frederick II, but the political drift of Italy was away from feudal authority and monarchy and towards communal government.

Frederick II excommunicated

On March 20, 1239, Gregory IX excommunicated the Emperor. In reply Frederick II issued an appeal to Europe, in which he declared that his cause was the cause of every king in Europe, a true statement; for Louis IX of France and Henry III of England publicly expressed sympathy for him. The Franciscans and Dominicans, the former out of sympathy for the popular classes, the latter because the order had become the ardent advocate of decretalism and papal supremacy, inveighed against him, inflaming the Italians against the " heretic " and " infidel " Emperor. Not content with inspiring Italy to revolt, the Pope started a revolt in Germany. The Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine were won over by the papal legate. But most of the German clergy clung to the imperial cause. In northern Italy Azzo of Este went over to the papal camp.

Anarchy of the country

The condition of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the March of Ancona bordered on anarchy. " Men could not plow or sow or mow or prune vineyards or live in villages," records an eyewitness. The farming peasantry worked in the fields protected by a squad of soldiers; banditry and brigandage were frightful; the countryside was reduced to desolation; wolves so increased that they even invaded towns at night and devoured homeless men, women, and children sleeping in porticoes and carts. As the conflict raged across the peninsula, under compulsion of fear or force, according to the victory or defeat of the partisans, the leaders of the feudality and the cities changed sides in order to deliver themselves from destruction. Verona, Ravenna, and the Tuscan and Umbrian towns were able to remain steadfast in their hostility towards the Emperor; but Mantua, Parma, Modena, Cremona, Ferrara, and Pisa pulled down their papal banners. Even Milan succumbed in 1243 to the loyal troops of Pavia.

In spite of all, Frederick II slowly won Italy. In 1240 central Italy was subjugated. The Pope summoned a council at Rome. The Lombard and Piedmontese bishops, because the roads were blocked or too dangerous, undertook to come by sea from Genoa. But the united Sicilian and Pisan navies under Enzio, on May 3, 1241, intercepted the fleet bearing the luckless clergy, and in the engagement that ensued twenty-two out of twenty-seven ships were sunk with two thousand victims; and three papal legates, over a hundred cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, the delegates of the Lombard cities, and four thousand citizens of Genoa were made prisoner and interned at Melfi. It was the capture of a general council, an event unique in history. Gregory IX died during, if not of, this excitement (August, 1241). Everything seemed to be coming Frederick II's way. Celestine IV, who was elected pope, died before his consecration, and a nineteenth months' dead-lock in the college of cardinals ensued. But the Guelf party in Rome, headed by the Orsini family, protected the city from capture by imperialist forces and expelled the Ghibelline faction.

Capture of church council (1241)

Finally Louis IX of France interceded with Frederick II for the release of the imprisoned French cardinals in hope of terminating the dead-lock. Unfortunately for the Emperor's hope that his action would insure the choice of a pacific pope, the cardinals elected (June 1243) Cardinal Sinibaldi Fieschi of Genoa, the most implacable foe imaginable. Innocent IV (1243–54) was as able and courageous as he was unscrupulous. An expert financier, a wily diplomat, he marshaled against Frederick II all the spiritual, political, and fiscal power at his command. No medieval pope was ever so much a prince as he, and no pope was less spiritual. He used his high office wholly for political ends and with shameless indifference to its ecclesiastical nature and its religious origin. He is the most formidable pontiff of history, not so great in what he conceived as in what he achieved. For Innocent IV more than transformed the dream of Gregory VII and Innocent III into reality. He did not put the Holy Roman Empire under his feet — he destroyed the Empire. Papal legates collected moneys even in England to wage the war, cardinals commanded armies, clerks of the Holy See interfered in town elections and commanded battalions of town militia.

Innocent IV (1243–54)

The imperial troops were in occupation of the States of the Church, even the Campagna, except Rome itself. Frederick II thought the situation a favorable one for making peace, and for a time the Pope indulged him in this hope in order to gain time. The papacy was in such straitened financial circumstances that when Innocent IV entered Rome — he had been elected at Viterbo — Roman merchants who had made loans to the papacy thronged his antechamber. But when, after prolonged negotiation, the Pope announced the terms on which the excommunicated Emperor would be absolved and peace made, it was evident that the war would be continued. What hardened the papal terms was the sudden renunciation of the imperial cause by Viterbo, hitherto always staunchly Ghibelline and a bitter foe of Rome, and Frederick II's unsuccessful effort to regain possession of it. Until this event Frederick II had been resolved to retain title to the States of the Church, holding them as fiefs for which the pope should pay rent and do homage as a vassal of the kingdom of Italy. Now he offered to restore the papal territories in their integrity, to release all prisoners, to pardon all papal adherents, in return for absolution. Historians are almost unanimous in believing that Frederick II was sincerely desirous of peace.

But Innocent IV fenced for time. No specific date had been set in the document for the absolution; he demanded the surrender of the last fortress in the States of the Church before acting, together with imperial recognition of the Lombard League. On the other hand, Frederick II refused to release the Lombard prisoners unless the cities took the oath of homage to him and renounced the Treaty of Constance. In this atmosphere of mutual suspicion everything was canceled and the war went on. Fearing to remain in Rome, in June 1244 the Pope fled to Genoa and thence to France, where he summoned the Council of Lyons for the next year. In this council the deposition of the Emperor was pronounced. Frederick II issued an " Appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe," who expressed guarded sympathy for him, but could do or did nothing, although many of the principles for which the Emperor was fighting were close to them also. The Pope replied by a counter-manifesto. These pamphlets are interesting as evidences of growing appreciation of the importance of public opinion, but that opinion, though increasingly critical of the Church's tyranny, was not yet sufficiently crystallized to act. The King of England was too timid to interfere, and St. Louis was going crusading. Frederick II was left alone and single-handed. If there had been only one issue in the struggle, he might have won; but Italy and Germany, the Lombard communes, Sicily, imperial authority, and feudal overlordship were inextricably interwoven. He had too many irons in the fire.

Death of Frederick II (1250)

The war entered on its last and most furious phase. It was fought from province to province, from town to town. At first the tide ran with Frederick II; then it turned. Before Parma the Emperor's treasure, with his crown and seal, fell into the hands of the foe. Frederick II feared the dagger and the poison cup. Peter de Vigne was put to death on suspicion. The Emperor's favorite son, Enzio, was captured by the Bolognese and died in a dungeon after twenty-two years' imprisonment. Modena was lost. In 1250 the tide again turned the Emperor's way. Ezzelino overran Venetia and the Romagna; the Milanese, Parmesans, and Genoese were defeated. Lower Italy and Sicily loyally sustained Frederick II. When about to march on Rome, he was stricken with dysentery. On his death-bed he made his will leaving Germany and Italy to his son Conrad; his son Henry was to be king of Arles and Jerusalem; Manfred, the son whom he legitimated by marrying his mother, Bianca, as he lay dying, was made prince of Tarentum; the duchies of Austria and Styria were allotted to his grandson Henry. Each of these received ten thousand ounces of gold; a hundred thousand more were appropriated for the deliverance of the Holy Land; all prisoners were to be released except traitors; taxes in Sicily were to be reduced to what they had been under William II.

Before attempting to appraise Frederick II's character and work we must see how Germany fared during his eventful reign. It has often been written, but it is not true, that Frederick II abandoned Germany. It is true that he did not regard the portion of the Holy Roman Empire beyond the Alps as the major part of the Empire, but neither had his father before him. For the seat of Hohenstaufen power had been shifted in 1190 from Germany to Lower Italy and Sicily. This is evidenced by the fact that Frederick II was but three times in Germany during his whole life.

Germany

He went there in 1215, the year after the battle of Bouvines, was crowned German emperor in Aachen Cathedral, and remained in Germany for five years. A shower of mintage and toll rights fell upon the feudality, lay and clerical, to the detriment of the towns. These grants were almost the only form of remuneration available after his French gold was expended, owing to the dissipation of the Swabian house lands by his uncle Philip. The toll-houses on the Rhine, the greatest commercial artery of the kingdom, were either mortgaged or alienated, chiefly to the benefit of the Rhenish bishops. Further, in order to win ecclesiastical support, he renounced in favor of the bishops the fiefs that they held of the Empire, and made them free territorial proprietorships. The independence and the power of the German episcopate were paid for by the weakening and impoverishment of the German crown. The bishops became " prince bishops," with temporal powers equal to and often exceeding those of the secular princes.

In nothing else did Frederick II so display his short-sightedness as in this hostility to and sacrifice of the German towns. He carried his resentment of burghers, derived from bitter experience with the Lombard cities, into Germany, where the conditions were different from those in Italy. In Lombardy the bishops and the cities made common cause together against Frederick II. In Germany the towns were at feud with the bishops and with the feudal nobles. If he had allied himself with the towns, he might have saved his resources and played them against both the bishops and the nobles. But he feared to antagonize the episcopate lest it go over to the papal side, and the only means of securing the political adherence of the bishops was by purchase of their support.

Hostility to German cities

He realized his error when his son Henry, whom he left as regent in Germany, rebelled in 1234–5 and sought assistance from the towns. This rebellion was untimely for young Henry, for it so happened that the Emperor, who was for a brief season free of anxiety in Italy, came to Germany at once, bringing with him his second son, Conrad, and Hermann von Salza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, with a force of knights, and much gold out of Sicily. The last he used to bribe the bishops from espousing Henry's part; he relaxed the former repressive measures towards the towns, even liberating towns established upon the crown lands, retaining large control only of Frankfurt and Nuremberg. Conrad IV (1237–53) was made king in his brother's stead, and the latter was imprisoned, first at Heidelberg, later in Italy, where he died in 1242.

Border policy in Germany

Denmark

It was then that Frederick II showed his statesmanship in measures which belie the loose statement that he was negligent of the interests of Germany. With consummate diplomacy he reconciled the Guelfs, erecting the duchy of Brunswick in favor of Otto of Lüneburg. This action also had the effect of bulwarking Nordalbingia against another Danish thrust such as that made by Waldemar II of Denmark in 1227, who fortunately was badly beaten at Bornhovede in that year,[1] but might endeavor to repeat the attack. For all this territory had once pertained to Henry the Lion, and the memory of his sway and the attachment to his memory were still strong.

Mongols

Teutonic Order in Prussia (1231)

Frederick II's policy with reference to the eastern frontier of Germany shows his statesmanship in large lines. The Mongols were now invading Russia; Kiev was sacked; before long Hungary, Poland (whose breakdown in 1220–30 he could not remedy), and Bohemia would be beset and the whole eastern frontier of Germany invaded from the Adriatic to the Baltic. Realizing that the Empire was powerless in this area, the Emperor worked to strengthen the east border. In 1231 Hermann von Salza as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order was granted the territory of the heathen Preussen to have and to hold, and the last stage of German east colonization was entered upon. Within two years Thorn, Kulm, and Marienwerder were founded, offering an outlet for German settlers and forming a militarily organized state, like another mark, to buttress the endangered northeast. Additional strength was given to this angle of Germany by confirming Brandenburg in the possession of Pomerania, which extended her sway to the Oder River. In similar manner Frederick II bulwarked the southeast angle by strengthening Austria. Leopold VI of Babenberg was the ablest and most brilliant feudal prince in Germany. He had campaigned in his youth in Palestine and around Damietta; he gave Vienna her earliest municipal code, and his intelligent interest in literature and art made Vienna the most cultivated capital in Germany; his legislation and his justice were conspicuous for intelligence and efficiency. The Emperor would have erected Austria into a kingdom if the Duke had been willing. But Leopold VI was proud of his Babenberger lineage and the ducal title. In after times his reign was looked back to, and justly, as a golden age. The event justified the wisdom of Frederick II's frontier policy. In 1241 the Mongols burst through Poland into Silesia and fearfully defeated the German and Polish armies at Wahlstatt. Fortunate it was for central Europe that they made no attempt to carry their conquest across the Elbe and soon retired from Silesia.

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[1] In addition to the payment of 45,000 marks Waldemar was compelled to renounce Danish claims to all the country south of the Eider River and the Baltic, as well as west of the Oder, the island of Rügen being excepted. Rendsburg was restored to Count Adolph. The merchants of Lübeck, Hamburg, and all other towns of the Baltic and North Sea littoral were reinstated in all their former rights and franchises in Denmark.

Austria

Battle of Wahlstatt (1241)

This was an age of active legislation, when the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel,* those two great embodiments of Saxon and Swabian custom, were codified. Frederick II's administrative legislation for Germany, sparse as it is, is singularly intelligent. The most important of his statutes is the Land-peace of Mainz (1235). The tragedy of all this effort is its futility. In the last five years of Frederick II's reign (1245–50), when he was in the bitterest throes of the struggle with the papacy, the perfidy of the German princes ruined the fabric. The three archbishops of the Rhine and Moselle lands, those of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, even the Bishop of Regensburg, the Emperor's chancellor, revolted against Conrad IV and put up a counter-king, Heinrich Raspe, the first of a long series of pretenders to the imperial title. The faithful Leopold VI died in 1246. His son — the last of the great Babenberger house — was a savage ruffian. Coming events cast their shadows before. The Great Interregnum was foreshadowed before Frederick II was dead.

Medieval German codes of law

Frederick II's influence upon the intellectual development of Europe was remarkable, for no man in that bright galaxy of leaders of thought which adorned the sky of the thirteenth century was more brilliant or more versatile than he. His cultural attainments astonished Europe no less than his political and military genius. He was called *Stupor Mundi* while he yet lived and historians still regard him as a wonder of the world. Men could not believe that he was dead, whether they loved him or feared him. The Franciscans, who hated him, preached his resurrection as Antichrist; mystics and visionaries like the followers of Joachim of Flora and his "everlasting gospel," and the spiritual Franciscans, both of whom fulminated against the worldliness of the papacy — the former even declared that Innocent IV was Antichrist — prophesied Frederick II's return as a chastiser and reformer of the Church. His phantom haunted the imagination of Europe as late as the sixteenth century, and then the memory of him became fused with Frederick Barbarossa in mystic lore

Genius of Frederick II

and legend. His place in the history of medieval literature, science, and art will be considered at length in another chapter.

Interregnum (1250–73)

The Interregnum in Germany (1250–73) and the eighteen years in Italy that elapsed between Frederick II's death in 1250 and the conquest, under papal invitation, of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily in 1268 by Charles of Anjou, were the epilogue of the history of the medieval Empire of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

A swarm of aspirants arose in and out of Germany for the imperial crown, especially when Conrad IV died, although it had been so plundered of resources as to be little more than a glittering title. They were pawns in the hands of ruthless and intriguing bishops. Indeed, the high clergy more than the high feudality must bear the opprobrium for promoting anarchy in Germany as a means to the aggrandizement of their own principalities. Taking a leaf out of the bad history of the Albigensian Crusade, they became ferocious enforcers of the Inquisition. The Archbishop of Bremen organized a " crusade " in suppression of the Stadingi, poor folk dwelling in the lowlands of the Weser, where they had preserved their freedom from manorial serfdom because the land was not worth coveting until now. Among them still survived fragments of ancient German customary practice, which the Archbishop falsely represented to be ancient Germanic heathen rites.

William of Holland, the second anti-king, never found a following. Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, relying on the old Guelf tradition and financially sustained by the foolishly ambitious English King, came across to Cologne, whose commercial connections with England had for centuries been close, in hope of getting the crown. The thrifty townsmen took his money, but did nothing for him. Aside from this costly experience the chief impression Richard returned with was that of the warlike nature of the German bishops. Strangest of all aspirants was Alphonse of Castile, who never even saw the country. An interesting phenomenon in these candidacies is the sectionalism which prevailed — the north and northwest (Westphalia and the lower Rhine lands) against the south and southwest (Swabia and Bavaria). The states of the east (Brandenburg and Austria) took little interest. Another is the professionalization of politics. Each aspirant had his campaign manager and something like a canvass was made. Every prince of eminence insisted upon his right to " vote," and " election " (usually by bribery) became a fixed way of designation. In the welter of states, duchies, margraviates, landgraviates, counties palatine, ecclesiastical principalities, etc., to the number of over two hundred and fifty, into which the once great kingdom had become shredded, competition slowly eliminated all but the greatest princes; and two institutions begin obscurely to acquire formation, the electoral college, which, however, was not formally created until 1356, and the German diet, composed of the lords spiritual and temporal, but, unlike the similar English parliament and the French States-General, having no representation of the burgher class in it.

This exclusion of the towns, far from being a hardship, was vastly to their benefit. Even if "represented" in the diet, they would always have been a pitiful minority; and as it was, the towns were left largely to their own devices except when some powerful noble or bishop sought to blackmail or to subjugate them. The progress of town life and town government was much the most important political development in these violent years of the Interregnum. The movement, which began as far back as the reign of Henry IV when Mainz and Cologne shook off the rule of the archbishops, in spite of the repressive policy of the Hohenstaufen, gathered head, and by the middle of the thirteenth century almost all the German cities, whether once under episcopal, abbatial, feudal, or royal domination, had become free city-states. With increase of trade and industry came increase of population and greater wealth, and though their internal politics were often factious and violent, the inhabitants resolutely stood shoulder to shoulder against outside tyranny or interference with their affairs.

City leagues

These burghers manifested a remarkable capacity to take care of themselves. As early as 1226 Frankfurt, Gelnhausen, and Friedburg united to suppress robber baronage. In 1230 Hamburg and Lübeck combined for the same purpose. In 1253 the Westphalian towns of Münster, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippstadt united. In 1254 the famous League of the Rhine was established by Mainz, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Basel, and lesser towns. This last published a "peace" which amounted to a constitution. In 1259 Hamburg and Lübeck were joined by Rostock and Wismar, and the nucleus of the great Hanseatic League was formed, whose earliest decree dates from 1260. These cities organized militia companies to convoy merchants by road and had their own flotillas on the river to suppress pirates and destroy weirs and chains which the barons threw across the streams to stop traffic and impose illegal tolls. The robber barons and the river thieves countered by forming associations of their own. One of these was called the *Societas stellarum,* or Society of the Stars; another was the *Löwenbund,* or Lions; a third was called Martinsvogel (named after the day of their union), a fourth the Schlegler. This principle of free political association of the German cities is the freshest development of the time and the most constructive. We shall see the ripe fruit of it in the Hanseatic League of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Italy after 1250

In Italy the Lombard cities, once released from fear of Frederick II, lapsed into that intestine strife which had always characterized their history. The feudality had long since been subdued or expelled; each

" city " was a city-state and lord of the territory surrounding it. But the cities showed no stability. Faction and feud rent them. No government could be either permanent or effective, and as we shall see in the chapter on Italy during the Renaissance, they drifted under the tyranny of ambitious soldiers of fortune like the Visconti of Milan or astute politicians like the Medici in Florence, lost their liberties, and were converted into despotisms. In Tuscany things were less tumultuous than in Lombardy, but here also there was protracted strife between Florence and Pisa, and Florence and Siena, which culminated in the triumph of Florence over both of them, so that Tuscany was practically engrossed by the city on the Arno.

In middle Italy the pope consolidated his dominions and schemed to destroy the last remnant of Hohenstaufen power, even the house itself, the only living representatives of which, after 1254, were Conradin, son of Conrad IV, a mere child, who was dwelling in Germany, and Frederick II's talented son Manfred in southern Italy. The Holy Roman Empire was dead. Only the ghost of it walked the earth in Germany, clad in the grotesque finery of a vanished period. In Italy, however, there were yet live coals of old Hohenstaufen attachment and ambition. " The snake was scotched, not killed," said the pope, and to slay the " viper's brood " was the fixed papal aim. As Manfred was the hope of the Hohenstaufen loyalists, so he was the object of the pope's hatred.

Manfred

Possibly if Manfred had been content to remain king of Lower Italy and Sicily only, the struggle might have been averted. But the victory of the Ghibellines of Florence over the Guelfs at Monteaperto in 1260 and the continuance of strife in the Lombard cities emboldened the adherents of Frederick II to endeavor under Manfred to restore the Hohenstaufen domination over Italy. A crop of vicars sprang up in Lombardy, Tuscany, Spoleto, the marches, as under his father before him. Manfred negotiated treaties with Venice and Genoa. In his consternation Alexander IV threw an interdict upon Florence, Siena, and Pisa, which now formed a Ghibelline league — the old Tuscan League was turned inside out! It was small comfort that Perugia faithfully remained Guelf and adhered to the papal cause. Manfred's troops would soon be closing around Rome. Alexander IV died (1261) and a bolder spirit succeeded him in the papal chair. This was Urban IV, who was elected by eight cardinals, all that now composed the sacred college, after three months of dead-lock had elapsed, though the situation of the papacy was one of tension. Not being able to agree upon any one of themselves — an eloquent fact — they found a way out from the impasse by electing Jacopo Pantaleone, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who haply arrived at Viterbo, where the cardinals were convened.

In spite of his Italian surname the new Pope was a Frenchman, son of a shoemaker of Troyes, who, like so many of his ecclesiastical countrymen, had sought his fortune in the Holy Land. He took the name of Urban IV (1261–4), but did not go to Rome, nor did he ever enter the Lateran. It was an ancient policy of the papacy when in straits to appeal to a power outside of Italy for assistance. Important events are sometimes superinduced by seemingly trivial accidents. In this case the accession of a French pope changed history. For, greatly alarmed over the battle on the Arbia and fearing lest Manfred's troops would soon appear before Rome, Urban IV sent an agent to France to offer the throne of Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, younger brother of St. Louis, but a man of far different moral fiber. His wife's ambition supplemented his own. Her three sisters were queens; Marguerite was wife of St. Louis, Eleanor was wife of Henry III of England, Sancia had married Richard of Cornwall, who was " emperor," or thought he was. Beatrice of Anjou also would be a queen.

Urban IV (1261–4)

Over the protest of his royal brother, who, for all his piety, was no friend of " political " popes like Innocent IV, Urban IV, and Clement IV, Charles accepted the proffer. With the prestige of a prince of the blood and his great personal resources as count of Anjou and Provence it was not difficult for Charles to find the men and money necessary for the proposed conquest. France was full of ex-crusaders, broken nobles, soldiers of fortune, and available mercenaries. " Charles's wife pledged her jewels, begged for money from the barons of France, and accepted loans. Adventurers assumed the cross, — for it was represented as another ' crusade ' — and French knights, covetous of land, were ready to take part in an expedition which promised them cities and counties in the loveliest country in the world." [1] The Pope, who had taken refuge in Perugia, appealed to the Umbrian bankers for a loan; but it was a slender sum, for Florence was the great banking center of Tuscany, and Florence was now in the hands of the imperialist faction.

Charles of Anjou

Charles sailed from Marseilles in April 1265 with a contingent of his forces, but most of the army made its way on foot through northern Italy, whose population long remembered its passage. A Pisan fleet attempted to intercept the French vessels, but with great luck Charles escaped its vigilance and got through to Ostia, and his galleys mounted the Tiber to Rome. To the amusement of the Romans, who had made him a " senator," Charles occupied the Lateran Palace. " Thou hast presumed to do what no Christian king has ever done," wrote the indignant pontiff upon hearing of it. Nevertheless Urban IV commissioned four cardinals to invest him with the Sicilian crown.

The success of the expedition — and the fact is indicative of the passing of the feudal age and the growth of capitalistic conditions in

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[1] Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, VI, II, 361.

Death of Manfred (1266)

Cruelty of Charles

Europe — was less dependent upon arms than money. Charles was soon desperately in need of funds. Nothing came from France. The Pope appropriated the church tithes for the current and ensuing year. Usurers and money-lenders flocked to Rome. Rich Roman merchants loaned thirty thousand pounds, secured by a mortgage on church property in the city. In the meantime the Provençal army was advancing from the north, and Manfred from the south. The latter reached Roman territory first, but failed to take Tivoli and, unable to advance farther, was compelled to retreat into Apulia again. Charles, as soon as his army arrived, took the offensive, urged on by his own ambition and by the clamor of his unpaid troops for spoil. Near Benevento the battle was fought, on February 20, 1266, which changed the history of Sicily. The aspect of a " crusade " was imparted to the engagement by the circumstance that most of Manfred's army was composed of Saracen mercenaries. But the French knights were the best fighting men in the world, perhaps, for skill and prowess. Manfred perished in the battle. It was not battle, but carnage, in the end. The Hohenstaufen cause was lost beyond hope of recovery. Legend has invested with a halo the bravest and most brilliant son of Frederick II, who had many characteristics of his father and, if inferior to him in genius, exceeded him in charm of personality. The land he lived in, ruled over, and died in is still known in story and song as the " Land of Manfred." The tragic sequel of his fall is the fate of his wife and children. When they were made captive, Charles's vindictiveness was visited upon them. The Queen, Helena, died after five years of imprisonment at Nocera; the Princess Beatrice languished in a dungeon of the sinister Castel dell' Uvo in Naples for eighteen years; and her three brothers, who were mere children, were cast into the same dungeon in Bologna where Enzio had lived and died, and there expired after thirty-three years of wretched captivity. The growth of ingenious cruelty, to be distinguished from brutality, which is often due to callousness or indifference, in the thirteenth century, is the most repulsive manifestation to be found in this brilliant epoch in the history of humanity.

The French conquest of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily followed Manfred's fall. With Charles of Anjou's government of it and his policies we have not now to do. An account of them will be found in a succeeding chapter. Almost like an ancient Greek tragedy the history of the terrible last years of the Hohenstaufen piled up through the career of Frederick the Magnificent and Manfred, until it culminated in the death of the young Conradin, Conrad IV's eager-hearted, brave, impetuous son, the " eaglet " of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

The Ghibelline party in Italy, although shattered, still cherished hope. Their faith was pinned on Conradin and German adherents. In the spring of 1267 the Pope wrote to the Florentines: " A poisonous basilisk has arisen from the stock of the dragon, which already fills Tuscany with his pestilential breath; a brood of vipers has been loosed." In September Conradin left Bavaria, accompanied by a small German army, the most remarkable member of which was Rudolf of Habsburg, the founder of a house destined to become famous, but which now was an inconspicuous feudal family of German Switzerland. It was a gallant effort to retrieve a lost cause. The Lombard cities let Conradin pass through their territories. It was not their fight, and the youthful hero reached Rome unhindered. Before long Charles of Anjou came up from the south, and Conradin marched forth to meet him. The battle was fought at Tagliocozzo, east of Tivoli. It was such a disaster as the battle of Benevento had been before. In the twilight of this eve before St. Bartholomew's Day (August 23, 1267) Charles dictated a letter of ferocious glee to Clement IV at Viterbo, telling the Holy Father of his " good hunting." Conradin had escaped capture in the desperate conflict, but the net was widely spread for him. He had perilously made his way with some companions to the seashore near Tusculum, when he was apprehended and sent to Charles. For more than a year he languished in a dungeon. On October 29, 1268, this fair-haired, blue-eyed youth, whose beauty and chivalry made men think of Lohengrin, walked steadily up the steps to the execution platform in the market square of Naples, gazed with calm eyes upon the ribald soldiery around and at Charles, sitting his horse in their midst, smiled proudly, and laid his head on the block. The ax fell and the last of the Hohenstaufen passed into history — and romance.

Conradin

End of the Hohenstaufen

Charles of Anjou established his authority in Italy and Sicily with rigorous and despotic measures. His administrative officials were French, for he dared not use the native officials of the regime that he had displaced. The enormous expenses which he had incurred required the King to impose onerous taxes, and the grievances of the population were aggravated by a crowd of French office-seekers who swarmed into the conquered kingdom. Many of the Sicilian nobles were exiled, most of whom found refuge in Aragon, for it must be remembered that Manfred's widow was an Aragonese princess.

The establishment of a French power in the middle of the Mediterranean region was regarded with grave anxiety by other Mediterranean powers, especially Aragon and the Byzantine Empire. Out of this condition of things a formidable conspiracy grew to overthrow the Angevin domination in Sicily. A physician named John of Procida was the soul of it. He was assured of the aid of the Greek Emperor, Michael Palæologus, and of that of Pedro III of Aragon. The latter secretly assembled his fleet under command of his celebrated admiral Roger de Loria, with orders to await events off the coast of Africa. In the meantime, disguised as a monk,

French domination in Naples and Sicily

John of Procida traveled over Sicily visiting the Sicilian nobles and enlisting them in the plot to overthrow the French power. The plot was well kept and well organized. Although apparently a spontaneous uprising, the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers was too general to be so believed. For on the Tuesday after Easter (1282) the whole island rose in insurrection. It was timed for the same day in every important town. The signal was given in Palermo, where eight thousand French were murdered in one fell swoop.

Charles of Anjou attacked Messina, but Roger de Loria destroyed the French fleet under the King's own eyes. The furious King appealed to his nephew Philip III of France. The Pope, Martin IV, declared Pedro III deprived of his realm and offered the crown of Aragon to Charles of Valois, the French King's second son. War between France and Aragon ensued. Philip III made formidable but ineffectual preparations to conquer Aragon and died before the walls of Perpignan in 1285. Three years afterwards Charles of Anjou died. Half the fruits of his prodigious adventure were lost. The rich island of Sicily became a dependency of Aragon, and the house of Anjou retained possession of the mainland of Italy only. The year 1282 marks another important date in the history of the latter half of the thirteenth century. Aragon became a great maritime and commercial power. The French monarchy had in the Angevin kingdom a French outpost in the middle of the Mediterranean. A heritage of animosity between France and Aragon was created which lasted into modern times.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE CHURCH AND THE PAPAL MONARCHY

Much has been written in previous chapters concerning the Church and the Papacy, feudalism and the nobles; and now and then the condition of the lower classes has been adverted to. These institutions and elements not merely existed side by side and contemporaneously; they were tangent one to another, they impinged one upon another; they influenced one another to such a degree that sometimes there was fusion between the different elements. The two universal influences that pervaded everywhere and touched everything and every person in the Middle Ages were the Church and feudalism. But the origin and authority of these two all-pervading forces were entirely different. The Church was fundamentally a religious and spiritual institution.

Endowments

An indication of the processes by which the power of the clergy was increased will now be briefly attempted. First of all, in a material way, men continued to create churches and, above all, convents; it was customary to give lands to the Church for redemption of their souls (*pro remedio animæ*). Every great feudal family in the Middle Ages had its favorite convent. Then men built great churches of stone, and these monuments increased still more the prestige and influence of the clergy. Moreover, Christian usages penetrated more deeply into the world of the laity: they either replaced anterior practices or mingled with them and so modified them. Each church had a mystical patron, a saint (profound traces of this practice remain, notably in names of places), and the local saint was honored in each region by a festival.

Cult of the saints

Gifts were made in his name; he became the object of a special cult; his image was often reproduced and venerated. Pre-eminently the very characteristic veneration of relics became established. A special literature appeared, that of the lives of the saints, and the doctrine of the merits of the saints and their intercession before God was established. The consequence of all this curious evolution of the human mind was that the importance of pilgrimages mightily increased; visits to sanctuaries actually brought about considerable displacements of population.

Discipline

The schools were reserved to the future clergy; and yet most of the priests were without education. Preaching was exceptional. As for laymen, they learned nothing but a few prayers. But in the matter of public conduct and morals the influence of the clergy increased. From the time of Charlemagne the attempt had been made to establish a regular surveillance of the bishop over the faithful. The penitential system became universal, and a regular tariff of penances prevailed, in which every sin was marked out and punished. The *Libri Penitentiales* give the exact rates. This fact is characteristic and is interesting to note for its bearing upon the study of the manners and customs of the epoch.[1] At first the penances laid down were very hard. Afterwards they were somewhat softened. Fasting was replaced by psalms and prayers, afterwards by deeds of charity, a practice which insensibly extended to the acquittance of sin through money. In order to establish obedience on the part of the laity the Church had resort to the anathema, which was a threat, and then to excommunication. These were the old practices, but at the end of the tenth century a new weapon was introduced in order to bring the feudal noble to his knees; the interdict was laid upon his lands and his subjects.

By new convents and churches, through the cult of the saints, the veneration of relics, pilgrimages, the penitential system and indulgences, and finally by the interdict, the clergy increased its power over the laity, and prelates and abbots became the counselors of princes and kings.

The movement of the eleventh century paved the way for the domination of the pope over the clergy and of the clergy over the laity. This domination was organized in the twelfth century, in spite of the resistance of the emperor and the kings of France, England, and even Spain and the opposition of many of the bishops to it. The issue was the root of the conflict between empire and papacy. In the struggle the papacy used every prerogative at its command, all the temporal power of the Church, and the new monastic orders, like the Cluniacs and the Cistercians, to consummate its purpose. The disciplinary authority of the Church, like penance, excommunication, interdict, was employed to enforce the political and temporal demands of the Church; crusades were organized against heretics, rulers were threatened with deposition or declared deposed, the Inquisition was established as a means, theoretically of coercion of unbelief, practically to subordinate civil authority to ecclesiastical sway.

Growth of papal power

Gregory VII (1073–85) had claimed temporal supremacy over kings. In the pontificate of Alexander III the encroachment of Rome upon the " law and customs of the realms " was widely complained of. Archbishop Thomas à Becket, sustained by this Pope, declared that " no law of man is of any validity against the law of God or the liberties of the Church."

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[1] " The characteristics of the western penitentials are their minute division of sins, their exact determination of penances for each sin, and the great extent to which they were used in the practical working of the Church. They serve as the first crude beginnings of a moral theology of a practical character, such as would be needed by the poorly trained parish clergy of the times in dealing with their flocks." Joseph C. Ayer, *Source book for ancient church history,* p. 625.

Deference to human authority would be no defense on the Day of Judgment.

The pope was recognized as the vicar of Christ, as the source of all spiritual law and spiritual power. A supreme chief, he was not only bishop of Rome, but the overlord of all the bishops, who were reduced to the position of vassals of the Holy See. The pope claimed the right, if not of choosing, at least of confirming the bishops and the abbots. His jurisdiction became an appellate jurisdiction to that of the bishop: the pope received appeals and in certain affairs became a court of first instance. He had the right of absolution and of dispensation. He had certain special powers (*casus papæ reservati*). His influence penetrated into the local church administration; he conferred vacant benefices; and finally the papal influence was made felt from afar through the papal legates.

Councils

The pope exercised a legislative power; centralization being established in the Church, the general councils were renewed. They were ordinarily convened at Rome (the five Lateran councils, 1123, 1139, 1179, 1198, 1215). The pope not only convoked and presided over the council, but he framed its decisions; the council did nothing but solemnize the act by its presence. The decisions of the councils (*canones*) were nothing but decrees of the popes.

College of cardinals

The election of the popes was newly regulated by the decree of 1179, which established a written ballot and a two-thirds vote for election by the college of cardinals.

Ecclesiastical courts

The power of the clergy over the laity was organized under the form of tribunals. From the fourth century the jurisdictional right of the bishop had been recognized, but without special organization: the bishop delegated it to the archdeacon. But in the twelfth century this jurisdiction was organized and extended. Every bishop established a special curia, whose judges were chosen from those members of the clergy who had made a special study of the canon law and who were assisted by a personnel of clerks and notaries. The competence of this tribunal was fixed and extended. At first the clergy might not be judged for any crime save by the court of the Church; they claimed this right even in civil processes. But by the clergy was meant not only those who exercised priestly office (major orders), but also those who were in minor orders. That is to say, a great number of even married men, who simply wore the tonsure. Thus an enormous class claimed privilege and exemption from ordinary criminal justice. Moreover, this class very greatly increased when the same rights were given to the crusaders and to the pilgrims. In the second place, the courts of the Church had criminal jurisdiction even over laymen in the case of crimes of an ecclesiastical character, such as witchcraft, heresy, usury, and violations of morality. Finally, it had civil jurisdiction over laymen in processes that also concerned the power of the Church,

Civil and criminal jurisdiction over laity

such as marriage and divorce, civil status, testament, and oath. Thus organized, the courts of the Church became tribunals more frequented than the courts of the laity and exercised over laymen a power not merely moral, but material. This fact has had a decisive influence upon legal procedure.

The Lateran Council of 1179 forbade any pecuniary burden to be laid upon the clergy or church property for any secular purpose. Innocent III converted the claim of temporal supremacy in large degree into reality. He was the spiritual head and the political arbiter of Europe. He ruined the Emperor Philip of Swabia and his rival Otto of Brunswick, he used Frederick II as a pawn on a chess-board, he compelled Philip Augustus of France to cringe, and John of England to surrender his crown to the papal legate as a fief of the Holy See. He sponsored the Albigensian Crusade; he founded the Inquisition. The third and fourth Lateran councils, in 1179 and 1198, were great European congresses, primarily composed of ecclesiastics, but in which delegates of the sovereigns had seats, over which the pope presided.

Innocent III

The mere mass weight of these assemblages testifies to the papal mastery over Europe. In the council of 1179 there were nearly a thousand clergy present from Italy, Germany, France, England, Spain, the Holy Land, and the minor countries of Latin Christendom, like Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Norway, and Scotland. The Fourth Lateran Council surpassed even this. There were 412 bishops and over eight hundred abbots and priors (the preponderance of the monastic clergy is to be noticed), besides representatives of the temporal princes, the Emperor (Frederick II), the Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the King of Jerusalem, and every other crowned head in Europe. Otto IV of Germany sent a delegate, too, whom Innocent III promptly disposed of by ratifying the "election" of young Frederick II.

Third Lateran Council (1179)

Fourth Lateran Council (1215)

The Third Lateran Council declared that no cleric from subdeacon to archbishop might appear before any secular court. The Church was to have complete jurisdiction over its clergy. Church property might be taxed only with the consent of the pope. In these two decrees the Church asserted that the State had no power over it; in another chapter the same council asserted the right to dispose of persons and property not its own. It declared that the property of heretics was confiscated to the Church and not to the governments, but allowed lay princes to enslave heretics. In the council of 1215 all temporal rulers were called upon to take an oath to protect the Church in person and property, on pain of having their vassals released from fealty to them by the pope, or excommunication of them, or the imposition of the interdict upon their realms.

Heretics

In order to discover and judge the heretics the ordinary tribunals were neither active nor diligent enough. The pope was led to create extraordinary commissions working with an extraordinary procedure, the Inquisition. The Inquisition was little by little established above the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop. A commission formed of trustworthy men, taken from the new order of the Dominicans, superseded the ordinary judge, the bishop, and prescribed to the local lay tribunal the penalty to be applied. The Inquisition worked with the greatest rapidity. It was a revolutionary tribunal, created to conserve the Church. A new procedure was introduced, the inquest, which did not require the presence of an accuser: the tribunal of the Inquisition worked *ex officio,* the evidence being denunciation or even simple suspicion. It employed every sort of means; torture entered into use indirectly (Bull of 1261). The name of the informer was kept secret in order to save him from the vengeance of relatives of the victim. The tribunal rarely absolved. There were two ordinary ways out: either the accused abjured, when he was condemned to penitence, often to life imprisonment or to an immurement — that is to say, imprisonment in a cell without light and air. If he persisted in his heresy then he was punished with death. This was done in various ways in the thirteenth century, but gradually the practice obtained of executing the condemned by fire. There were inquisitorial commissions in every country in Europe, save in England and Scandinavia.

Inquisition

This practice was consecrated in the greatest council of the epoch, the Lateran Council of 1215. The rule was there laid down that every prince was required to swear extermination of the heretics; Frederick II accepted it in 1220, and this constitution soon became the law of all Europe. Henceforth a formula relative to the extermination of the heretics was introduced into every oath of consecration; this was a great innovation.

At the same time, in order to exercise a more rigorous oversight over the laity, the council of 1215 rendered obligatory a practice hitherto an optional one, confession to the parish priest. The canons of the council contain a certain number of very characteristic measures, among which may be remarked the order to the doctor to summon the priest to the side of the dying. Thus was established a practice by which the clergy were enabled to know, not only what the laity were doing, but what they were thinking about.

Confessional

These changes had a profound influence upon society; they solidly established the government of the clergy over the laity through the means of permanent institutions: official jurisdiction, civil state, auricular confession, the mendicant orders, and the Inquisition. The organization was strongest and most complete in southern countries. Through the extermination of the dissidents the clergy established the unity of religion and forced obedience. The changes made wrought a revolution in the position of the clergy. The federal aristocratic government by bishops was replaced by a centralized government, the absolute monarchy of the pope, common to all Catholic countries, an international monarchy that regarded itself as superior to the lay sovereigns of the independent states and in conflict with them. By 1200 the Roman Church was the ancient Roman Empire consecrated by biblical authority.

Papal revenues

In the thirteenth century the power and the revenue of the papacy surpassed that of all the monarchies of Europe taken together. Peter's pence, tithes, conferment of benefices, annates or first-fruits — that is the whole revenue of a diocese during the first year of a new bishop, which was exacted as a fee for appointment — fees required for the hearing of causes appealed to the Curia, " reserved " cases — that is, cases of immediate papal jurisdiction — dispensations or waivers by papal authority of the prohibitions of the canon law — for example, to permit marriage within prohibited degrees, to allow pluralities, or the right of a cleric to hold more than one ecclesiastical office (John Mansell, chancellor of Henry III of England, held seventeen church offices at the same time) — the taxes of the papal penitentiary, exemptions, etc., swelled the papal revenue beyond anything the world had ever seen before. For the Church, in addition to its temporal revenues, had enormously added to them by capitalizing its spiritual prerogatives. It was a system of rapacity, venality, and extortion unparalleled in history. English statistics are clearer and fuller than those of the Continent in this particular. In 1229 Gregory IX demanded of the kingdom a tenth of *all* revenues, both lay and ecclesiastical, to enable him to carry on the war with Frederick II. The laity declined to contribute; the clergy yielded with reluctance. Eleven years later a fifth of all movables, lay and clerical, was demanded. This time the laity yielded and the papal legate carried away half the ready cash in the realm. At the Council of Lyons in 1245 the English prelates complained that not less than sixty thousand marks, an enormous sum for the time, were annually extracted from the pockets of the English people by the pope's fiscal agents.

Submissiveness of the bishops

The extent of papal authority over the clergy and the supineness of the bishops, even the greatest of them, may be judged from the saying of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, the man who more than any other person compelled King John to grant the Great Charter: " I am at liberty to believe what I please unless the pope has decreed otherwise, in which case I should say that I was in error." The *plenitudo potestatis,* the fullness of power, availed over all and above all in spiritual, in intellectual, in temporal affairs. The only limitation upon it was the discretion of the popes and the patience of the nations. In those days, it must be understood, not only all the clergy everywhere, but monks, friars, crusaders, university students, widows, and orphans were under immediate ecclesiastical jurisdiction; all spiritual causes naturally, and many civil causes now under secular jurisdiction, like marriage, adoption, testament, were wholly within the control of the Church.

From Innocent III to the fall of Boniface VIII (1198–1303) the spiritual authority and the temporal power of the Church advanced with equal stride. Conciliar legislation, papal decretals, and the canon law all operated to the end of strengthening and elevating the papacy to dazzling monarchical power and making the Church supreme over the State.

Development of canon law

The nature and the growth of the canon law need some exposition here, for the canon law was the constitution of the Church. Unlike the feudal kingdoms in Europe, which had no written constitutions and indeed possessed few great written organic instruments of government, but which reposed upon unwritten, customary law, the Church had had a body of written law from the beginning. There was the Bible, which was supplemented century after century by the commentaries of the church Fathers, by councils, by decretals of the popes. From time to time partial codifications of this enormous accretion had been made, notably that by Dionysius the Scythian in the sixth century, the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals, and the brief code compiled by Abbot Regino of Prüm in the ninth century, and the *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms in the eleventh century. But with the development of the papal monarchy in the twelfth century need was felt for a fuller and more complete codification of the canon law. This was accomplished in the *Decretum* of Gratian (between 1139 and 1149). Much ancient Roman law had been incorporated in previous compilations, but with the revived study of Roman law in this century, when princes and popes alike were seeking for precedents and sanctions of monarchical authority, a very great amount of Roman law was incorporated into the canon law. As the papacy increased in power, Gratian's *Decretum* came to require recasting. Gregory IX made a partial effort to do so, but it remained for the Spanish churchman Raymond of Pennaforte in the middle of the thirteenth century to make a complete code once more. It is significant that this whole process of formation of the canon law coincides with the rise of the monarchical papacy, with the conflict of the Church with heresy, with the development of scholastic philosophy — in a word, with the final fixation of the Church both in doctrine and in polity.

Secular and regular clergy

Below the pope, who was and is the summit of the Catholic hierarchy, were the great body of the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, and parish priests in town and country; and the monks of many monastic orders. These two classes of clergy must be carefully distinguished. The former constituted the "secular" clergy, the latter the "regular" clergy. Even though a pope might have been a bishop or a monk before his elevation, even though a monk might be made a bishop, and a bishop turn monk, this distinction must be kept in mind.

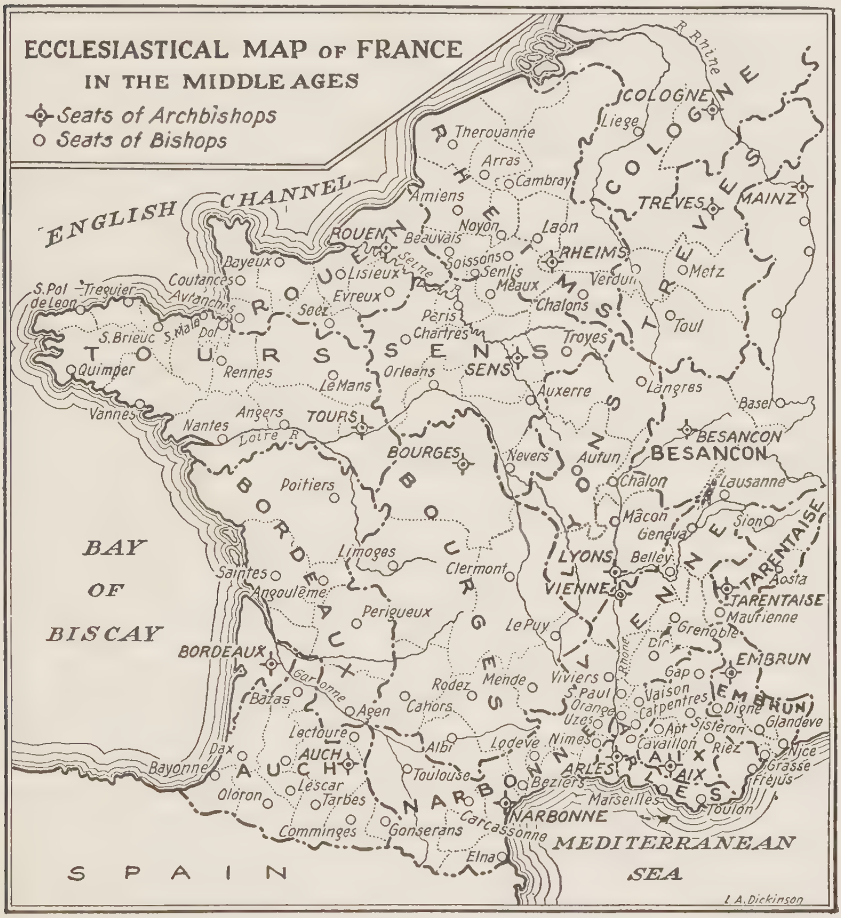
Each of these classes of clergy differed in historical origin and in function. The secular clergy were coeval with the origin and spread of the Church and until the rise of monasticism were the only clergy known. They were called " secular " from the fact that they labored in the world of events and mingled with men, while the " regulars " were monks who led an ascetic, cloistered life apart from the world. The secular clergy were not originally celibate, but from early times public opinion expected the upper clergy to be so, even if it was not invariably so. The parish priests everywhere until the eleventh century were a married clergy. The demand for universal celibacy of the secular clergy did not arise until the Cluny reform, when the ascetic ideal of monasticism rapidly gained ascendancy and the abuse of hereditary succession in church offices made the requirement general in order to protect both the altar and the endowments of the Church from alienation or corruption.

Bishops

Originally all bishops were of equal rank, though naturally those who were incumbents of rich or politically important sees exercised a greater influence. The authority of every bishop was equal to that of every other bishop until the sixth century in the East, until the seventh century in the West, when the widespread nature of the Church required greater centralization of administration. Then adjacent dioceses (the territorial area under the jurisdiction of a bishop) were grouped together under the most important bishop, who was elevated to be an archbishop. He was bishop of his own diocese, but archbishop of the province, as the wider area was called, and the bishops subject to his jurisdiction were known as suffragan bishops. An example is England, which has two archbishops, those of Canterbury and York, and many bishops under each of these. But in every country one archbishop was designated as the primate. This office was usually attached to the oldest episcopal foundation in the realm, as Canterbury in England, Mainz in Germany, and Reims in France (which, indeed, was not the oldest see, but owed its title to the favor of the Merovingian kings). By the end of the twelfth century archbishops without exception wore the pallium. This gift from the Holy See was less a mark of distinction from other bishops than a mark of subjection to the pope. The tendency to replace election by papal appointment obtained in the archiepiscopal sees as in others. But canonical election was by the cathedral chapter, and in case of disagreement in the chapter, by the assembly of suffragan bishops.

The popes of the Gregorian era labored to have episcopal consecrations performed by the Holy See instead of in the archiepiscopal church. They claimed, in the words of St. Bernard, " the plenitude of power over all the churches of the universe." The royal power was now the chief competitor in France. From it the papacy attempted to wrest complete control of the episcopal elections. One move was to claim the collation of every see made vacant by the death of the bishop if the bishop was on a visit to Rome—*in curia*, as the phrase was. As visits were frequently commanded and were by no means free from hardship, such vacancies were common enough.

The "plenitude of power" referred also to the right to change the limits of dioceses, to suppress or create them. Here the popes were sometimes countered by the king, especially in tampering with the bishoprics on the border of the king's dominions. Paschal II, in 1114, separated the German parishes of Tournai from the French diocese of Noyon, but Calixtus II, in 1121, under pressure from Louis VI, restored the diocese to its original dimensions.


ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF FRANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Seats of Archbishops
Seats of Bishops
R. Rhine
COLOGNE
Liege
Therouanne
Arras
Cambray
Amiens
ENGLISH CHANNEL
TREVES
MAINZ
ROUEN
Beauvais
Noyon
Laon
RHEIMS
Soissons
Senlis
Meaux
Verdun
Metz
Bayeux
Lisieux
Coutances
Avranches
Evreux
Seez
Paris
Chalons
Toul
S. Pol de Leon
Treguier
S. Brieuc
S. Malo
Dol
Chartres
Troyes
Quimper
Rennes
Le Mans
Orleans
SENS
Auxerre
Langres
Basel
Vannes
Nantes
Angers
TOURS
Loire R.
BESANCON
BOURGES
Nevers
Autun
Chalon
Lausanne
Poitiers
Macon
Geneva
Sion
Limoges
Clermont
LYONS
Belley
Aosta
TARENTAISE
Saintes
Angouleme
VIENNE
Maurienne
BAY OF BISCAY
Perigueux
Le Puy
Grenoble
BORDEAUX
Die
EMBRUN
Garonne
Rodez
Mende
Viviers
Gap
Bazas
Agen
Cahors
S. Paul
Orange
Vaison
Carpentres
Digne
Glandeve
Uzes
Apt
Sisteron
Lectoure
Albi
Lodeve
Nimes
Cavaillon
Riez
Nice
Dax
AUCH
Bayonne
Toulouse
ARLES
AIX
Grasse
Frejus
Lescar
Beziers
Marseilles
Toulon
Oloron
Tarbes
Agde
NARBONNE
Carcassonne
Comminges
Conserans
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Elna
SPAIN
Rhone
Seine
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Legates

The popes constantly sent their legates into dioceses, and frequently the business in hand was in aid of the papal finances. Through the employment of unscrupulous exploiters the practice became notoriously

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oppressive; and even pretenses of delegated power had to be guarded against. Arnold of Trèves (1169–83) was a bishop of not unusual character, but of unusual adroitness. He contrived to win the gratitude of his clergy by bribing the papal legate to keep out of his diocese. This was costly, but not nearly so costly as a legatine visit would have been.

Episcopal administration

Chapter

The bishop had his place in the feudal and in the ecclesiastical system, and it is possible to study his position in relation to both superiors and inferiors in either system. Our first consideration will be his relations with his subject clergy. (1) Under the bishop were several ranks of clergy. Among these, his most intimate connection was with the chapter. The cathedral chapter was both an electoral and a conciliar adjunct to the episcopate, as was the college of cardinals to the papacy. It was the bishop's council. Its members were appointed by the bishop, generally on consultation with the body itself. The chapter of Notre-Dame de Paris in the second half of the twelfth century consisted of seven dignitaries: a dean, a cantor, three archdeacons, an under-cantor, and a chancellor, together with a certain number, afterwards fixed at fifty-two, of canons holding prebends. The chapter had a large degree of freedom from the bishop and was usually found contesting for increased rights. The bishop's rights over it virtually ended with the appointment of its members when vacancies occurred. The chapter in turn had the chief part in the election of the bishop. It was presided over by a dean, who was chosen by itself from among its own number. The chapter had to be consulted by the bishop in all serious business, executive and judicial. From the beginning of the eleventh century it had its own feudal holdings, with which the bishop had nothing to do, and it usually controlled a number of benefices within the diocese.

Deacons

Canons

Though the chapter as a body enjoyed these large liberties, its members were individually responsible for their conduct to the bishop, as were the other clergy within the diocese. To deal successfully with this numerous and independent body often required consummate tact. A newly installed bishop often found his chapter rent by the election agitation and had to face the hostility of a strong minority. If his election had been procured through lay or papal patronage, he might find the chapter opposed as a body. In the routine of affairs other forms of conflict were constantly appearing. The history of the grave dissensions and strifes between bishops and chapters would constitute an important part of ecclesiastical annals.

Archdeacons

(2) Next it is important to note the bishop's relations with the archdeacons. The rise of the archdeacons took place after the legislation of Charlemagne, who cut up the dioceses into *decaniæ*. To some extent this arrangement supplanted the older system, the "archpriest" giving place to the archdeacon with his deanery. A number of the archdeacons were

in every cathedral chapter, and they often led the opposition to the bishop in it. Besides, they were separately organized, with the archdeacon of the episcopal town at their head. They tended to assume rights which by the canon law belonged to the bishop, as, for example, that of instituting and installing lower clergy. This arose largely from the custom of delegating such duties when a bishop was too busy to perform them himself. The archdeacons were the natural delegates to be appointed, and they began to assume these functions as their own *ex officio*. Similarly they encroached on the bishop's right of visitation and assumed considerable powers of discipline and jurisdiction. These aggressions were mitigated by the decrees of popes in the twelfth century (1165, 1188). At that time there was in most dioceses a chronic state of strife between the bishop and these unmanageable officials — a strife which ended in the following century with the decay of the archdeaconate. The chief means of the downfall of the archdeacons was, perhaps, that the bishops, finding them ambitious and unfaithful in delegated tasks, made use of another class of men for this purpose. These were the *clerici episcopi,* personally appointed and pliant agents of the bishop. We find them in the service of the bishop of Paris by 1137.

Parishes

(3) The Church had contact with the masses mainly through the parish clergy. The parish was the most elementary division of a diocese, the territory whose inhabitants worshiped in one church edifice. The bishop's rights over the parish and its clergy were often contested, but in theory they were very full. He could create new limits, modify the existing limits, unify or dismember the parochial territories. By the beginning of the feudal period the division into parishes was virtually complete, however, and the bishop had to do with their maintenance only. The parishes were *urban* or *rural*. Large cities had a number of them; the rural parishes usually centered in a manorial village. The lord of the manor, having founded the local church, as patron, had the right of advowson or presentation of the "living" as controller of the parish revenues. This authority was often grossly abused. "The advowson of a church was looked on as a matter of private property which could be granted, sold, divided or unjustly occupied in exactly the same way as any other property."[1] The Cluny reform, while it remedied the gravest abuses of feudal interference with ecclesiastical appointments in the higher offices of the Church, never touched this evil and it remained a constant privilege of the feudality throughout the Middle Ages. "I do not give churches to laymen by giving them manors to farm," wrote St. Anselm, on whom the burden of enforcing the Gregorian decrees in England fell, under William Rufus and Henry I, "but I assign them that they may be taken care of, not that laymen may place or remove a clerk except by my order or that of our

Right of advowson

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[1] Freeman, E. A., *Norman Conquest,* V, 501.

archdeacon, *or the ruler of the manor.*" The feudality everywhere refused to renounce the right of patronage, and the Church yielded. Indeed, the right of advowson still survives in England, where the lord of the manor has the right of presentation of the living, but without spiritual control over the appointment.

Vestry

The religious head of the parish was the priest. With him was associated a *fabrica* or administrative and financial board. This board consisted of laymen and seems to have been chosen by the parishioners.

Parish priests

The parish priests were universally drawn from the common people, and many were of servile birth, who, as children in a local school, had attracted attention by reason of ability, been given freedom (for a priest could not be a serf), and finally taken holy orders. But, in view of their lineage and environment (for their parishioners, except in towns, were serf peasants), they were but little above the membership of their church. They possessed the mere rudiments of education and often could not read, but recited the services by rote, sometimes making absurd blunders, unperceived by their hearers, since the whole service was in Latin. In addition to general ignorance prevailing among them, many parish priests were lax morally and given to drunkenness, although we must discount the more violent accusations of this nature, for the tendency of public opinion, owing partly to the profession itself, partly to the superior religious pretensions of monasticism, was to expect an impossible standard of the priesthood. But there must always have been many honest, simple, hard-working, and sincere men among them, serving God and humanity to the best of their ability. The lowest among rural priests probably were those attached to manorial parishes.

Chaplains

Besides the parish priests there was a large class of chaplains, who under the bishop's authorization held services in rural chapels, in the chapels and at the altars of cathedrals, in the collegiate churches of the cities, and in schools, hospitals, and other institutions. These were sometimes under the control of the chapter instead of the bishop. Then there were the private chaplains of bishops, dukes, and kings, often men of high attainments, who were responsible to their employers alone.

Pastoral duties of the bishop

The bishop's relations to the pastoral clergy may be considered under the general heads of *collation, visitation, convocation,* and *correction.* Collation is the ecclesiastical term for the right of appointment to benefices. This was canonically a function of the bishop, though the right was considerably invaded by the chapter and the archdeacons. Applicants for posts were usually presented to the bishop by patrons, who might be either lay or ecclesiastical persons and in either case might have their own ulterior reasons for asking for the appointment. The bishop, if he did his duty, would examine the candidate. We find that the examination given by Eudes Rigaud in the diocese of Rouen in the thirteenth century consisted in certain elementary tests in Latin grammar and in singing the service. To qualify, the candidate would presumably have been a student at one of the episcopal schools. Sometimes rejected candidates made trouble by appealing to the pope or to the archbishop.

Visitation

Visitation was largely for the purpose of inspection. The bishop was free to visit and was entitled to hospitality from secular and regular clergy. The right of *hospitium* was valid only once a year. On his visits he was supposed to observe carefully the conduct of the affairs of the churches, the lives of the clergy, the condition of the buildings, etc. He possessed the same rights over the monasteries and priories except those whose papal charters exempted them from episcopal control. Inspection and supervision of these monastic houses constituted no easy task. We shall have occasion to refer later to some of the problems involved. One is struck by the evidence that in all things the bishop's care in this visitation was not so much for the vital religion of priests and people as for the regularity with which the services and the business affairs of these institutions were conducted.

Convocation

The right of convocation was the bishop's authority to call the clergy of the diocese to the diocesan synods, which met annually. The place of meeting was at the selection of the bishop. The lower clergy frequently, through inability or indifference, failed to answer the bishop's summons. In these cases it was usual to send a letter of excuse, upon which the bishop would, of course, put his own interpretation.

Correction

The bishop's right of correction was his disciplinary right to punish a priest. Neglect of church business or service, violation of vows, and in particular the frequent falls of these men before the temptations of women and wine, and the prevalent simony in any of its forms were among the principal offenses. The right of correction was most conveniently exercised, in the case of seculars, in the synod, but it formed a necessary if unpleasant part of the business of visitation. Often the mere citation of a culprit brought forth his confession, with a more or less sincere promise of amendment. A solemnly phrased promise of the sort is given in Bishop Rigaud's report already mentioned. For sturdier sinners the bishop would order the payment of fines, or a temporary or permanent deprivation, or even excommunication, according to the seriousness of the offense.

Bishop as a manorial lord

The bishop was a landed proprietor, usually a very great proprietor. His domain was called the *mensa episcopalis*. For a long time the *mensa* was held without division between bishop and chapter, but by the beginning of the eleventh century the *mensa* of the chapter was distinct. The cathedral itself, however, remained a "common property," and the expenses of its maintenance took a large part of the revenues of both. The bishop's *mensa* included a portion of the town surrounding the cathedral, and areas of land in various parts of the diocese, and even in neighboring dioceses. These lands were of two distinct classes so far as the bishop was concerned. In part they were administered by him directly, in part they were his fiefs, administered by his vassals. The term *mensa* was applied to both these. The lands directly administered may be compared to the patrimonium of the popes in the days of Gregory the Great. They were put in charge of agents, who were responsible to the bishop, and to the latter belonged the profits. These agents were called *mayors* or *provosts*. The relation of the servile peasantry on these estates to the bishop did not differ from that existing between lay landholders and their serfs.

Feudalization of the episcopate

The bishop was in a different relation to his feudal fiefs. These consisted of lands held by vassals who did him homage, of the benefices of certain collegiate churches (most of these were in a similar relation to the chapter), and of certain abbeys and priories. All these were land fiefs. But besides these the bishop possessed a class of incorporeal fiefs. These incorporeal fiefs consisted of the salaried offices in his gift and in the gift of the chapter, such as those of the dean, the cantor, the chancellor, and the lay offices of the household, for all of which the holders did homage to the bishop. This variety of feudal holdings made the bishop suzerain over many lay as well as clerical vassals. In some cases these included high lords and kings. The bishop of Mende had for vassal the king of Aragon and the count of Rodez. The vassals of the bishop of Paris included the king of France, the bishop of Langres, and the duke of Burgundy. There was no distinction between the homage rendered to a bishop and that rendered to a lay suzerain.

The bishop's feudal power was often seriously lessened by the competition of independent abbeys within his diocese. These were made by their charters free from his feudal as from his spiritual control. This exemption was a serious weakness from the standpoint of monastic discipline. Many of them became little more than grand feudal establishments, even some of the abbots themselves being laymen. They controlled the parishes within their immense landed estates and, fortified by papal privileges, often set themselves in open hostility to the bishop.

In a large and populous diocese and cumbered with a great amount of business, the average bishop could not possibly have entered into a close and pastoral relation with his people. The bishop had long since ceased to be a pastor. This great episcopal lord was far removed from the common people, and most bishops had little interest in them or sympathy for their troubles. The bishop had enough to do to attend to the mere external machinery of religion — more, indeed, than he could do well. Yet there were points of contact with the people, occasions on which a bishop could be seen and heard.

He preached frequently, or at least was expected to do so, in the cathedral church and thus had an opportunity of impressing his thoughts on

Preaching

the city population who attended these services. Many feudal bishops, through disinclination or inability, left this duty undone; but papal utterances in the Gregorian period frequently emphasized that bishops were under obligation to preach. Nor was the bishop's voice heard only in the cathedral. In the course of his visitations he was supposed to preach before the assembled clergy and people. The degree in which he improved his opportunity to become acquainted with and to influence the people would depend upon the character of the man himself. But a serf ran a poor chance of making the acquaintance of a bishop, unless he committed a crime grave enough to come up for judgment before the episcopal court.

The construction and maintenance of suitable places of worship were regarded as a part of the bishop's duties to his people. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, during the renaissance of architecture, in which Gothic became the prevailing type, the bishops vied with each other in the construction of magnificent churches. The motive was vainglory rather than devotion; at least so thought St. Bernard and Peter Cantor. In any case it was not first of all the good of their flock. The bishop's attitude to the people was that of the farmer to his milch cow. Money for buildings was raised by all sorts of means, some of them very questionable. Gifts were frequently rewarded with spiritual benefits recoverable only in the life to come.

Preaching, visiting, and building did not quite exhaust the bishop's contact with his people. The Middle Age had its charities and benefactions for the poor and unfortunate, and the bishop supervised the distribution of these.

Judicial powers of bishop

The bishop possessed large judicial powers. These were a legacy from late Roman times, but shared in the general irregularities and inefficiency of feudal jurisdiction. About the middle of the twelfth century, however — two centuries before the same could be said of the lay courts in general — the bishop's courts began to feel the influence of Roman law. In the Church, as in the kingships, this influence made for two things, efficiency and absolutism.

Disputes and criminal actions might come directly into the bishop's court, or indirectly by way of the parish court, or from the manorial court of a vassal. The court consisted of the bishop and the chapter. A great amount of judicial business was settled by the bishop alone, or with such council as he had at hand on his visitations. Frequently the archbishop took cases illegally out of the bishop's hands, as did also the popes. Again, the pope frequently commanded the bishop to arbitrate a cause that belonged to the papal adjudication. Indeed, in the high Middle Ages this was a policy adopted by a number of popes in order to correct the abuses arising from the too great independence of the abbeys. Exempted abbeys were in this way put into *de facto* subjection to the diocesan bishop.

The great volume of a bishop's legal business often necessitated special extension of the organization. The bishop of Nantes had the assistance of three itinerant judges, corresponding to the seneschals in the duchies. Bishops were often in conflict with the lay powers over the rights of jurisdiction. Frequently the disputed cases were between a cleric and a layman. The Church fought to maintain the principle that a cleric could be tried only in a church court.

Archbishop

The bishop's relation to the archbishop was influenced by feudalism. This is indicated in the form of the bishop's oath of obedience, the language of which resembles that of the feudal vassal's obligation to his suzerain. Not all the bishops of a province were in identical relation to the archbishop. In particular, one was the "premier suffragan," with the right to administer in the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see. Purely feudal elements often affected the relationship as well.

Synods

The archbishop was to the bishop as the bishop to the lower clergy. By the right of inquisition he visited and inspected the suffragan's diocese, studying his public administration and his private conduct. Here too the right of inquiry carried with it that of discipline. He could even excommunicate a bad bishop. The bishop was expected to attend the provincial synods at the call of his superior. Descriptions of such gatherings show that their character was not parliamentary, as the church councils became in the fifteenth century. The archbishop read to his suffragans the measures he had to promulgate; or the assembly was constituted into a tribunal for cases submitted to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Suffragans were not always submissive, however. One great source of friction was the carrying of appeals from episcopal courts to the papal curia, or the lifting of litigation by an archbishop out of the court of his suffragan.

In his double character as spiritual vicar and feudal vassal the bishop had to steer between archbishop and pope on the one hand and duke and king on the other. Originally the Frankish episcopate had been largely dominated by the crown. But in the feudal age many of the bishops were the vassals of dukes and counts. Seigniorial influence in the elections and conduct of episcopal sees began in the weakness of monarchy in the ninth century. So a distinction is to be drawn between episcopal fiefs pertaining to kings, and those controlled by feudal nobles.

Regale

In the royal episcopal fiefs the king claimed what was called the *regale*. This was the right to the revenues during a vacancy, but usually carried with it the claim to the right of investiture, and influence in or domination of the elections. This was a ground of dispute with the popes, and as a result of the Gregorian propaganda the crown was obliged in the twelfth century to renounce some of its claims. Homage and feudal investiture of bishops were virtually done away. The bishop now simply took the oath of *fidelitas*. The exact meaning of this word is hard to ascertain; it probably had a certain feudal sense beyond mere loyalty as a subject and certainly still entailed obligation for military service.

Bishops as vassals

Some of the more powerful vassal-bishops of the kings were a match for the great dukes. The bishop of Nantes had more power than the duke of Brittany. He possessed a monopoly of the wine trade and other commercial advantages within his diocese. In a three-century-long contest with the ducal power, successive bishops refused the duke their fealty. In a number of instances the bishop was himself the count. This is true in France of the archbishops of Reims and Vienne, and of the bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Langres, Le Puy, Mende, and Lodève. Mende supplies a striking example of the complete combination of the feudal and ecclesiastical functions. The bishop of Mende carried a sceptre, which he laid down while conducting the service of the altar. His full lay title was "Seigneur and Governor of the Town of Mende, Count of Gevaudan and Briode." He coined money and levied taxes. For military purposes he exacted the tax *compensum pacis,* consisting of a sou a year from each head of a family, two sous for a mule, two for a pair of oxen, six deniers each for cows and asses, an obolus each for sheep, goats, and pigs. Another tax was the denier of St. Privat, a yearly tax on everybody over fifteen years of age. The tendency, of course, was for a man in this position to confuse his two functions hopelessly.

Many bishops were vassals to a duke or count, and often owed fealty to a number of lords. The bishops' relations to these seigniors were not different from those of lay vassals. By the end of the twelfth century their hold on the bishoprics was almost gone, thanks to the monarchy on the one hand and the papacy on the other. We shall see this exemplified below, in connection with episcopal elections.

The services actually rendered by a bishop as a vassal depended on the degree in which at any given time his vassalage had been modified by the papal policy. In the tenth and the early eleventh centuries they differed in no respect from the duties of lay vassals to their suzerains. Bishops rendered homage and took the oath of fealty. Besides this they were liable to the payment of certain specified moneys and to the supplying of certain troops in case of war. They were subject to the suzerain's right of *reddition* — that is, compulsion to surrender their castles to the suzerain on demand for purposes of war.

Warrior bishops

The military feature of this service resulted in the bishops and their clergy becoming militarized in large degree. An unwilling bishop would sometimes whimper and protest when commanded to defend his suzerain in arms, but it was poor policy to refuse. St. Bernard was shocked to think that a deacon had become a seneschal of Louis VI and so would have to "command an army with the same mouth that chanted the mass." But many of the clergy loved fighting more than their spiritual exercises. The

Chronicle of Novalese describes a fighting monk, Walter, who loved a good horse and single-handed thrashed and routed a band of robbers. Henry I told the Pope that his bishops and abbots were too busy helping him put down a rebellion to attend a council at Reims. Bishops sometimes died in battle. Six French bishops went as fighting men on the Third Crusade. Richard Lion-Heart made the Archbishop of Auch an admiral. Simon de Sully, Bishop of Bourges, led an army in the Albigensian Crusade. Hugh of Noyers, Bishop of Auxerre, was a formidable soldier, whose ambitious militarism was punished by his suzerain. In some this militarism descended to the criminal plane. Matthew of Toul (1198–1210) lived in reckless immorality, dismissed most of his clergy and oppressed the others, plundered the country as a robber baron, and defied Innocent III and Thibaud, Duke of Lorraine. He ended his life on Thibaud's sword.

Bishops were used by their suzerains more for diplomacy than for war. Many of them were the ambassadors and counselors of kings or filled executive offices. When Philip Augustus went on the crusade, he gave the custody of the royal treasure to the Archbishop of Reims and the shrewd financier Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris.

Election of bishops

It was a fiction of the canon law that episcopal elections still retained something of their original popular character. The form was "by the assent of the clergy and the people." But for centuries the people had had nothing material to do with elections. By this time the clergy, too, were excluded, with the exception of the members of the chapter. The formalities of an ideal canonical election of the eleventh century were somewhat as follows:

On the death of the incumbent the chapter met and deputed two of its number with a letter to the king or seignior, applying for permission to choose a successor. This authorization by the suzerain was called *licens eligendi*. It was sent in writing, although it might be withheld for a time, especially as by the *regale* the suzerain could claim the revenues during a vacancy. It might also be taken advantage of to nominate a favorite. A similar application was simultaneously made to the archbishop, and his permission, let us suppose, was given. The date at which the election would take place was now decided upon, and the canons were duly assembled. The procedure from this point might take three forms.

1. *Election by commission or compromission,* in which the body made over its powers to a committee of their own number (*compromissarii electionis*).

2. *Election by scrutiny,* the votes being noted down, counted, and announced, by *scrutatores votorum,* and then transferred, after discussion, till an election was arrived at.

3. *Election by inspiration,* in which the dean nominated a candidate, and the name was accepted by acclamation.

It was expected of the newly elected bishop that he would at first coyly refuse the honor, but a little pressure was sufficient to overcome his scruples and modesty. The election was yet to be confirmed. In this again the king and the archbishop were consulted. If all was favorable, the king's officer who was acting as custodian of the regalia received orders to deliver them to the bishop at a specified time, while the bishop was summoned to the archiepiscopal see for consecration. This was all changed in the twelfth century. The regalia were no longer given, but the bishop simply took an oath of fealty. If the pope demanded that the bishop should go to Rome for consecration, the latter might be postponed for years.

Royal and seigniorial interference in these elections was the usual thing in the eleventh century and persisted through the twelfth. The kings and dukes sometimes nominated directly, sometimes packed the assembly and so secured the election of their candidate. But royal influence was not always prejudicial to the best interests of the Church. A king might have some care for the interests of the episcopacy.

The tendency to papal absolutism was powerfully at work, but the popes were not able to remove all royal influence in elections. The Capetians were generally friendly to the Gregorian reforms, the German kings hostile. There were two results, apart from the limitation of the royal influence: the influence of the dukes was virtually removed, and the principle of election was exchanged for that of papal appointment.

Collation

Every step in retreat taken by the lay power was immediately occupied by the papacy, so that the total result was to leave the episcopate more dependent than before. Step by step the popes assumed the right of collation. Appointments were made out of hand when bishops died "*in curia*." Disputed elections were not allowed to be settled without appeal to Rome. By the middle of the twelfth century direct nomination by the pope ceased to be exceptional. If there was any competition, the contestants were compelled to resign their claims to the arbitrament of the Holy See. By the custom of *reserves,* about the end of the thirteenth century, the right of nomination was resigned in advance by the chapter. The principle of election almost disappeared. Of sixteen vacancies filled in France between 1295 and 1301, only one was by election. Bishops entitled themselves "by grace of the Holy See." Boniface VIII finally established the full theory by his bull *Ausculta fili* (1301), which declared that the pope had sovereign power over all vacant bishoprics, whether vacated *in curia* or *extra curiam*. The chapters could only postulate by their votes, not really elect.

Triumph of papacy (1301)

Bishop's palace and entourage

The bishop, being a personage of great public importance, dwelt in a palace and was supplied with a large number of servitors. The episcopal mansion was usually in close proximity to the cathedral, and was flanked by the dwelling-places of his private officials. Mention has already been made of the *clerici episcopi,* the confidential agents of the bishop in his ecclesiastical work. The chancellor, too, was a distinctly ecclesiastical official. Among his varied duties he was the superintendence of the episcopal *scholæ,* which position alone was of great importance, especially in Paris, where the able men of the schools became the founders of a great university. They were centers of instruction, mainly for the priesthood. The chancellor at Paris had an assistant called *præpositus* or provost. The heavy duties and responsibilities of the chancellor were divided between the demands of the bishop and the chapter. The bishop's *familia,* or private household service, included (1) the chaplain (or chaplains), *capellani episcopi,* (2) the secretaries, a considerable number, (3) the department of cuisine, including pantryman, butler, and cook, (4) the equerry, (5) the smith, (6) the chamberlain, (7) the carpenter, (8) the janitor or porter. These offices were all regarded as fiefs, and for them the holders did homage.

The prestige and proportions of the episcopal establishment were fully maintained when the bishop went visiting; hence the necessity to limit the frequency with which he could demand *hospitium.* The equipage of the bishop on his visitations was placed under restrictions. The Lateran Council of 1179 required that an archbishop should restrict the number of horses accompanying him to forty or fifty, and a bishop to twenty or thirty, while an archdeacon could have from five to seven.

Life of a bishop

We now come to consider, in conclusion, the chief problems of a conscientious bishop. Fundamental among these must have been the constant inward conflict between the claims of religion and of temporal affairs. The result naturally was that the routine of affairs or the excitement of events kept the average bishop from accomplishing much towards the religious improvement of his flock, and generation after generation went by without discernible religious influence on the masses. Of the bishop's most troublous and pressing problems, that caused by unwarranted interference from without was among the most distressing. This might come, as we have seen, from his archbishop or from the pope or from his feudal suzerain, royal or seigniorial. It might also come from an ambitious brother bishop. We find, for instance, a bitter inter-episcopal feud between Lyons and Sens through seemingly conflicting rights granted by the pope.

Within his diocese the greatest objective problem was that of discipline. This was in the main the business of the visitations. How difficult the problem was is well illustrated by the account left by Bishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen of his visits to his clergy about 1247–8. Rigaud found some of the seculars keeping wives and concubines and promoting their sons to church offices. Some had even committed rape and incest. It was not unusual to find a cleric " dead drunk " by the roadside. Quarreling and violence went with intoxication. Some of the clergy, contrary to the canon law, engaged in commerce in a variety of forms, imitated knights in their costume, and neglected their duties. Rigaud made them compound for smaller offenses with fines. One priest had to forfeit five sous every time he succumbed to the charms of the tavern. Greater offenses were punished with suspension or excommunication, not always successfully. A solemnly phrased promise of reformation made by one delinquent priest is included in the report.

The monastics were generally not so bad as the seculars, yet great irregularities were found in their houses — violations of the vows of chastity and of poverty and neglect of the mass were common. Books provided for the monasteries were being pilfered, or borrowed and retained.

In the face of such chaos of discipline only an extraordinary man could make any headway, and efforts towards reform were usually doomed to failure. The Roman Church was too busy with the big business of feudalism to attend to the crying needs of the pastoral and educational work. Finally there remains the mere fact of the burden of overwork. The full duties of the bishop, if adequately done, would tax the powers of genius. Not one man in a hundred who held the office had the physical and intellectual equipment required to bring him within sight of true success. Much of the routine consisted in travel. Liable to summons to Rome or to the king's side or to the provincial synod, called hither and thither in his own diocese, busy with revenues and expenditures and legal disputes, what time had the bishop for study and the refinements of life? St. Anselm complained of "the long and perilous extent of seas and kingdoms" in a letter to Pascal II, and in another epistle of "the dangerous journey, the severe toil, the great expense." It was a hard calling.

Sacramental system

Despite this blend of ecclesiastical and feudal, despite this fusion of things religious and things secular, the primary and essential nature of the priestly office, whether that of bishop or of priest, was never obliterated. That ministry was the cure of souls (*cura animarum*). The administration of the sacramental system was the supreme obligation of the clergy everywhere. It was for that that they took "holy orders," or ordination, by which they received the power and grace to perform their sacred duties. "So immensely important a part of the priestly function came very naturally to overshadow all the rest, and thus was evolved the astounding, but perfectly logical doctrine that the personal character of the priest had nothing to do with the effectiveness of his service. He might be the worst of men without being any the less a true priest. Of course the Church in its official action never encouraged vice, and did what it could to keep its ministers clean; but still this element of formal in place of actual virtue kept on increasing and gave its character to the whole medieval system."[1]

All the sacraments of the Church were very old, most of them in fact being contemporary with early Christianity itself. But the number of them did not become fixed to the mystical seven until the twelfth century, when Petrus Lombardus, who died in 1164, wrote his famous *Sententiæ* or *Sentences,* whose dicta were accepted by the Church. It is to be observed that this time coincides with the period of the rise of the papal monarchy and the codification of the canon law by Gratian. The seven sacraments were decreed to be *the* sacraments in that great age when the Roman Church finally formulated its doctrines and established its institutions. In the administration of every sacrament except penance the Church employs solemn and symbolic ceremonies intended mystically to denote the divine gift or grace imparted to the recipient.

Baptism

Confirmation

Eucharist

The seven sacraments are: (1) *Baptism,* by which that portion of "original sin" which the child brought into the world with him was alienated; (2) *Confirmation,* which could only be performed by the bishop, and by which the baptized child became an active member of the Church; it took place at the age of puberty; (3) *Eucharist* or the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the most important of the sacraments — indeed, the one on which the Church's authority fundamentally rests and around which the most imposing service of the Church, the mass, is gathered. In this ceremony, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was not formulated until the great Lateran Council in 1215, and which thereby took away the right of private judgment, the bread and wine of the sacrament are converted, by the solemn words of the celebrant or priest who offers the mass, into the body and blood of Christ. This supreme part of the service is known as the "canon of the mass" and falls between the Sanctus and the Pater Noster. The elevation of the Host announced by the ringing of the bell, which seems to one who is not a Catholic the most dramatic moment of the service, was not introduced until about 1200. (4) *Penance,* a sacrament through which the sins committed after baptism are forgiven. All priests have the power of granting forgiveness of sin; it is conferred at ordination, but its exercise depends on authorization and is given "jurisdiction." Penance is the only sacrament administered in secret and is intimately attached to confession.

Penance

Although represented to have had its origin in the authority of the New Testament, it has been historically proved that penance is the adoption and amalgamation by the Church of pre-Christian Irish methods of dealing with crime, first by Irish Christianity and later, with the extension of Irish influence to the continent, by the Latin Church. Gregory the Great seems to have been without knowledge of the type of penitential discipline practiced in the Celtic Church. The stern discipline of the early monasteries in the West has no suggestion of the practice of confession. It is possible, too, that penance, when it spread to the continent, was influenced by the compositions for crime in the customary laws of the Germans, in which crimes were compensated for by payments according to a fixed tariff. But "the Irish and Welsh documents . . . are sufficient to show that the system of composition in penance was in full force before any Germanic population was brought under the discipline of the penitentials."[1] The historical fact is that the Germanic and Romance nations of Europe derived the institution from Celtic sources, and that the principle of composition native to the Germanic codes made its adoption natural and easy. This adoption was greatly facilitated by the English ecclesiastical influence exerted on the continent by Boniface and Alcuin, for the English Church was the first non-Celtic Church to adopt the penitential system.

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[1] EMERTON, *Medieval Europe,* p. 541.

Without questioning the spiritual value of confession and penance, nevertheless it must be recognized that the practice was capable of grave abuses. One of these was connected with the giving of alms, which tended to become perverted into a mitigation of penance and was ignorantly regarded as purchasing immunity from punishment. Direct composition in money strengthened this popular belief. Another was that of vicarious satisfaction. It became a common practice for the rich and powerful to redeem penance through the services of friends and even of their serfs. In England in the time of Edgar (959–75) this principle was erected into law: "Thus may a powerful man and rich in friends greatly lighten his penance," runs the article. "Let him take with him xii men and let them fast iii days on bread and on green herbs and on water, and get in addition thereto, in what ever manner he can, seven times cxx men who shall also fast for him iii days. Thus shall he have fasted as many fasts as there are in vii years."

Class consciousness of the clergy

We see here the penetration of the class distinctions and social privilege of feudal society into the penitential system, theologically amplified by St. Anselm (1033–1109) in his immensely influential book *Cur Deus Homo,* or *Why God was made Man*. The reflections of the feudal world in this work are striking. We find feudal relations of obedience and service, feudal ideas of honor, graded personal values before God, and the Deity represented as an infinite and omnipotent suzerain. Still a fourth corrupting influence of penance was the *abuse* of the doctrine of indulgence. This teaching developed out of the principle of vicarious atonement. "Christ's death excels the sins of all men," wrote Anselm. The Father owed a reward to His Son for the sacrifice He had made, but, possessing all things already, Christ hands over the reward to mankind. This

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[1] McNeill, John T., *The Celtic Penetentials,* p. 120.

"treasury of merit" was drawn upon by the absolving priest for the benefit of the sinner. Measureless from the beginning, this treasury was increased by the theologians by the supererogatory works of the Virgin, the martyrs, the saints. Thus the privations of penance were mitigated or escaped through the superabundant merits of others. The marvelous functioning of the human mind has no more amazing illustration than this theological elaboration of the doctrine of atonement out of penance, derived from tribal and feudal usages.

Extreme unction

(5) The fifth sacrament is *Extreme Unction.* It is the anointing with specially blessed oil of a person in danger of death. When possible, it was followed by the administration of the *viaticum,* or consecrated wafer.

Marriage

It will be observed that these five sacraments are of application to all Christians. The other two are less universal. (6) *Marriage.* While marriage always was and had been a sacrament, as a matter of history a religious ceremony was not compulsory, or even customary, until the tenth century. The provision of early canon law with reference to betrothal followed Roman law, according to which it was a civil, not a religious bond, and the priestly benediction was without legal significance. Marriage was not canonically made a sacrament until 1164. The Church's attitude towards divorce was of slow development. In both the pre-Nicene and the post-Nicene period divorce was permitted and remarriage allowed, though general opinion favored separation with the hope of reconciliation. Even so late as the Council of Tours (1061) bishops were allowed to grant divorce with right of remarriage. The change came with the growth of centralized power, the hardening of the hierarchy, the formulation of canon law, and the legislation of the Church concerning degrees of relationship, when in 1066 new prohibited degrees were substituted for those of the Roman law. Then the second, fourth, and sixth degrees of the civil law were made the first, second, and third degrees. Even "spiritual affinity" was a bar to marriage — that is, godfathers and godmothers were related as if by blood. This rigid legislation opened the door further to the dispensing power of the pope. For the Church often found it politically advisable or financially profitable to approve dynastic alliances within the prohibited degrees, or to separate politically influential persons, as in the case of Louis VII of France and Queen Eleanor, by "nullification" of the bond.

Holy Orders

(7) *Holy Orders* is the sacrament of ordination to the priesthood, and the one purely clerical sacrament. Part of the ceremony is the tonsure, a smoothly shaven spot on the top of the head signifying that the wearer of it had ceased to be a layman and become a member of the clergy. But the tonsure was worn by all clerics, even those who had not taken orders, such as university students.

Something has been said in preceding pages concerning the origin of the regular clergy, or monks, the early history of Irish and Benedictine monasticism, their decline, and the revival of monasticism by the order of Cluny. But Cluny only inaugurated a new era of monasticism. Its example was often imitated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were, *par excellence,* the age of monasticism. The monastic orders were the strong promoters of papal supremacy, and naturally the popes were favorable to the advancement of the older orders and the creation of new ones. A century later than Cluny, about 1020, St. Romuald of Ravenna founded the order of the Camaldoli in Italy. It always remained a local order. In 1086 St. Bruno built a retreat in the wild gorges of the Isère in Dauphiné and established the most austere and severe order of the Middle Ages, the Carthusians.

New monastic orders

In 1098 at Citeaux in Burgundy the Cistercian order was founded, the great competitor and in some sense the successor of Cluny in influence and popularity. St. Bernard was its most famous member. Pope Eugene III was a Cistercian. Citeaux differed radically in organization from Cluny, which was a highly centralized congregation. Its form of government was a reflection of the feudal system. As Citeaux sent out offshoots, these offshoots or mother-abbeys in turn founded daughter-abbeys, and the foundress was, as it were, a suzerain to the abbeys that it had founded, which were its vassals. " While Cluny was like the old woman who lived in a shoe, who had so many children she did not know what to do, the house of Citeaux was like the founder of any family having descendants to the third, fourth and fifth generations, the number increasing with each stage. Citeaux itself had no connection with its grandchildren or its great-grandchildren. It was only concerned with its own children."[1] In other important particulars Cistercianism also differed from Cluny. Cluny's houses were magnificent structures, gorgeously adorned with painting and carving, in which the services were imposing, with grand processional, light and color and music, with elaborate ritual. The Cistercians represented a sort of puritan reaction against such display. Their churches were unadorned, their services simple; even their manuscripts were without illumination and in plain black on white. Socially the order of Citeaux, unlike Cluny, was not an aristocratic order; its members were many of them drawn from the peasantry, even from serfs. This again is a reflection of the age — the time when serfdom was declining and the towns arising. Economically the Cistercians had an immense influence. For they carried agriculture, cattle-breeding, sheep-raising, swamp-redemption, forest-clearing to the highest degree. Their pastoral propensity was frowned upon by many because it tended to erase farms and supplant them by pastures, with an effect which was similar to the enclosure movement in England in the sixteenth century, when villages and farms were obliterated to make room for sheep-walks.

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[1] G. R. Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order,* p. 13.

We have this interesting idealization of the monastic life from the pen of Otto, Bishop of Freising, who was also a Cistercian monk:

> "The world could not long endure, both by reason of the multitude of our sins and the shameful unrighteousness of this most unsettled time — this was written in the middle of the twelfth century — if it were not sustained by the merits of the saints (the monks), the true citizens of the City of God . . . who possess their own property as not their own. . . . Some of these, dwelling in cities, in castles (as chaplains), in villages (as parish priests), and in the countryside, impart to their neighbors by word and example the rule of right living; others . . . shun crowds and, devoting themselves to God alone, withdraw to retreats in the woods and secluded places . . . regarding themselves as dead to the world. . . . Yet all alike spend their lives on earth in purity of living and conscience, and in holiness like that of the angels. . . . They dwell together in cloisters, they lay themselves down to sleep at the same time, they arise with one accord for prayer, partake of refreshments together in one house, devote themselves to prayer, to reading, to work by day and night . . . save only the brief period during which they consign their weary limbs to rest on a mean bed of osiers or a rough blanket. . . . They all alike abstain from meat. Some, denying themselves all the more delicate foods and abstaining from wine, use for food sometimes pulse, sometimes only bread and water. Why should I speak of their celibacy? . . . They never admit any woman to their presence for any reason. . . . All the workshops of the various artisans — the bakers, the smiths, the weavers, and others — are located within, that no one of them may have occasion to wander outside. These workmen are carefully secluded. The entrance door is situated in the outer court. . . . They very rarely speak, save to God alone and to the father of their congregation. The things that they need they seek from one another by gesture and signs rather than by words. . . . To mortify the flesh some clothe themselves in a woolen shirt. Others, free from all outside occupations and portraying their angelic life in their garb, figuratively portray its sweetness by the form rather than by the soft texture of their dress. These ampler garments . . . resemble the six wings in the pictures of the seraphim. With two of these they cover their heads, with two their arms, with two their bodies and lower limbs. . . . Whereas the monks dwelt once in greatest numbers in Egypt, now they are most numerous in France and Germany, so that one need not wonder at the transfer of power and of wisdom from the East to the West."

Jealousy between secular and regular clergy

The secular clergy looked with jealous and sometimes hostile eyes upon the ascendancy of monasticism, and intense resentment, of a hierarchic, economic, and social nature, prevailed between the two classes of the clergy. Popular opinion and church legislation more and more imposed monastic ideals and practices upon the secular clergy. The demand that the secular clergy, too, become celibate is an example. Another example is the institution of canons, who appear in the eleventh century. This was the requirement that members of the clergy enjoying the revenues of a cathedral should be compelled to live in common, lead celibate lives, and become as monks in all but name. Chrodegang of Metz in the eighth century had attempted to compel his canons to do so, and in the next century Louis the Pious legislated to this end in the Council of Aachen in 817. But little came of the movement until the Lateran synod of 1059, the same that established the college of cardinals. After that, "regular canons" became common, and even orders of canons, like the Augustinian or Austin canons, were formed. But some canons refused to go so far, in consequence of which we find two classes of canons, canons regular and canons secular, the former a sort of intermediate group of clergy midway between the secular clergy and the monks, but under the bishop, not under an abbot.

Relics

Just as popular Christianity adopted the habit of pilgrimage from paganism, so it also adopted the veneration of relics of martyrs and saints. The Empress Helena's reputed discovery of the fragments of the cross in the fourth century is an early example. By the sixth century relic-worship and belief in miracles wrought by means of them were the most influential factors in the religious life of the people. The crusades and the religious revival of the eleventh century gave the practice new impetus, so that the quest of relics may be said to have become a religious mania. Traffic in fictitious relics was great. The high value attached to relics may be appreciated in the redemption of the relics of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for fifty thousand bezants, paid by Richard I, after Jerusalem was taken by Saladin in 1187. In 1241, when a new piece of the "true cross" was found, the Venetians paid the King of Jerusalem twenty thousand gold pieces for it. Fanaticism was thereby increased and superstition nourished. A relic became a potent charm. Oaths were taken upon relics in court, their efficacy was appealed to in disease, to avert the evil eye, to stop a plague among cattle, to insure good harvests. Monasteries strove for possession of them by fair means or foul. We have many catalogues of them. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 flooded the West with genuine and spurious remains of the martyrs and saints. Perhaps nothing in medieval Christianity is so gross as this mania for the collection of relics, against which more spiritual and more cultivated minds protested in vain. Fortunately it was partially redeemed from degradation by the stimulus that it gave to art; for the reliquaries and caskets designed to house these sacred objects are among the most beautiful examples of medieval goldsmithing and ivory-carving. Even churches were built around relics, like the beautiful Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which St. Louis erected to preserve a thorn of the crown of thorns.

Veneration of the Virgin

Over against this crass superstition we may put the medieval adoration of the Virgin, the loveliest and most spiritual manifestation of the age, showing that though man is human, the spirit within him may be divine. The cult was of early origin, but did not attain great proportions until the eleventh century, that century so phenomenal for intense and varied religious expression. "Symbolically Mary is everything imaginable; she has every virtue and a mass of power and privileges." Hugo of St. Victor's hymns to the Virgin are among the purest religious poetry of the Middle Ages. The profoundest psychology is required to interpret and to understand the cult of the Virgin. One of the most obvious explanations of the popularity of the Virgin is to be found in the fact that the Church, with its imposing hierarchy, its enormous spiritual and temporal power, its formidable authority to save or to damn, its preaching of the terrors of hell, its majestic doctrine of an omnipotent and avenging God, awed and frightened men. They feared the Church, but they did not love it. Even Christ, the Son of God, although God had become man in Him and He was the mediator between sinful man and the wrath of God, partook too much of the formidable nature of God to be quite lovable. Mary canceled this fear and humanized the Church by her divine sympathy for men, by her lovability and loveliness. No perplexing theological dogmas invested belief in the Virgin. She was the Queen of Heaven, but she was not far from them nor awful to contemplate; she was the mother of the Christ, yet exquisitely, sensitively human. In consequence Mary was more popular than any saint, and the friend of all, from highest to lowest. No burden of the heart was too great to bring to her in prayer, nothing was too trivial for her attention. One must read deeply and with insight the vast literature of the Middle Ages in order to understand the medieval faith in the Virgin, the spiritual atmosphere which rose like an exhalation around her. She inspired lovely lyrics, she invested mysticism with its golden aura, she conferred the halo upon medieval art. The thought of the Virgin left men breathless with adoration.

Evils and defects in the medieval Church

But even the cult of the Virgin failed to redeem the Church from hardness of heart, from worldliness, from corruption. The Church had made a virtue of bigotry and fanaticism, it had made power a purpose and an end, it had elaborated a complex theology understood by few, and a maze of dialectical formulations and hair-splitting distinctions; it was sated with wealth and still scandalously avaricious. It needed more life, new life, and that abundantly, in order to save it from itself. It needed to be recalled from politics and property interests to labor in the service of humanity once more. The high clergy were universally recruited from the feudal aristocracy; the Church was filled with haughtiness and pride and had alienated the hearts of the masses. While it made a gesture of relieving the poor and distressed, it exploited millions of serfs upon its lands, it extorted huge sums of money from the pockets of the poor by its fiscal policy, in the form of tithes, Peter's pence, and the endless exactions imposed by the bishops upon their people. The Church forgot the poor and the lowly in its ambition to build up power and to accumulate riches.

Meanwhile in all western Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a profound change had gradually taken place in economic condition and social structure. The crusades had stimulated commerce and industry to the benefit of the towns. In rural areas, owing to firmer government and more security, agriculture had improved. A money economy had largely replaced the previous agrarian economy. There was more wealth in Europe. Serfdom was declining. But the Church failed to perceive many of these changes, it failed to adapt itself to these new conditions. Even when it was made aware of them, it was often indifferent or hostile to them, as, for example, the bishops, including the popes, everywhere were to the rise of the towns.

By 1200 the gulf between the Church and the common people yawned like a chasm. And then, in the fullness of time, arose two great leaders who reproached the Church for its neglect, who stung the callous conscience of the Church, who called it back to God and humanity, who awakened spirituality in it once more. These two great apostles were St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) and St. Dominic (1170–1221), each of whom complemented the other's work, each of whom ministered to the Church as no man had done since St. Boniface and St. Odilo of Cluny. Each might have taken as his motto the words of scripture: "'Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit,' saith the Lord." St. Francis was an Italian, St. Dominic a Spaniard, and neither could have been aught else than he was. These twin spirits of the thirteenth century prove the truth of Matthew Arnold's dictum that "the man of imagination, nay, and the philosopher, too . . . will always have a weakness for the Catholic Church because of the rich treasures of human life which have been stored within her pale."

St. Francis

St. Francis was the son of a wealthy merchant of Assisi, who led an idle if not profligate life in his youth. Then he experienced that sudden spiritual transformation which changed him into the richest and most lovable personality of the Middle Ages, if not of all time. At twenty-three he forsook home and wealth and went forth clad in a rough gray robe bound with a cord, shod with sandals instead of shoes, to preach penitence, love for one's fellow-men, and the ideal of poverty. It was almost a new gospel. He soon drew others to him, inspired by his winning nature and his teaching, and this cluster of devoted followers was the nucleus of the Franciscan order, which was chartered by Pope Innocent III in 1209.

The rapid radiation of the Friars Minor is one of the marvels of history. Before many years the Franciscans were found in every country of Christendom, including Egypt and the Holy Land. Wherever the friars went — they would never ride, and always traveled in pairs, one in front and one behind, that they might not talk too much — they found eager welcome. Unlike the monastic orders[1] the Franciscans did not seek habitation in isolated and remote districts, but in the hearts of the cities, and oftenest in the slums amid the poorest, the suffering, the ill. Their field of evangelization was the densely populated newly risen cities, with crooked streets and narrow alleys, with wretched hygienic conditions, with crowded tenements, teeming with a people whom the high Church had lost sight of and neglected. The monasteries had been rural communities; the Franciscan priories were urban communities, not unlike our modern "settlements" in their purpose of social relief. The Franciscans believed in ministering, not in being ministered unto. They caught the imagination of the thirteenth century as Cluny and Citeaux had caught that of previous centuries, but for very different reasons. They preached everywhere where people might be found gathered together, in market-places, at fairs, on holy days and ordinary week-days, speaking, not Latin, but the homely, racy vernacular of the country in which they were. This trait alone gave them a strong hold upon the masses. The old monastic orders frowned upon their methods and their teachings. The rich Cluniacs and Cistercians were offended by their doctrine of poverty, disliked their democratic ways, resented their adaptation of the music of popular songs to hymns. The Franciscans were a medieval Salvation Army. Time was with them. The old orders were obsolescent or sinking on the lees. The Franciscans were humble, strong, struggling for the cause of God and humanity, and in the struggle was sincerity.

St. Dominic

Dominic Guzmán, St. Dominic, in 1206 was a young priest in Calahorra in Spain. Having accompanied his bishop on a journey into Languedoc, he was horrified by the prevalence of heresy there. But instead of being stirred to fanaticism, he was moved to pity. In his eyes the Catharists were lost sheep who had wandered into the thorny ground of heresy because of the failure of the Church to guide, and its inability, owing to the ignorance of the clergy, to combat the keen argumentation of the "perfects" among them, who could rout in argument and dialectic the schoolmen themselves. "Missions sent to them had been fruitless, for, as the missionaries came with horses and attendants, wearing purple and fine linen and faring delicately, the heretics felt, and rightly so, that they were better men than those who wished to preach to them, and therefore they refused to listen. . . . Dominic saw that the one way to win back these lost sheep was to fight them with their own weapons, viz: austerity, simplicity and argument."[1] Popularly the Dominicans came to be known as *Canes Dominici* or the Hounds of Heaven, dogs to drive back into the fold the sheep that were lost. St. Dominic laid his finger on the lack of an educated priest class as a great weakness in the Church. St. Francis appealed to the heart, the emotion; St. Dominic appealed to reason and intellect. Out of the movement he generated sprang the Dominican Order of the Friars Preacher (the term is said to have been suggested by Innocent III, though it was Honorius III who confirmed the order, in 1217), coeval with the Franciscans but working along different lines and appealing to a different class in society. Like its rival, the Dominican order expanded with rapidity and its houses, again always to be found in the cities, were soon everywhere throughout Christendom. The training of a Dominican was long and arduous. He was thoroughly grounded in scripture, in theology, and in canon law and carefully trained as a speaker. He was made into an accomplished Latinist, though eloquent also in use of the vernacular, whereas the Franciscans knew little Latin and were indifferent to education. The pride of a Dominican house was its library; the pride of a Franciscan house was its sick-ward. Both orders subsisted on alms, but the alms for the Franciscans came from the poor, the alms for the Dominicans from the rich.

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[1] The Franciscans and the Dominicans were not monks, but regular canons.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that the Franciscans and Dominicans reflected the age in which they lived. This is also evidenced in their form of government, which was unlike that of either the Cluniacs or the Cistercians, or the Benedictines before them. The last, in the strict sense of the word, were not an order at all, for each monastery was independent. Cluny introduced the system of dependent houses and visitation of priories by a superior. Among the Cistercians each monastery was responsible for the houses that it founded. It was a sort of feudal form of government. In the Cluniac order the supremacy of Cluny was accentuated by the general chapters convened at Cluny, to which the prior of every house was obliged to come. In a word, Cluny was monarchical in organization.

The administrative system of the friars differed from these precedents. The model in both orders was the constitution of the Premonstratensian order, though the priories of the Hospitallers may have suggested to both the idea of the "province" and that of the sovereignty of the chapter general, which in them was called "convocation." Both orders avoided the autocracy of Cluny and the looseness of Citeaux and Premontre and created "a democratic, centralized and highly organized body, which was an order and not a collection of houses."[2] In the formation of this system the initiative was taken by St. Dominic, for organization "was as the very breath of life to St. Dominic's nostrils," whereas St. Francis wished to keep his movement simple and unconventional and was compelled to adopt organization against his will.

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[1] Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

We shall encounter the Dominicans and Franciscans again, the former in connection with university teaching and scholastic philosophy; the latter in Franciscan influence on literature and art. It was inevitable that neither order would be able to live up to its ideals, especially the Franciscans, whose adherence to "Lady Poverty" was a counsel of perfection. Both orders found it impracticable in course of time to live wholly upon contributions and charity; moreover, neither could avoid wealth when it was thrust upon them. In the end the vow of poverty was evaded by the device of a corporation, which possessed great riches, though individually the members thereof had nothing. With wealth the old familiar evils that had corrupted the earlier orders corrupted the Franciscans and Dominicans too. By the end of the thirteenth century criticism of them was shrill and widespread. They also in time were to become obsolescent and moribund and fall into popular condemnation.

Contradictions in the medieval Church

Yet the great Church, of divine origin, but man-made in many ways, moved on, the most impressive institution of history, preaching, teaching, ministering, governing spiritually and temporally, charitable yet haughty, spiritual yet worldly, cruel yet kind, an integrating force, yet destroying good with evil, sometimes confounding wheat with tares, pure in heart, yet polluted, saving others and itself saved by its supreme purpose and mission and the devotion of the great souls ever to be found in it.

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CHAPTER XXIII

MOHAMMEDAN AND CHRISTIAN SPAIN (711-1284)

Nature of the historical formation of Spain

Spain, like France, was formed by the gradual expansion of royal authority over the provinces of the peninsula, and the consolidation of them by the crown. But when that is said, all likeness ceases. For the formation of Spain widely differed from that of France or of any other country in the Middle Ages. In the first place, this process, instead of being one of subjugation of feudatories of kindred blood and speech, as in France and Germany, was made at the expense of the Arabs. It was the triumph of a race as well as a religion over another people. In the second place, instead of radiating from a single center to circumference, as the French monarchy radiated from Paris, the Christian expansion extended towards the south along three separate but parallel lines and resulted in the establishment of three kingdoms: Castile in the middle of the peninsula, Aragon along the Mediterranean, and Portugal along the Atlantic coast.

Effects of Arabic conquest

The Arabs had conquered the whole Spanish peninsula except a thin strip of territory in the extreme north, under the great wall of the Pyrenees. What became of the Gothic Christian population? Some preferred to continue to live in the cities where they and their ancestors had dwelt, finding that the Arabs, after the first shock of the conquest, were tolerant of them, provided they did not play politics and conspire against the Mohammedan domination. Others had fled to Frank Gaul. But there was a hardier element of the population unwilling either to submit or to go into exile, which found refuge in the foot-hills of the Pyrenees and the pocketed valleys of the Asturias, which the Arabic horsemen found difficult to invade. " In these years," runs the *Chronicle of Sebastian,* " the Goths were oppressed with tribute to the Arabs. Some died by the sword, others of hunger. Others sought refuge among the Franks. But those who were of the royal seed remained. The greater part of the Goths fled into this fatherland of ours, the Asturias, and elected Pelayo, son of the former Duke Fafilanus, of the royal blood, to be their leader." The timid clergy were for compromising with the foe, but Pelayo declared for war. " I will not associate with the Arabs or the friend of the Arabs, nor will I be subject to them," he said. " In these mountains is the safety of Spain. Here let us spurn the multitude of the pagans, and not fear. Let us fight." Like David among the Philistines, Pelayo and his men hid in caves, sallying out at times and harrying the enemy. In 737 his last victory is recorded, " and

" Kingdom " of the Asturias

Pelayo

not a single 'Chaldean,'" runs the chronicle, "was left within the gates of the Pyrenees."

Pelayo's career is more mythical than historical, nor does the history of Christian Spain emerge out of the mist, and then but faintly, until the time of his grandson, Alfonso I, the Catholic (739–56). The flattering and dubious chronicle credits him with the capture of an imposing list of towns. "All the Arabs in the aforementioned towns he slew, and led Christians into the country." But as little Asturias expanded under the prowess of her kings, the Basque population in Galicia, with which they came in contact, resented the approach. For the Basques, a hardy mountaineer people, of a race so strange and an origin so remote that to this day historians are unable to identify their lineage with any other European race, whose ancient language and customs still are preserved, whom neither the Romans nor the Visigoths had ever been able to subjugate, strenuously resisted and were only nominally subdued. As we have already seen, the Basques were capable of putting up a long resistance to the Frank domination in the time of Charlemagne. When Charlemagne extended his sway to the Ebro River, these states lost their independence and were merged into the territory of the Spanish Mark. The people again returned to the lowlands. They are referred to in a document of 812 as *pagenses* (peasants). This native population was increased by Frank incomers, for there was a heavy colonization of the Spanish Mark under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. This led to frequent raids of the Christians upon the Mohammedan territory south of them and thus bred a fanatical hatred of the Mohammedans, an intense Catholicism, and a proneness for fighting — all striking characteristics of the medieval Spaniard.

Alfonso I (739–56)

Basques

Spanish Mark

In the break-up of the Frank Empire in the ninth century the Spanish Mark split into four parts. The eastern end became the county of Barcelona; in the northwest Asturias emerged and began to expand. Between these two states two other middle principalities began to be formed, the little "saddle-bag" kingdom of Navarre around Pampeluna, and the county of Aragon in the valley of the Arga, a northern affluent, or rather torrent, of the upper Ebro, with Jaca as its center. Navarre took least part in the expansion of Christian Spain, for she was long blocked by the Moorish occupation of Saragossa. Aragon, on the other hand, found her destiny in pushing down the Ebro, absorbing the county of Barcelona in the process, and then taking to oversea expansion. It was not until the thirteenth century that Aragon began to develop towards the south.

County of Barcelona

Navarre

Aragon

The peninsula was thus left free for Asturias to take the initiative, and valiantly she did so. From her emanated that aggressive movement which ultimately led to the union of Spain. The first notable advance was made by Alfonso II (died 842), who captured Oviedo, the first capital of the

Expansion of the Asturias

kingdom, where, we are told, " he decorated his palace with pictures " — one may think depicting the history of Santiago, or St. James of Compostella, Spain's patron saint, whose shrine was not far distant from Oviedo. Some twenty years later Ordono (850–66) captured the old Roman city of León (the name is derived from the Latin *legio,* a legion), between the mountains of Asturias and the Douro, and Asturias was on the road to inland Spain. The expansion continued under Alfonso III (866–910), before whom town after town fell " *gladio aut fame* — by sword or hunger."

Formation of the Kingdom of León

The Christians were now in occupation of the principal places situated upon, or in the valley of, the Douro from San Esteban de Gormaz and Aranda down to Toro and Zamora. They even pushed their victorious campaigns beyond the mountains of Galicia and the chain of the Guadarrama to the coast which later was to become Portugal, and made themselves masters of Vizeu and Coimbra, south of the Douro, and occupied Oporto. Alfonso III took the double title: King of Asturias and León.

Origin of Castile

Alfonso III established that important frontier policy which was destined to leave an indelible mark upon Spain. This was the system of building castles along the border between Christian and Moor, behind which the population of cattle- and sheep-raisers and small farmers might live and labor without molestation. The most dangerous point along this border was in the southeast, and there the King made a " mark " or buffer region, and " built many castles to protect it." Thus (Old) Castile, named for its many castles, came into being. Fortunately, at this time the Spanish khalifate was torn by civil war and secession movements among the emirs of the provinces. The successors of Alfonso III took advantage of this weakness of the enemy and threw out new lines of castles behind which settlers flowed in and occupied the soil, peopling old towns and founding new villages. The more important of these settlements (*poblaciones*) were given charters of privilege, known as *fueros* — the earliest municipal documents of medieval history, earlier even than those of the Italian towns. Among such were Burgos, Ovierna, Oca, Coruña del Conde, San Esteban de Gormaz, and Sepulveda. By the end of the tenth century this frontier mark of León, growing stronger by what it fed on, had become independent of the mother state. The bloody defeat by the Moors in 995 in the battle of Inmansour checked its expansion for a few years, but the victory of Sancho Garcias in 1002 at Calatañazor ruined the Arabic hope of stemming the Christian tide, and marks the beginning of Mohammedan decline in Spain. Castile's advance was resumed along wider lines. More *poblaciones* were founded south of the Douro, and new *fueros* granted. " The King gave good customs in all Castile," says the chronicle.

Navarre, in spite of its small area, had declared itself a kingdom in 905 under Sancho I, who had formerly been a monk, but, tiring of life in a monastery, had gone forth into the world to fight the Mohammedan and to conquer Aragon, and had founded a dynasty. In the first quarter of the eleventh century Navarre was united for a short season with León-Castile under Sancho III (1000–35), who by inheritance became also king of Castile in 1028. When he died, seven years later, he divided his realms among his three sons, whose mother was a Castilian princess; so that from this date we must keep in mind three kingdoms in Spain: León-Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and, in addition, the county of Barcelona. The blood of the house of Pelayo was mingled with that of the house of Sancho of Navarre in these three dynasties. Navarre was given to the eldest son, Garcia IV (died 1054); Castile to his second son, Ferdinand (1035–65); Aragon to his third son, Ramiro (died 1063).

History of León-Castile

We will follow the history of León-Castile first. It is necessary to explain the law of royal succession, for it exercised an important influence upon the development of the Spanish monarchy. For some time the kingship was elective among the Christians of the Asturias, as it had been among the Goths. But now instead of being violently disputed by various families, it devolved upon the family of Pelayo. The crown thus became the exclusive possession of this house. But for more than a century the crown rarely passed in the direct line. No son of the deceased king succeeded to the crown if he was a minor, or not possessed of the qualities of mind and body necessary for a king. Little by little, however, this system yielded to hereditary succession, and in order to prevent an interim and provide for continuity of rule, the king chose his successor in advance. This was the same principle as that which was practiced by the first Capetian kings of France, and which operated so effectively for the elevation of the monarchy. The royal office and the patrimony and crown lands of the house passed intact to the new king. By the tenth century the kingship had become a real authority and a proprietorship in one.

The latter condition entailed an unfortunate effect. Alfonso the Great (866–910) divided his realm, like a domain, between his two sons, one of whom received the Asturias and León, the other Galicia. The minor kings Ramiro III in 967 and Alfonso V in 999 succeeded their fathers by right of blood in spite of incapacity of age. Moreover, the hereditary monarchy having gradually developed out of an elective monarchy, the patrimonial principle on which it was based finally led to the recognition also of female succession in event of the absence of a male heir to the throne. Thus Spain became the only kingdom in medieval Europe which recognized the right of female succession and the sovereignty of a queen.

Ferdinand I, (1037–65) who in some sense may be regarded as the founder of a new Castilian dynasty, extended and organized his kingdom. Once more the frontier dilated, new castles were erected, new towns sprang up behind them. It was Ferdinand I who took the formal title: King of

Castile. When he died, instead of preserving the unity of his territories, he divided his realms among his sons. In this we see again a departure from the policy of the French monarchy. Comparative institutions are instructive to study. The eldest, Sancho, received Castile from the Ebro to Ávila; Alfonso, the second son, received the realms of Oviedo (old Asturias) and León down to Salamanca; Garcia, the youngest, was given Galicia and Portugal.

This dismemberment of territory, based on the patrimonial principle, which would have been fatal in France, had something to commend it in Spain. Unlike France, in which everything in the way of power and wealth tended to gravitate towards the Paris basin, the physical center of the country, Spain has no physical center, no focal point, and hence was long in developing political and territorial unity. Indeed, provincial particularism is still a vivid tendency in Spain, especially in Catalonia and Valencia. Spain has never erased the lines of the old kingdoms out of whose union she was composed.

Spain resembles the part of Africa which is opposite to it in physique. The Pyrenees and their extension, the Cantabrian range, cover the whole north of the country. Midway of the peninsula another range, the Guadarrama, with its extension, horizontally cuts the country in twain. In the south the Sierra Morena rises to a knot of imposing peaks. The broad areas between these ranges, except in the valleys of the Ebro and the Guadalquivir, are not lowlands, but plateaus, semi-arid in nature, so that agriculture has always been slight and cattle-raising and sheep-raising have been the chief economic enterprises. Except for the Ebro and the Guadalquivir again, the rivers are not navigable, because of their swift current in the torrential season of spring, when the snow on the mountains is melting, and because of their low water in summer. This physical dislocation made political unity difficult. On the other hand it promoted that desultory warfare so congenial to the temperament of both the highlander and the Bedouin and hence the nature of the warfare between the Christian and the Moor.

History of Aragon

According to tradition, Aragon was established in 780, but it is impossible to prove. Under the rule of Sancho III of Navarre (970–1035) Aragon was united with Navarre. Its particular history begins with Sancho's son Ramiro I (1035–63). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries Aragon slowly spread southwards towards the Ebro, overrunning the territory of the emirate of Saragossa lying north of the river until in 1146 the citadeled city of Saragossa was taken. Already, nine years earlier, Aragon and the county of Barcelona had become united as the kingdom of Aragon. This event profoundly altered the history of Aragon. For Barcelona, whose population was of almost pure Gothic blood, had strong affiliation with southern France. Indeed, down to 1017 it was a vassal county of the great counts of Toulouse, and by marriage the king of Aragon became also count of Provence in 1167. This relation was ruptured by the Albigensian crusade, and in 1213 Aragon lost its French possessions to the crown of France. It was only after this event that Aragon resumed her aggression against Mohammedan territory in Spain.

Spanish Islam

This observation brings us to consideration of the history of the khalifate of Córdoba and the Mohammedan history of Spain. The Ommeyad dynasty maintained the power and unity of the vast territory that the Arabs had conquered until the overthrow of the house in 1031. Its greatest ruler was Abd-er-Rahman III (912–61). It was a period of splendor and prosperity. The khalifate was more civilized, more industrious, more powerful than the Christian states in the north. Mohammedan Spain in these centuries was the most united, the richest, the most advanced state in Europe. The Arabs introduced the palm, the carob-tree, sugar-cane, cotton, the mulberry, and silk-culture. Their agriculture was as ingenious as productive. An intricate system of irrigation carried water from the mountains to the plains and fertilized immense tracts. They terraced the slopes with vineyards. Villages multiplied and the towns were densely populated and throve with commerce and industry. Mosques, baths, bazaars, libraries, and schools ministered to religion, hygiene, and intellectual pursuits. Jews were numerous and materially and intellectually contributed to the brilliant civilization. Thousands of Christians also lived prosperously under Mohammedan rule, preserving their religion, but losing their original language, so that the Bible and service-books were written, not in Latin, but in Arabic. We know of six churches in Toledo and four in Granada which kept to the old ritual of St. Isidore and St. Ildefonso. But many Christians embraced Mohammedanism.

Brilliance of civilization

During this brilliant period Mohammed-ben-Abdallah, surnamed Al-Mansur, or the Victorious, a great general, won battle after battle over the Christians. Twice Zamora was taken in spite of its seven walls and ditches; Simancas was razed, Astorga ruined, even Santiago devastated; the walls of León were leveled, so that the city remained deserted for twenty years. King Bermudo II (died 999) was compelled to remove the capital of León back again to Oviedo, the cradle of the Asturias. The Arabs occupied the defiles of the Asturias, and all the petty Christian principalities of the north, including Navarre and the territory of Barcelona, were systematically ravaged. The Christians lost the plains, but preserved their fortresses in the mountains. It was not until the great Christian victory at Calatañazor (1002) that the Mohammedan advance was stopped.

This reverse of the arms of the Spanish khalifate was followed by speedy decline of Mohammedan power. In 1031 the Ommeyad dynasty was deposed and Córdoba became a petty kingdom. One after another

Decline of khaliphate of Córdoba after 1031

the emirs or provincial governors revolted and established themselves independently in their provinces. The khalifate decomposed in the eleventh century, like the Frank Empire in the ninth century, and a crowd of local dynasties arose in Málaga, Seville, Badajoz, Toledo, Valencia, Murcia, Almería, Saragossa, Lérida, Granada, etc.

Christian conquests

The Christians profited by this dismemberment to extend their power. They recovered the territories which they had formerly lost and marched to new conquests. In the east they captured Tarragona, Fraga, Barbastro in the basin of the Ebro; in central Spain they took Salamanca, Segovia, Guadalajara, Uceda, and Cuenca, and in 1085 crowned this great campaign with the capture of Toledo. The Tagus River was reached. In the west Santarem, Cintra, and Lisbon were occupied. By this time they were masters of over half the peninsula; the emirs of Seville, Saragossa, and Badajoz paid tribute. Ruy Diaz, called by the Arabs the Cid (or Lord), who died in 1099, was the hero of this period. In 1094 he captured Valencia and reigned there in almost complete independence until his death. But, far from being the ideal of Spanish chivalry, the Cid was a cruel and sometimes traitorous ruffian, playing fast and loose between Christian and Moor. The Cid of history is one thing, the Cid of poetry and romance is another.

Toledo captured (1085)

The Cid

Fury of the conflict

Words cannot convey the desperate and destructive nature of this great expansion. The war between Christian and Moor was an irrepressible conflict that elicited every species of human ambition and ferocity, political, economic, religious. The rigor of the means reflected the violence of the purpose. Devastation preceded dispossession. Towns were razed, farmsteads destroyed, fields ravaged, trees cut down, the population driven out or slain in each successive zone of territory that the Castilians overran. To this day a portion of the central plateau of Spain is known as the "*despoblado*," and is still a sparsely populated region of the kingdom, a treeless plain.

Spanish feudalism

Politically this territory, which was in the nature of a new mark to the old mark of Castile, was organized as New Castile, and the distinction still abides as local historical nomenclature in Spain. As formerly, colonization of the occupied territory followed acquisition. But there were fewer *poblaciones* or chartered towns than before. Instead, the leaders of the invasion were given huge tracts of land by the crown, and a feudal form of government developed. Immense domains and a powerful landed aristocracy of clergy and nobility — the *ricos hombres,* or "rich men" — sprang up in central Spain, unlike the condition in the north. Lesser magnates were known as *hidalgos* and *caballeros*. The former answered to a small noble, the latter to a simple knight. In the twelfth century, when the crusades had familiarized Europe with military orders, three Spanish military orders were created — a phenomenon not appearing elsewhere —

Military orders

the orders of Calabrana (1156), of Santiago de Espada, or St. James of the Sword (1170), and of Alcántara (1177).

French influence in Spain

French feudal influence was very strong in Castile in the eleventh century and affected Spanish civilization in many ways. For, as was pointed out in a preceding chapter, the Church in France, in order to repress the private war indulged in by the baronage, not only instituted the Peace of God and the Truce of God to restrain the evil, but also endeavored to divert this warlike propensity abroad against the infidels in Spain. In this wise the Christian conquest of Spain was a national crusade and forerunner of the crusades in the Holy Land. French adventurous nobles with the *Song of Roland* on their lips, in the wake of whom followed French Cluniac monks, chanting the battle-hymn of the medieval Church, " Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered," flocked into the peninsula and were granted lands in fief and feudal privileges. William of Navarre enrolled fighting monks under his banner. The very architecture of Spain of this age preserves the memory of this French influence. French architects designed and French masons built the cathedral of Burgos, French military engineers walled and bastioned the new towns. Castles in Spain were not emanations of romance and dream, but grim realities. The intellectual and spiritual culture introduced by the French perished — it was too exotic to survive — but the physical influence abides in the monuments.

Almoravide invasion (1086)

But if Islam was weakened in Spain, it was strong in Africa. The Berbers had embraced Mohammedanism with avidity, and the fanaticism which had characterized the earliest history of Islam, but had declined in the East after the conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, persisted in the Maghreb. This flame was kept alive chiefly by zealots called *marabouts,* who became popular saints or " holy men." Thus across the straits arose the formidable sect of the Almoravides, by whose aid the fanatical Berber chieftain Yussuf made himself master of Fez, Meknes, Ceuta, Tangier, Oran, Tlemsen, Algiers, and Tunis and founded Morocco, and so created a vast Mohammedan empire in northern Africa. It was natural that Mohammedanism, beaten in Spain, looked to Africa for assistance. The hard-pressed emirs of Seville, Badajoz, Granada, and Almería appealed to Yussuf, who invaded Spain in 1086. But the emirs promptly discovered that they had called in a ruler who had no intention of preserving them as independent feudatories, but conquered their territories and suppressed them. Granada succumbed in 1090, Seville, Murcia, Almería were conquered in 1091, Badajoz in 1094, Valencia in 1102. Invasion of the Christian territories followed. Saragossa was lost in 1110. But Toledo resisted all Almoravide effort. Its remarkable physical site on a great rock almost enveloped by a loop in the Tagus stood it in good stead. In 1135 the Castilians were beaten in the battle of Alarcos, but it was a sterile victory.

This second grand Mohammedan invasion of the peninsula, formidable as it was, was far less disastrous than that in 711. For Castile held firm and lost only Valencia, and Aragon's sole loss was Saragossa.

Almohade invasion

Christian conquests

Origin of Portugal

The collapse of the Afro-Spanish empire of the Almoravides, however, was as swift as its rise. For a new fanatical sect sprang up in the twelfth century in the Maghreb which overthrew the dynasty of Yussuf. This was the Almohades, born of the preaching of a *mahdi* named Abdallah-ben-Tumers. Between 1120 and 1146 the Almohades conquered the empire of Morocco and then carried the war against the Almoravides into Spain, whose state decomposed as rapidly as it had arisen. Far from being dismayed by this second Mohammedan invasion, Castile and Aragon took the offensive. The Aragonese recovered Saragossa and captured Tudela, Tarragona, Lérida, Calatayud, and Daroca, and so the kingdom was more than doubled in size. The Castilians, for their part, under Alfonso VII (died 1157) conquered Baeza in the basin of the Guadalquivir and even penetrated to the Mediterranean and for a short time occupied Almería, over against the African coast. While the Christians in the eastern part of the Spanish peninsula reached the frontiers of the emirate of Valencia, which in the next century they were destined to absorb; while those of central Spain fortified the line of the Tagus and placed on the Guadiana their advance posts, which were entrusted to the three military orders, the county of Portugal in the west between the Douro and the Minho, which in 1095 had been granted as a Castilian fief to a Burgundian count named Henry, under his grandson Alonzo in 1140 liberated itself from this over-lordship and emerged into history as the kingdom of Portugal.

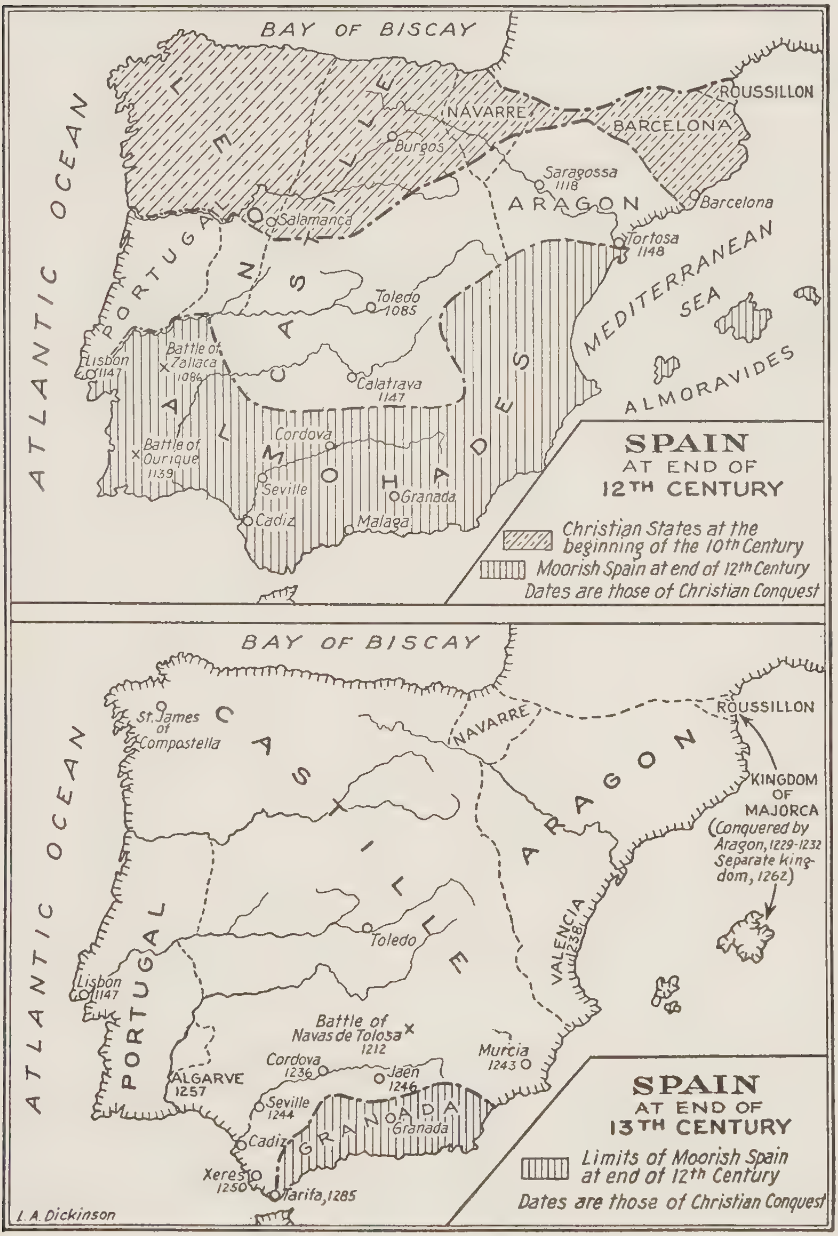
Battle of Tolosa (1212)

Pope Innocent III, ever on the alert, in addition to inspiring the Fourth Crusade and that against the Catharists in southern France, also preached a crusade against the Almohavides, and some of the warriors who participated in the first Albigensian Crusade poured down into the peninsula. The issue was the smashing Christian victory at Navas de Tolosa on July 16, 1212. Henceforth Spanish Islam was perpetually on the defensive. The Almohade empire proved as ephemeral as that of the Almoravides before it.

Alfonso X of Castile

James I of Aragon

Under the long rule of Alfonso X (1236–84) in Castile and that of James I (1213–76) in Aragon, the expansion and monarchical development in both realms resembled the growth of the French monarchy in the reign of their contemporary St. Louis. Alfonso X's political ideal was absolutism. His reign is characterized by the final establishment of hereditary succession, the development of a court officialdom, decline in the power of the nobles, and increasing centralization in the administrative and judicial organization. This tendency was aided by the introduction of the Roman law into Spain as Philip II had introduced it into France in the beginning of the century. Castile's external development was commensurate with this internal hardening. Seville was wrested from the Mohammedans in 1248, Cadiz in 1262. Castile at last had reached the sea and entered upon a thriving commerce.


BAY OF BISCAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LEON
CASTILLE
NAVARRE
BARCELONA
ROUSSILLON
Burgos
Saragossa 1118
ARAGON
Barcelona
Salamanca
PORTUGAL
Tortosa 1148
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Toledo 1085
Lisbon 1147
Battle of Zallaca 1086
Calatrava 1147
ALMORAVIDES
ALMOHADES
Cordova
Battle of Ourique 1139
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Malaga
SPAIN AT END OF 12TH CENTURY
Christian States at the beginning of the 10th Century
Moorish Spain at end of 12th Century
Dates are those of Christian Conquest
BAY OF BISCAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
St. James of Compostella
CASTILLE
NAVARRE
ROUSSILLON
ARAGON
KINGDOM OF MAJORCA (Conquered by Aragon, 1229-1232 Separate kingdom, 1262)
Toledo
VALENCIA 1238
Lisbon 1147
PORTUGAL
Battle of Navas de Tolosa 1212
Murcia 1243
Cordova 1236
Jaen 1246
ALGARVE 1257
Seville 1244
GRANADA
Granada
Cadiz
Xeres 1250
Tarifa, 1285
SPAIN AT END OF 13TH CENTURY
Limits of Moorish Spain at end of 12th Century
Dates are those of Christian Conquest
L. A. Dickinson

Union of Barcelona and Aragon (1137)

In contrast with the late arrival of Castile to blue water, Aragon, as has been mentioned, had reached the sea through union with Barcelona in 1137 and thus, a century before her rival, had become a commercial power, holding sway also over a rich cluster of counties in southern France, notably Montpellier, until these were lost to France as an aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade. It was these French losses that inspired James I of Aragon to the conquest of Valencia in 1225. But Aragon left further conquest in the peninsula to Castile and took the sea as her heritage. In 1229 the Balearic Islands were conquered from the Almohavides. Catalonian vessels traded with the ports of Africa, Tunis, Bougia, and Ceuta, and even in the Levant, where Aragonese merchants mingled with but did not rival those of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles. In 1262 James I made a dynastic and commercial treaty with Manfred, the Emperor Frederick II's brilliant son, in the marriage of the Crown Prince of Aragon with Manfred's daughter Constance. The political profit of this alliance, which is dwelt upon at length in another chapter, may be briefly expressed here. Lower Italy and Sicily were conquered from Manfred in 1268 by Charles of Anjou; in 1282 the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers destroyed the French domination in Sicily. That revolution was sustained by the gold and fleet of Aragon, which took possession of Sicily, thereby becoming a great maritime power in the Mediterranean; and when, in 1469, Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, Sicily passed with nationalized Spain into modern history.

Sea-power of Aragon

Sicily

More than once a parallel or an analogy has been drawn in preceding paragraphs between the development of the two Spanish monarchies and that of France. The comparison is impressive and may be extended further. The code of laws ordained by Alfonso X matches the *Établissements* of St. Louis. Most interesting and important in both kingdoms is the cortes or assembly of estates, the Spanish analogue to the English parliament in this same century and the French *états généraux* in the next. The three estates were the church prelates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, together with the masters of the three military orders, who, although warriors, had privilege of clergy; the great nobles or *ricos hombres;* and representatives of the cities. The large number of cities (*cibdades,* later form *ciudad,* both words being derived from the Latin *civitas,* a city), with their historic customs (*fueros*), made the representation of this last class important and more influential than similar representation in either England or France. Despite the growth of absolutism in Spain, it is only from the subjugation of the "great rebellion of the *fueros*" in 1523 by Charles V that absolute monarchy in Spain may be dated. The Spanish cortes, with burgher representation, first appears in 1133 and 1139 in Aragon, when we find *procuradores* of the towns sitting by the side of

Laws

Cortes

Cities

clerics and nobles; in 1169 and 1188–9 we find similar representation in the cortes of Castile. The dates are important, for popular representation in England is not found before 1265, not before 1302 in France, and not before 1344 in the German diet.

The end of the thirteenth century closes an era in medieval Spanish history, just as it terminates an epoch in the history of the formation of the French monarchy.

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CHAPTER XXIV

FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL SOCIETY

Not a little has been written in previous chapters about feudalism and feudal society in medieval Europe, and the reader should have something more than a hazy idea of its origin, its operation, its social and economic conditions. But no effort has so far been made to present this subject as a whole, to analyze its elements, to describe its nature, to explain its working, to show how in a multitude of ways feudalism was an expression of the spirit of the age and a development out of the conditions of the time.

Feudalism as a civilization

Feudalism was the most typical expression of medieval civilization — indeed, it may with truth be said that it *was* medieval civilization. It was universal in its prevalence, and vertically it extended from the ground beneath men's feet to the throne of God, for in the Middle Ages the very theologians were imbued with feudal ideas, as has already been pointed out in the chapter upon the Church.

Ignorant ideas concerning feudalism

The word "feudalism" has a repellent sound in men's ears today. This feeling is due to the influence of the French Revolution. But in 1789 what survived of feudalism in France was but the antiquated and decrepit remnants of it. An institution in its senility and an institution in its historical prime are very different things. In the Middle Ages feudalism was a natural institution; in the eighteenth century it was an anachronism; it had lost its usefulness, and what survived of it was an abuse or a nuisance.

"Feudal system" a misnomer

Like all great and widespread institutions feudalism was a growth, a gradual development; its roots extended deep down into the past; its origins were complex; its nature was various and intricate. It was at one and the same time a form of government, a social structure, an economic condition, a political and social philosophy. But it never was a "system," if by that term one means an ordered, highly regularized regime, always consistent and uniform in its functioning. It is true that one may theoretically so contend, and the French political philosophers of the eighteenth century, who were much influenced by the symmetry of Cartesian philosophy, worked out a schematic system on paper, which had little relation to historical reality. The word "system" as applied to feudalism is a misnomer that has been inherited from the *ancien régime* and has unfortunately been preserved. The word conveys an utterly wrong impression, for it implies system where there was no system and qualitative and quantitative fixity of things, whereas extreme variability both of kind and of degree is a striking characteristic of feudalism.

A form of government based on land tenure

Fundamentally, feudalism may be described as a form of government based upon land tenure. The feudal State was not a state such as we today understand by that term, but " an ordering of the common life with reference to an estate " — that is, a ruling class in society. The feudal " state " existed only within the limits of the feudal ties of overlordship (suzerainty) and underlordship (vassalage), and every feudal state expanded or contracted by the entry of outside vassals into it or the secession of vassals within it to establish feudal relation with another lord outside of the circle in which they once had been.

Origins of feudalism

The roots of feudalism were of Roman, German, and Celtic origin.[1] The proportion of these ingredients and the degree of fusion of them determined the nature of each particular element found in feudalism. Some feudal institutions were more affected by one influence, some by another; some institutions appeared earlier than others; some developed faster than others. There is infinite variety of detail in feudalism as found in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and England. But everywhere it was fundamentally the same in its nature and characterized by the political control of the landed aristocracy.

Precarium

Small landowners

This landed aristocracy originated in the latter years of the Roman Empire, when the imperial government in its weakness conferred rights of local administration upon the great proprietors in the provinces, or else the latter usurped them and exercised them in a *de facto* capacity, which gradually by usage became legalized. In two practices of the fourth and fifth centuries — namely, the precarium and the patrocinium, we find germs of future feudalism. Both arose out of maladministration, the need of protection, the economic distress, the social pressure of the time. The *precarium* was a form of land tenure which became common in the later Roman Empire, by the terms of which a small landholder, feeling the need of protection in the troublous times, surrendered the title to his holding to a great landed proprietor, but still remained in occupation of it as a tenant. It was not a contract, for the occupant had no redress if the lord chose to evict him; and for the reason that the tenant's occupancy was " precarious," the practice was so called. In actual experience, however, eviction seldom happened; for mutual benefit was derived from the relation. The lord increased the acreage of his domain and was assured of constant labor upon it from which he derived a profit, while the tenant, under the protection of a grand proprietor, was measurably safe from molestation. The imperial government at first promoted this form of land tenure as a means of establishing protection in the countryside when brigandage was rife and its own police power unable to cope with the violence of the time. But later, when this practice was resorted to by a small landholder driven to desperation by heavy taxes, in order to escape the tax-collector, the government tried in vain to suppress the precarium. The system became a widespread form of land tenure, for it answered a real need of the time, and the government was unable to stop it. The day came when a grand proprietor could defy the tax-collector and armed his domestic servants and field hands and drove government officials off of his domain. When that condition was reached, the great noble was not merely a grand proprietor, he was a local magnate, a petty ruler, exercising in a *de facto* capacity the functions of the government within his patrimonies over all the tenantry, *coloni,* and slaves upon them.

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[1] There were quasi-feudal conditions to be found in the Byzantine Empire, like the grand landed proprietorship of the *dunatoi* in Asia Minor. But feudalism obtained *as a form of government* only in western Europe.

Patrocinium: the landless man

The *patrocinium* differed from the precarium in that it was a practice which grew up for the support and protection of the landless man, who may never have been anything but a casual free laborer, or who may have been an artisan unable to find work, or one who had had a small plot of ground which he had been compelled to mortgage and ultimately lost under foreclosure proceedings, or perhaps the property had been confiscated by the government for arrears of taxes. A man in such plight would go to a great landed proprietor in his locality and pray him for shelter and means of support of his family, in return for which he would labor upon the lord's acres. If the lord complied, the man would be allowed permission to live in a hovel somewhere on the domain, where usually he would find others in like plight, so that a ragged village of such tenants might spring up, different in social ingredients, different in custom, different even in location, from the slave quarters or the hamlet of *coloni* upon the estate. But in time all these low degrees of late Roman society intermingled and fused to form the serf and slave peasantry of medieval Europe.

This double system of *precaria* and *patrocinia* was general in the Western Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Church arose to power and became a great landowner, and when the Germans began to settle within the Empire. The effect was to extend the practices more and more. The Church in especial, whose canons early forbade complete alienation of its landed property, utilized the precarium as a form of investment. But the laity, Roman or German, also made more and more use of the device, and in the time of the Merovingians we find royal officials and the kings themselves letting their lands *in precario.* At the same time, too, the *patrocinium* continued and became very general during the violence of the civil wars of the sixth and seventh centuries, when the crying need of the lower classes was for protection. " If the Roman world was more civilized than the mediæval, it was proportionately more incapable of local self-help if anything happened to the central government and to the regular army. Indeed, the feudal system gradually arose out of the welter of the barbarian invasions precisely to remedy this vital defect in the social organism."[1]

Celtic sources

So far these two germs of future feudalism — for that is what they were — show only Roman derivation. But one may not say that historically feudalism was solely of Roman origin. For the Celts of Gaul and the incoming Germans possessed two institutions which influenced the development of these germs. Cæsar informs us that the Celtic nations were aggregations of *clans,* and that the Gallic chieftain was surrounded by a body of *clients,* who lived upon his bounty, executed his will in the rude government of the clan, and were his armed retainers in war. It is easy to see that there is an analogy between the Roman grand landed proprietor surrounded by tenants and dependent freemen, whom he might arm if need arose, and the Celtic chieftain surrounded by his clients. But did Gallic clientage influence the Roman institution? Is there an organic connection between the two institutions by fusion and cross-fertilization?

German sources

The same question arises in regard to the German war-band or "following" — what Roman writers called the *comitatus.* Among the early Germans a bold and hardy leader often had a faithful body of warriors who fought and died with him and for him. It was a point of honor for them so to do. How far did the German war-band affect these Roman and Gallic institutions with which it came in contact in the fifth century? Here also is something analogous to the Gallic chieftain surrounded by armed clients and to the Roman proprietor surrounded by armed domestics. Did the idea and the practice of the German *comitatus* fuse with the other two institutions? We cannot say exactly in what way or how far these three separate practices were fused together, but no historian doubts that there was fusion. The armed client of the Gaul, the armed retainer of the Roman, the comrade in arms of the early German appear as one in the Gothic and Frankish codes, and are called *buccelarii* or *vassi dominici,* or, in the case of the Merovingian kings, *antrustions.* These terms are of interest, for the first is of Roman, the second of Celtic, the third of German origin. A *buccelarius* (compare the word buckler) was an armed retainer; a *vassus dominicus* was an armed client of a lord (this is the meaning of *vassus;* the word *dominicus* is an adjective from *dominus,* lord); an *antrustion* was an armed retainer of the Frank king, who was in the king's "trust."

Fusion of elements

If we analyze the elements in each of these relations, we discover that service of a military and pecuniary nature is at the bottom of every one of them. But there is a distinction, not of degree, but of kind, in the performance of this service, arising out of the social cleavage of the time.

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[1] Trevelyan, *History of England,* p. 37.

The Roman, and later the ecclesiastical and German precarist was clearly in better condition towards his lord than the patrocinist, and this cleavage widened into the breach between the service required of small and lesser landed proprietors to a grand landed proprietor, and the services exacted of an unfree tenantry. In a word, the former developed into noble service, the latter into servile. In like manner the Gallic *vassus* and the German *antrustion* became a lesser noble, holding his land on condition of service to his overlord. Accordingly we are to see here the very important distinction between the upper side and the lower side of feudalism. The feudal regime was strictly the relation between noble and noble (including the king, who was the first of nobles), the relation of greater nobles to nobles of less degree, this degree fundamentally reposing upon differences in landed wealth. On the other hand, the lower side of feudalism, known as the manorial regime, had to do with the relation of every landed proprietor with the servile tenantry upon his property. Each estate of a lord was called a manor (*mansus,* earlier Latin *villa*), whence the term "manorial" was derived. This distinction is an absolute one and must be clearly understood, else vast confusion and misunderstanding of medieval history will ensue. The difference may be roughly illustrated (though the analogy must be used with caution and not pushed far) if we compare the relation of the cotton-planters of the old South before the Civil War in 1861–65 to one another, and their relation to the slave population upon their plantations. It is obvious to any American student of history that these two relations were quite different, politically, economically, and socially.

Commendation

In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries these quasi-feudal practices gradually insinuated themselves into government, especially in the Frankish monarchy, and the widespread domination of the Franks made them general in course of time for all of western Europe, although it is to be understood that we find similar or the same quasi-feudal practices among the Anglo-Saxons, the Visigoths in Spain, and the Lombards. The relation between lord and lord, between the greater and the less lord, was given a character of personal loyalty by the custom of *commendation,* a formula of adherence and support recited by the "vassal" (if we may so call him by anticipation) when he "commended" his person and lands to the overlord. This relation, however, was not a contractual one at first and could not be enforced in the courts. Moreover, it was one-sided. The protection expected of the overlord was more implied than expressed, and the services of the "vassal" were ill defined. In addition, there was no positive guarantee that the *vassus* might not lose his land if the overlord chose to dispossess him. It was still a "precarious" relation. Nevertheless, in spite of this indefiniteness and this quasi-legal nature, the universality of the practice of commendation gave the institution the force of customary law. The whole administrative structure of government and of Church was permeated and pervaded by this custom.

We can follow the process of feudal penetration of public law and administration under the Franks quite clearly. The kings, the Church, the great proprietors, in order both to increase their power and to invest their wealth in land, extended the system of precaria. This was the property side of the development. The lands so engaged were called benefices (*beneficia*), and in them we have the emergence of one of the most important institutions of the later feudal regime. With the appearance of the word we have also the development of clearer practice and definition. The word itself is obviously Latin, but we may not say that the thing itself, the institution, was wholly of Roman or of German or of Celtic origin. In fact, it originated in the political and economic conditions and problems of the time, and the racial factor in its composition may be left unconsidered. In a word, the benefice may better be looked upon as a customary practice of the Merovingian period, without seeking for remote foreshadowings of it. The benefice was a grant of land made by a great proprietor, the king or a bishop or an abbot, to a lesser landed proprietor, or even to a freeman, who took an oath of fidelity therefor. But the nature and terms of this fidelity and the nature and terms of the services to be rendered were vague. The grant was a conditional one, but the nature and extent of the conditions were not defined. In practice it was oftenest for life or during good behavior, but precisely what good behavior might consist in was not clear. It would depend upon the tolerance or justice or patience or whim of grantor and grantee alike. Either might break it and make the conduct of the other a ground of reproach. And yet, in the flux and flow, the shift and heave of things as we discover them in the Merovingian epoch, there can be no doubt that the generality of this practice of commendation and benefice — in which we discover the germ of the lordship and homage of the realized feudal epoch — made for such political and social stability as we find.

Benefices

Sharper definition of the nature of service, clearer indication of its contractual nature, and added dignity were given the system of benefice-holding in the time of the great mayor of the palace Charles Martel (714–41). By this time the burden of warfare among the Franks had become so heavy that practically only a man who owned land was able to perform military service, since the government neither furnished equipment nor compensated for service. Moreover, a new and heavy burden was entailed by the Saracenic invasions of southern Gaul during this time. The Saracens were mounted forces, while most of the Franks fought on foot, as their forefathers had done. If the Franks were to be able to compete with this new foe, they had to be mounted and become used to equestrian warfare. The operation was a long and expensive one, but

Charles accomplished it. In order to effect it he was compelled by force of circumstances to confiscate immense tracts of land from the Church, which was far and away the richest landholder in Gaul, in defiance of the anathema of the clergy. This land was divided into areas of various size, depending upon conditions, and distributed to selected nobles, as "benefices," (later called fiefs) the holding of which was dependent upon the discharge of military service by the lordly grantee and his retainers, variously denominated *vassi, satellites, fideles,* etc. Lay nobles and the high clergy, bishops and abbots, were held to military service. In this wise military service became regularized and dependent upon land tenure, the art of war became an important ecclesiastical accomplishment, and finally the benefice became a legal institution, controlled by the crown. Charles Martel's act was a long stride towards feudalism; it was a feudal arrangement, less inchoate than heretofore, but not yet a full-fledged order of things.

Fidelis *and* Vassus

Charlemagne extended this practice of beneficed lands and legislated voluminously concerning the obligations of the system. Confiscation and forfeiture in event of failure of beneficed landowners to do military service were rigorously enforced. At the same time the old oath of personal loyalty was elevated into an oath of allegiance to the king-emperor, violation of which was treason. The old word *vassus* and the new word *fidelis* — that is, the man who had taken the oath of fidelity — became fused together to mean the same thing; although, to speak more exactly, we should say that one of these was the obverse, the other the reverse side of the same thing. For *vassus* implied the property relation, *fidelis* the personal relation in the engagement arising from the possession of a benefice; the *vassus* "commended" his land rather than himself, but the oath was personal, a sworn promise to be "faithful." It is clear that by the ninth century most of the elements of later feudalism had developed and that something like an institutional picture can be formed for the time. Were it not for the fact that the word "feudalism" has become consecrated by tradition, the term "feudo-vassalism," which has been suggested, might be used. But unfortunately neither of these terms conveys the moral obligation, the sense of loyalty, implied in the oath of fealty. What is needed is a new word that will embody the property concept in "fief," the idea of personal service in "vassal" and the moral quality expressed in "fealty."

Carolingian feudalism

The Carolingian age lay between the Romano-barbarian epoch and the feudal period, and we must look for the transitional links of development of feudalism in it. The disintegration of the Frank Empire in the ninth century, however, broke the Carolingian picture into fragments, and when the various elements were re-formed, the effect was somewhat different from what obtained under the Carolingians. The thousands of benefice-holders had long chafed under the Carolingian rule that a benefice was revocable at the death of the holder and could not descend without royal permission to his heirs, or that it reverted to the crown upon the decease of the king. Possession was nine-tenths of the law to them; they were inclined to regard benefice lands as their own and naturally desired to see these benefices pass on to their heirs like their own hereditary lands. The enforcement of these rules of restraint, as reflection will show, was necessary for the security and preservation of the power, political and economic, of the crown. But the body of the feudality did not see things in this light.

In consequence, in the ninth century, under the weak rule of Louis the Pious and during the civil wars that ensued after his death in 840, the brigandage and pillage of the times, the terror induced by the invasions of the Norsemen, and the universal insecurity and distress, the nascent feudalism of the Carolingian epoch was thrown into the crucible; the institutions were melted, remolded, and recast. Everywhere in the universal débacle the stronger sought the mastery over men and land and built castles to hold them; weaker nobles " commended " themselves to those stronger than they for sake of protection; *fideles* increased, and it was now that the word " vassal " supplanted the word " fidelis " in the documents.[1] The greater nobles were compelled to let large tracts of their house lands and their benefice land, too, which they had once held of the crown and now possessed independently, having cast off all but a tenuous allegiance to the king, to lesser nobles in order to acquire their support and allegiance. In this wise a system of double ownership of land and a mutual relation of nobles became general throughout Europe; man was attached to man, and land attached to land. The Church must be included in this description.

Influence of civil wars and invasions in ninth century

The formation of the feudal regime embraces three series of facts: the dismemberment of the Frank Empire in the ninth century, and the disruptive and violent civil war that ensued; the incursions of the Norse and the Magyars and in the Mediterranean countries the depredations of the Arab corsairs; the formation of new sovereignties of a local nature.

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[1] The greater nobles in this epoch were denominated *principes* or *seniores*, from the latter of which words the medieval French *seigneur* was derived. The growth of overlordship as a fixed institution was of slower development than any other feudal institution. Ninth- and tenth-century feudal society, it has been said, was the freest — that is, the most unrestrained — known to history. It was not until the period of transition, which bordered upon anarchy, was passed, late in the tenth century, and order began to appear out of the chaos, that the word for " overlord " is found in the sources. Then *senior* came to have a specific meaning, although later the term was used to designate any man of noble rank. The Old French word for " overlord," *suzerain*, while descriptive of a *senior*, was not derived from it, but from *suverain*, meaning a superior lord, or " sovereign," not necessarily the king. It was not until the triumph of monarchy in the fifteenth century, when the king became lord paramount or suzerain of all, that the word " sovereign " acquired royal significance exclusively.

The dismemberment of the Frank Empire was superinduced by the partition of it, first in 817 and many times later, and further facilitated by the demand of *fideles* that their benefices be made hereditary and by the action of counts and *missi* in usurping the powers with which they were entrusted and converting them into private jurisdictions. At the same time that the Frank Empire was thus sundered within, from without came the incursions of new barbarians. The result of these, which were coincident with the turmoil of the civil wars, was the localization of political authority and the creation of a swarm of new and petty states the lord of each withholding it against all aggressors and fixing his own authority in the territory by erecting castles.

Homage and fidelity

The form of government and the structure of society were altered by these processes. A warlike political and social aristocracy emerged, each member of which — or at least each great member of which — was an independent chief who paid merely ascription of authority, shadow and not substance, to the king. These great nobles attached lesser nobles to themselves by ties of vassalage and fidelity. The former term implied service, the latter fealty, and both were fused together in the oath and act of homage. The vassal became the lord's " man (*homo*)," from which the word " homage " was derived. For many years this oath was oral, but the formulas of the eleventh century show that it included two duties, " aid (*auxilium*) " and " counsel (*consilium*)." The overlord was called " suzerain," the underlord " vassal." This relation, however, was economic as well as personal, the economic factor in it being the land of the noble. In the Frank Empire in the ninth century some lands were benefices, others freeholds; but the tendency was towards the subservience of all landowners, and consequently their lands, to an overlord, with the result that in practice all subservient lands became benefices. This word, however, became obsolete late in the ninth century and was replaced by a new word, " fief (*feodum*)." Thus the fief became an annex of vassalage and developed into an hereditary holding, subject to the discharge of certain services to the overlord. This process was a very slow one and was realized earlier in France than in Germany. The combination of the Carolingian benefice with vassalage created the fief.

Aids

This slow revolution in form of government, in texture of society, was operative everywhere in central and western Europe after the break-up of the Frank Empire. But it appeared earlier and worked with more intensity in France and Italy; that is to say, the identification of political authority with grand proprietorship is found in the Romance countries of Europe before it is found, by extension, in Germany, which points to the hypothesis that feudalism was fundamentally derived from Roman and not Germanic roots. Much the greater portion of land in the feudal age was held in fief, but freeholders and freehold land (alods) survived as isolated splinters of land. Only in Tuscan Italy and in Saxony do we find extensive areas of still unfeudalized alodial land.

Disappearance of freemen

The emergence of feudalism — that is, the union of vassal with fief — coincided with the disappearance of freemen. The free peasant went down to serfdom under the strain and stress of things; the condition of the serf became harder than before; the small noble commended himself to the great noble. This social differentiation was due to difference of power and at last was recognized by distinction of title, although this distinction was not an invariable or uniform one. The greatest nobles were dukes and margraves, but certain great counts were regarded as on a par with (*peers*) of these. Thus in Germany when the margraves appeared, it was not long before they took equal rank with the great dukes; in Italy it was the same; in France the margrave disappeared, but the counts of Brittany, Flanders, Provence, and Toulouse were on equal footing with the dukes. The generality of nobles, however, were called counts until the fractioning of fiefs gave rise to viscounts (*vice-counts*) and, as the practice of parcellation of lands continued, to barons and chatelains, the latter being lords of a single castle. Thus in course of time a hierarchy of feudal titles came into being in feudal society, which reflected that found among the clergy. A barony was the lowest form of fief in which sovereignty was exercised. Below the grade of baron the noble class raveled out into chatelains, who were mere custodians of a castle, landless knights, who were personal retainers of nobles of various ranks and lived off their bounty, hoping, if lucky, some day to be given a small fief, and others in whom the feudal hierarchy tailed off into chips and dust of the noble class.

Degrees of nobles

Union of property and personal relation

Very many historians have too exclusively regarded land as the base of feudalism. This is truer of the last half of the twelfth and the thirteenth century when the legists coined the formula: "*Nulle terre sans seigneur* — No land without lord," than of the previous centuries, the period of the birth and expansion of feudalism. For then the influential factor was the personal bond of vassalage and homage. The personal relation was more important than the property relation. Proprietorship and contract, with the requirement of services and penalty of forfeiture for failure to perform those services, are later derivatives of earlier feudalism.

Title always designated social rank, but it did not always indicate degree of power. An ambitious and unscrupulous lesser noble sometimes was able by war, intimidation of his neighbors, adroit marriages of himself and his sons and daughters, intrusion of his control over church offices and church lands, abuse of the right of advowson, etc., to build up a formidable combination of vassal lands. Examples are Herbert of

Vermandois in the ninth century, the viscount of Limoges in the eleventh, and the sieur de Coucy in the twelfth, whose boast was that he was " neither duke nor count, but the sire de Coucy."

Nature of the feudal State

Each realm created by the dissolution of the Frank Empire presents the superficial aspect of a loose feudal federation, of which the king was titular president. The realm was divided into titular seigniories known as fiefs, such as the county of Flanders, the duchy of Burgundy, the duchy of Bavaria, the county of Tuscany, etc. These territories were originally duchies and counties of the Frank administrative system which had escaped control of the crown; they were former grand divisions converted into petty and semi-independent principalities by the appropriation of public authority in them by some local dynast. Below these duchies and counties were baronies of different territorial area and different degrees of authority. These latter were a new creation, a product of the age when feudalism was formed, and did not arise from private appropriation of public authority. They sprang from the proprietary power of the great landholding aristocracy, whose members established first a *de facto* and then a *de jure* authority within their vast domains. Outwardly they differed no whit from the great seigniories, except in area and degree of authority. All were fiefs. The noble was always a vassal, a man with a fief. A fief was a territory, technically known as a seigniory, conceded by one noble, to another noble, known as a vassal. This grant was made subject to the fulfillment of certain services by the vassal to the overlord and on condition of absolute fidelity.

By the eleventh century the feudal regime was everywhere established in Europe. In place of a compact and singly governed state, the map would show a swarm of principalities, some very large, some large, some less, and many of exceedingly small dimension, the lords of each of which enjoyed different degrees of independence and sovereignty. Feudalism was never uniform and the same everywhere either as a form of government or as a social structure, and never a " system," if by that term be meant a meticulously differentiated society, a carefully graduated hierarchy rising to an apex in the king-super-suzerain, a neatly divided delegation of authority. This view is an abstraction, the type under which it became customary to picture feudalism in the eighteenth century when the reality of it had passed away. The pattern of feudalism actually was a very random one.

Feudalism a phenomenon of social advancement

As medieval Europe slowly found itself and developed order out of anarchy, justice out of power to rule, law out of custom, honor out of fealty, a new and great civilization came into being. Feudalism was, in fact, a system of licensing administration of justice, exercise of police power, collection of taxes. Every noble had a niche in the arrangement with assigned rights and obligations. In the eleventh century thoughtful men ceased to look back upon the reign of Charlemagne as a golden age. Experience, practice, the force of public opinion, gradually began to define the nature of the institutions that had grown up and to attach a higher sanction than mere power to their enforcement. In Germany, which was the first State to set its house in order after the collapse of the Frank Empire, this tendency appears with the rise of the Saxon house in the tenth century. In France, though intimations of a better condition of things are to be found in a few strong fiefs like Normandy and the lands of the counts of Anjou as early as the late tenth century, the process is not found more than locally or sporadically operative until the eleventh century. In Italy it did not begin until the German intervention in 962.

Rights and duties

The moral significance of this gradual change for the better in feudal Europe is found in the new accent laid upon the duties of the feudality. In former time the nobles had boasted loudly of their "rights," many of which were brutal usurpations of authority or bold arrogations, but they had been callously indifferent to the obligations that the enjoyment of public power entails; they had abused their vassals, refusing them protection and denying them justice, while at the same time exacting the pound of flesh in the form of exploitation and exaction. We detect this new and salutary note in the insistence upon the mutual nature of the relation of suzerain and vassal, in the expressed thought that rights and duties are reciprocal, in the new political doctrine that the feudal bond is a contract or compact, which is abrogated if either party to it fails to live up to its terms and abuses his obligations, whether by insisting upon too many and unjust "rights" or failure to fulfill the customary duties of the relation. In this wise, although most of feudal law was customary and not written, a certain body of legal tradition and precedent and practice was formed and shaped into law, inherent in which was a political theory that finally crystallized into a positive political philosophy.

Origins of modern liberty in feudalism

The immense importance of this development, in spite of the crudeness of much of the legislation of the feudal age, may be appreciated when it is said that feudalism carried within it the germs of liberty: the principle of the liberty of the subject, of the right of a man to be tried by his peers, the right not to be deprived of life or property without process of law, the responsibility of those who rule to do justice under penalty of deposition — a principle leading to the political doctrine of constitutional, limited monarchy — indeed, one may say that the root ideas of Magna Charta, of the English revolution of 1688, and of the American Constitution, were all inherent in the feudal theory of government. On this head it is pertinent to quote a modern distinguished scholar:

> "Rarely indeed can he [the student] declare of any political idea that it is quite new. . . . No subject illustrates more luminously the unity of history than the record of political ideas. . . . We may trace back for ages that sovereign conception of the original contract. . . . It is in the feudal system that

the contractual theory of government took its rise; for it is of its essence. It was feudalism which led to that comparison between private and public rights which makes 'the case of the king'[1] a precedent in private law. . . . Of the original compact theory feudalism was an obvious basis. . . . The final clause of such documents as Magna Charta inevitably imply it. . . . The two elements, the assimilation of public to private right and the mutual nature of the tie between governed and governor existed in the feudal system far more obviously than in any other."[2]

The contract of fief was a reciprocal engagement, which entailed mutual obligations as well as assuring the rights of each party to it. Suzerain and vassal each had " rights and liberties " on the one hand, and " duties and obligations " on the other hand. Fidelity and service had to be reciprocated. We find the expression of this political philosophy and the formulation of these principles of feudal conduct in a letter written by Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, in the year 1020, to Duke William of Aquitaine.

> To William, most glorious duke of the Aquitanians, Bishop Fulbert, the favor of his prayers:
>
> Asked to write something concerning the form of fealty, I have noted briefly for you, on the authority of the books, the things which follow. He who swears fealty to his lord ought always to have six things in memory: what is harmless, safe, honorable, useful, easy, practicable. Harmless, that is to say, that he should not injure his lord in his body; safe, that he should not injure him by betraying his secrets or the defenses upon which he relies for safety; honorable, that he should not injure him in his justice or in other matters that pertain to his honor; useful, that he should not injure him in his possessions; easy and practicable, that that good which his lord is able to do easily he make not difficult nor that which is practicable he make not impossible to him.
>
> That the faithful vassal should avoid these injuries is certainly proper, but not for this alone does he deserve his holding; for it is not sufficient to abstain from evil, unless what is good is done also. It remains, therefore, that in the same six things mentioned above he should faithfully counsel and aid his lord, if he wishes to be looked upon as worthy of his benefice and to be safe concerning the fealty which he has sworn.
>
> The lord also ought to act toward his faithful vassal reciprocally in all these things. And if he does not do this, he will be justly considered guilty of bad faith, just as the former, if he should be detected in avoiding or consenting to the avoidance of his duties, would be perfidious and perjured.

In these paragraphs the Bishop of Chartres formulated those general principles governing the relation of suzerain and vassal which finally took

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[1] In the United States this phrase would be framed as the right of the public interest over that of the private individual.

[2] J. N. Figgis, *Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*, pp. 10–11.

Reciprocal nature of feudal relation

shape in what are known as the feudal "aids." The reciprocal nature of these "aids" is apparent as we read them. On the part of the overlord towards the vassal these were: to protect him, to do him justice, not to deprive him of his fief without due process of law. On the other hand, the vassal owed his overlord various services, which may be classified as military, civil, and financial. Military service was of first importance. This required that when summoned by the overlord the vassal must appear in the field with a prescribed number of his own vassals, the number being estimated according to the extent and power of the fief. As the result of much abuse of this right by suzerains, who often endeavored to keep their armies in active service through all the spring and summer — the time, as the Bible records, "when kings go forth to war" — custom by the twelfth century limited the term of military service by a vassal to forty days. This, however, was independent of the obligation of castle-guard. But in due time this also became almost obsolete and a lord guarded his castles with stay-at-home vassals and even armed serfs.

Military service

> "The *miles,* or knight, was recognised more and more definitely in the official language of feudalism as the follower of the baron, the protector of the castle. The knights were marked off in military and later in judicial usage as responsible people, men with an estate. They had their own social distinctions . . . [and] were the chief element of the feudal court. They often inhabited fortified places, even if these had not the political importance of a castle. . . . In picked, symmetrical bodies, or *constabulariae,* they were the strength and glory of a great baron. The other knights were called vavasors. These had various functions and were of varying importance. They were distinguished by having more definite tasks to perform, especially duties of castle guard. They were stay-at-homes . . . who tilled their land without the distractions or temptations of the knights proper. They form a link with the lower vassals, who in their turn introduce us to the peasant class."[1]

A feudal lord cared diligently for his own castles and also jealously watched those of his vassals, who could neither build nor demolish a castle without consent, and always enforced the right of visitation of a vassal's castles. If he doubted the fealty of a vassal, he might garrison it with his own men.

Right of court

The chief civil obligation of the vassal was to attend the overlord's court and to help him in the administration of justice. This was the right of *placitum* or court. Here the vassal might sit as an associate judge with his lord, for in feudal jurisprudence no prince alone exercised judicial functions. He was not an arbitrary ruler, nor a tyrant, and the vassals sitting with him on the bench were a check upon undue exercise of judicial authority. The vassal might also act as a juror in a trial of another vassal who was peer with him. But his duties might not then be ended. For if the culprit had refused to appear before the court in response to summons, the vassal might be called upon to take the field with his lord to enforce the judgment. In fact, sometimes the whole court in such a case would take the field, go into the culprit's fief, arrest and try him, sitting their horses in a circle around him. Louis VI of France once did this.

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[1] F. M. Powicke, "The Angevin Administration of Normandy," *English Historical Review,* XXII, 34–5.

Feudal Justice

The origin of the usage of the feudal nobles of administering justice in their fiefs has been much disputed. Sometimes it certainly arose from the localization of their formerly delegated authority, as with counts or *missi* in the Carolingian government. But another source of this feudal prerogative is found in the " immunity," which existed as far back as the Merovingians. By the immunity the proprietor was exempted from the jurisdiction of all royal officials; he was responsible immediately and solely to the king. No official could penetrate into immunized land. Thus the proprietor was sole master within his domains, and naturally he replaced the king's judge (*judex*). The fact is certain for many of the clergy in the seventh and eighth centuries. But did many lay proprietors acquire the privilege of immunity? Probably not so many in the time of Charlemagne. But in the ninth and tenth centuries many proprietors usurped the privilege and exercised it as a " right," which usage made constant. Here again the process was a slow one. In charters that enumerate proprietary rights the word " justice (*justitia*) " is not found before the eleventh century, which points to that epoch as the time, not when it appeared, but when it was realized.

Financial " aids "

The financial " aids " of the vassal included payments, which varied according to the importance of the overlord and the resources of the vassal, for the lord's ransom if made prisoner, and a contribution at the knighting of the lord's eldest son and at the marriage of his eldest daughter. These impositions became stereotyped in course of time, just like the forty days' military service. But in the early feudal period there were many other exactions which the overlord sought to impose and which the vassal resented, for the tendency of every overlord was towards an excessive fiscality in these things. The history of feudalism is that of constant friction between the rights of the lord and those of the vassal.

Relief

But there were other prerogatives which the suzerain possessed over his vassal in the nature of fees, which were a source of revenue to the lord, yet not " aids." One of these was *relief,* which was exacted whenever a fief was newly granted. This occurred in event of the lord's death or that of the vassal. In a word, it was a fee paid for right to hold (re-lieve) the fief under the new condition and as such a form of inheritance tax. It also applied in case of alienation of fief — that is to say, in event of the vassal selling his fief to another lord. The sum varied greatly, but was never a light sum and sometimes amounted to the whole revenue of the fief for a year. It was one of the earliest feudal taxes to be converted into a stipulated money payment in order to prevent abuse of it. Another burden upon the vassal was compulsory lodgement of the lord and his retinue when traveling through a vassal's fief. This too was a source of great friction between suzerain and vassal and was early commuted into a money payment. With time, also, even the forty days' military service was converted into a cash payment in lieu of actual service. This was called *scutage,* or shield money. It relieved a reluctant vassal of inconvenient or distasteful service and at the same time provided the overlord with funds with which he could purchase the military service of mercenaries, who would fight as long as their wages were paid. By the twelfth century Europe abounded with these hirelings, who were recruited from illegitimate sons, who had no lot in the estate of their fathers, junior sons, whom the law of primogeniture made dependent upon the largess of the eldest brother, the riff-raff of camps, ex-crusaders, hardy serfs who had run away, and adventurers of every guise.

Procuration

Scutage

Sundry other prerogatives of an overlord which enhanced his revenue were the rights of wardship, escheat, and forfeiture. The suzerain was guardian at law of a minor vassal and enjoyed the right to administer his vassal's fief if he died leaving a minor heir. This was frequently and grossly abused and many a time the heir when he reached majority discovered that his inheritance had been consumed by the overlord. Similarly the overlord could govern the marriages of his vassal's children, and he often made marriages for them which were politically advantageous to him, but outraged the sentiments of the principals in the match. Escheat was the lapse of a fief without an heir to the overlord. But it was more frequently to the lord's interest to give the fief out again, for he got a new vassal and also the "relief." Forfeiture was confiscation for cause, and here again the lord got a "relief" if the fief was granted anew. It was a severe penalty, the severest in the feudal code, and almost never enforceable upon a powerful vassal. Philip II of France's confiscation of the fiefs of King John in France — Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou in 1204 — and Frederick Barbarossa's confiscation of Saxony from Henry the Lion in 1181, are the two most notable instances of heavy confiscation.

Other prerogatives of an overlord

Every lord had the right of judicature within his own dominions, and his own court. "Fief and justice are one," ran the maxim. But the extent of his jurisdiction depended upon his dignity and power. Great nobles had the right of "high" justice, meaning capital punishment (*justitia sanguinis,* justice of blood; *justitia ensis,* justice of the sword); lesser lords had "mean" justice; "low" justice had jurisdiction only over petty offenses and was exercised by small barons. But since the administration of justice in the feudal age was a profitable source of revenue for

"Fief and justice are one"

the lord, the amount of the fine — that is, the importance of the seigniorial profit — much more than the gravity of the crime determined these distinctions. A feeling for abstract justice or theory of law was foreign to the feudal age. Everything was made as concrete as possible. Procedure was of the rough and ready sort, as the usage of ordeal and trial by battle indicates. Court practices were acted out and court ceremony was symbolic. Just as in the act of homage and fidelity the vassal went down on his knees and put his hands between those of his suzerain, just as in conferring investiture or knighthood the recipient was physically struck across the shoulders with the broad of the sword, just as in rupture of the feudal tie a staff was broken in evidence of it, just as in manumission of a serf a twig or a coin was struck from the palm of the serf as indicative that he was free from servile " renders," so in the courts symbolic practices and symbolic language were employed. Lapse of time was expressed by the phrase " while grass grows and water runs "; an exile was declared to be " cut off from the bread and meat and wine and air " of his country.

During the formative period of these feudal institutions — that is, in the ninth and tenth centuries, before experience and practice had whipped them into shape — central and western Europe was in turmoil. But as custom hardened into law, as adjustment succeeded maladjustment, as rights and duties became better defined, as the worst forms of tyranny and oppression were weeded out, gradually order issued out of the confusion, and feudalism emerged as a definite form of government, a definite structure of society. In the long run feudalism was a progressive movement, not a retroactive movement. It was a phenomenon of social advancement, not of social decay. The process by which every baron found his level in the feudal hierarchy, in which every noble except those of highest rank had an overlord, made for justice and efficiency. Although never a " system " in the symmetrical sense in which it is often understood, feudalism grew systematic, and regulation and measurable order succeeded disorder and license. Liberty was not in license, but in allegiance to law.

The evils of feudal government, like the evils of most governments, arose from *abuse* — not use — of its principles and practices. No single form of government ever devised by men is intrinsically and inherently the best. Monarchy, whether absolute or limited, republican government, whether federal in form or otherwise, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, have all sufficed at times and ruled with reasonable decency and success, according to time, place, and conditions. They have passed away and they have re-arisen — passed away because of the abuses engendered within them, and returned because the fundamental principle of them was felt to be right, and might be right again. Political rights are not natural rights, in spite of the declarations of eighteenth-century theorists, and no one form of government is naturally superior to any other form of government. Feudalism met the needs of feudal society in a feudal age; democracy and republicanism seem to meet the needs of mankind today, although the experiments of fascism and sovietism are disquieting to those who so believe.

Private war

It must be admitted that the intense individualism, the sensitiveness to wrongs and the jealousy of rights, the prevalence of local political authority everywhere, which made medieval Europe a network of principalities, most of which were of petty dimension, the complications arising from the fact that a noble with many fiefs might be a vassal of several lords, were provocative of strife and often of actual war. But these conflicts, while numerous, were mostly local in their area and rarely engaged more than a few dozen contestants on either side. They were conflicts between partisans, often local vendettas or family feuds over disputed property rights. They were fierce contests while they lasted, but they did not often extend beyond a summer's campaign and terminated either by one of the parties being beaten or by the intervention of the overlord, although it not infrequently happened that the suzerains of both contesting nobles came to the support of their vassals; then the war might widen out to greater dimension. In a word, these conflicts were " private wars," not great military campaigns, and higher politics seldom entered into them. It is possible, too, that the prevalence of private war in the Middle Ages has been exaggerated. For it is often difficult to distinguish between them and mere brigandage. It was the brigand noble and the robber baron, not the feudist noble, who waylaid merchants and pilgrims, blackmailed bishops and abbots, plundered the peasantry, and made carnage. Yet, even with this qualification, the peasantry severely suffered from the ravages of private war. For since the resources of each contestant were derived from his manorial lands, the aim of each was to destroy the farming villages and crops of the other.

Every creative and fundamentally healthy social and political organism — and the feudal regime was fundamentally sound — remedies its defects, and rights the wrongs that develop in its system. Feudalism did this by gradually restraining the evils of private war. The initiative was not taken by the nobles themselves, for they were too much interested in the prosecution of private war, since it afforded a means of acquiring additional fiefs and additional vassals, but by the Church. Nevertheless, when this is said, the action is an example of feudalism remedying its own defects; for the Church, be it remembered, was a feudal institution. The Church had enfeoffed its lands and had vassals of its own, who at the same time might be vassals for other fiefs to other overlords. Accordingly if a private war broke out, the Church's vassals, the Church's peasantry, the Church's lands, might suffer.

Hence, in the eleventh century, the Church stepped in to restrain the grossest evils of private war. The time of this intervention is significant, for it was in the eleventh century that we discern the first intimations of an awakening commerce and industry, the first evidence that the condition of the servile peasantry was beginning to improve, the first signs of increase of population in Europe after the devastating effects of the Norse invasions and the anarchy of the early feudal period. France led the way, not because the French clergy were more intelligent and more sensitive to public interest, but because the evils of private war were worse in France than elsewhere, since feudal particularism was much more general. In Germany and Italy the strong hand of the German kings had prevented feudal conflicts from growing to excess.

Peace of God

The new movement for restraint of private war appeared in the Peace of God and its corollary, the Truce of God. The distinction between them will be developed as we proceed. The Peace of God was initiated in the far south of France in the last decade of the tenth century, when various local synods in 989, 990, and 994 threatened with anathema all who pillaged the lands of the Church or plundered its peasantry or molested women, children, or merchants. The movement spread in the ensuing years over most of France, and similar legislation was passed by many synods and councils. But experience showed two defects in this endeavor. It was not sustained by the civil authorities, and moreover, there was no time limit imposed upon the practice of private war. A baron might indulge in it every day. The only restraint (not always effective) was that he might not damage church property or molest the three protected social groups, women, children, and merchants.

Truce of God

Accordingly in the middle of the eleventh century we find a modification of the Peace of God in the more drastic institution known as the Truce of God, in which for the first time the civil power was engaged with the ecclesiastical for restraint of private war. The feudal baronage was called upon to support the Church. Moreover, now three days in every week, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, were declared "peace days," on which there was to be no fighting on pain of excommunication and, for hardened offenders, even interdict. The Truce of God was soon so popular and successful that new restraints were added and certain periods in the calendar were declared to be "peace periods." The first of these was the forty days of Lent, which were soon extended to Whitsuntide and then to St. John's Day (June 24). In like manner private war was forbidden from the day of the Ascension of the Virgin (August 15) to St. Martin's Day (November 11). It is obvious, when we consider these periods, that the Truce of God was aiming to protect the peasant during the season of plowing, planting, and harvesting his grain and hay crop, and during the garnering of the autumnal fruits and the wine-making season. These two seasons were also the periods when the wandering merchant was most abroad, traveling from market to market and from fair to fair. The fighting baron had left only the coldest winter months and the hottest summer months for indulgence in his favorite sport.

To this ecclesiastical restraint of private war must also be added in this time the growing power of the great feudatories over smaller nobles, and the increase of the royal power. For as the overlordship of the great dukes and counts was extended, their hands fell heavily upon their violent vassals. The greatest feudal provinces rarely suffered much or long from private war after the eleventh century. This is especially true of Normandy, Anjou, Flanders, Champagne, the county of Toulouse, and the Île de France, the royal domain of the Capetian kings.

The feudal castle as an institution

In order to protect the countryside and enforce their police power the great feudatories erected castles and garrisoned them with their own retainers, and so overawed their predatory or rebellious vassals. For the castle was primarily intended as a means to repel invasion, to preserve peace. The castles of the vassals were made subsidiary to those of the suzerain, and all together were woven, so to speak, into a network of *châteaux* spread over the fiefs of the great nobles and the fiefs of their vassals as well. They were like the police stations in every ward or police district of a large city, except that they were formidable edifices almost incapable of being taken by siege and spread over a whole province, or even over several adjacent provinces. Contrary to what romantic novelists relate, the noble did not invariably dwell in his castle. It was the capitol of his fief, in which was centered the executive, judicial, and fiscal organs of his administration, where he held court, audited the accounts of tax-collectors, formally received political visitors, preserved his archives, etc. He had private quarters within the castle, but was not habitually resident there. Frequently he dwelt in one or another of his manor-houses. He had his own household and court officials, chancellor, constable, seneschal, butler. The local administration of a fief was in the hands of provosts or bailiffs, who in the larger fiefs were checked by the visitation of seneschals. The system of administration in both its central and its local aspects was a replica on a smaller scale of the court and government of the king himself.

This territorial feudalism hammered the people of each province together, as the elements in a mortar are compounded by the braying of the pestle. The intensely provincial spirit and characteristics of the peoples of France, Italy, and Germany are less due to differences of blood than to this medieval influence. This process began in the ninth century and was relatively completed by the eleventh. It was intimately connected with the political, military, and economic importance of the castle.

Feudalism as a form of government, but not as a social structure, began to lose its power and to break down in the thirteenth century with the growth of royal power in Europe — except in Germany, where the ruin of the Hohenstaufen enabled it to continue until well down into modern times — with the decline of serfdom, the rise of the towns, the development of trade and commerce, and the competition of a money economy and capitalism with the older agrarian economy; for feudalism could not hold its own under these new conditions. It was undermined by the political, economic, and social changes of the time. Independently, however, of these external forces, feudalism developed adverse conditions within itself. Many nobles, as the result of conquest, marriage, inheritance, or purchase, acquired fiefs that made them simultaneously overlords and vassals of other nobles. The count of Champagne, one of the very greatest of French feudatories, in the twelfth century, who originally was a homager of the king only, held fiefs of the archbishop of Reims, the bishops of Langres, Châlons, Auxerre, and Autun, the abbot of Saint-Denis, the duke of Burgundy, and even the emperor in Germany, of all of whom he was a vassal, while at the same time he was a powerful overlord of many other nobles. The confusion of criss-cross and conflicting claims, the friction arising out of concurrent jurisdictions, due to entanglement of a legal and political nature, finally made things so complicated that the feudal machine jammed and would not work, a condition that afforded easy opportunity for the king as highest suzerain to interfere, always to the advantage of the crown.

Decline of feudalism

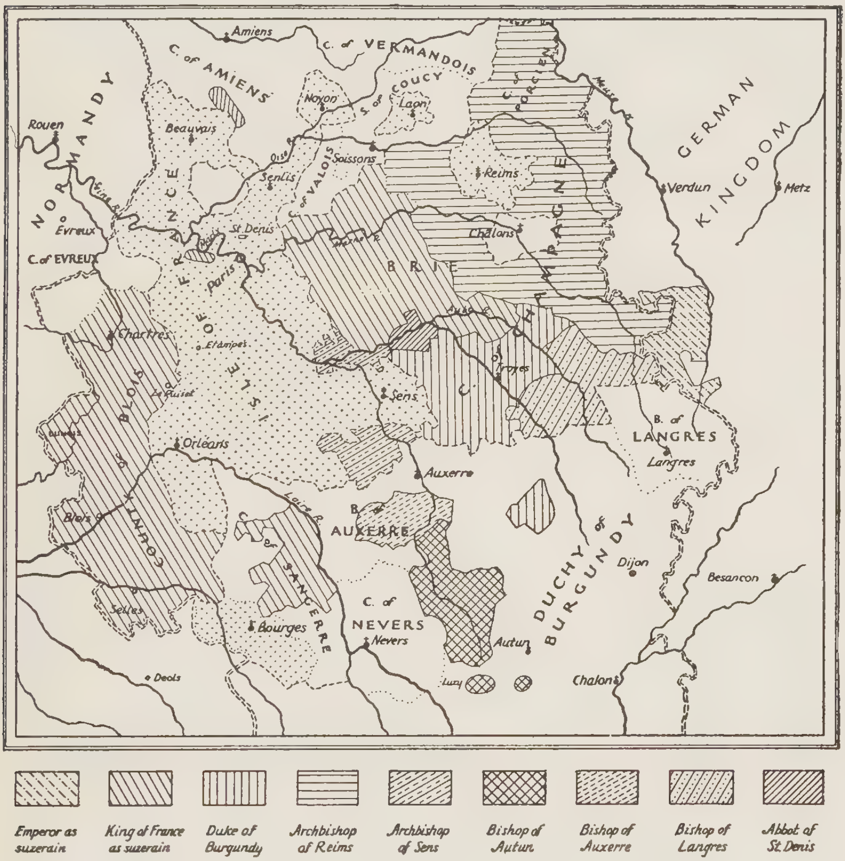
Although many a feudal noble lost his former political independence and his former administrative power, he clung tenaciously to his social pre-eminence and privileges, a policy in which the kings indulged him, for every king was himself the first of all nobles in his realm, and it flattered him to have a galaxy of great noble families around him, which shone by the light reflected from the throne. Out of this condition chivalry arose.

Chivalry

The process which erected a word that originally meant no more than a body of mounted troops (*chevalerie,* from *cheval,* the medieval French word for " horse," derived from Low Latin *caballus;* hence French *chevalier,* Spanish *caballero,* Italian *cavaliere,* English *cavalier*) to the dignity of meaning an historical institution graced with such moral adornments as " truth " and " honor " and " courtesy " is an interesting one, to understand which is to know one evolution of the feudal age from its beginning until its end. Chivalry was an important medieval institution. It had political, religious, and juridical aspects. It was a vast fellowship of the nobility without fixed form or precise organization, but with rules of conduct and professional duties attached to membership in it.

As training in arms became the occupation of a special class of medieval society whose life was devoted to war and whose art became a profession, inherited from father to son, this class came to be regarded as representative of the strongest and most efficient element in society, and hence rose to rank and privilege. The tendency of the age was to establish customs that differentiated and secluded it from the rest of society. This warrior class became a social caste, a gild totally unlike the later gilds of mer-

The accompanying map will illustrate the intricate and complicated relations of a great feudal vassal. It has been made from the Register of Fiefs *of the counts of Champagne, whose territories were a vast agglomeration of twenty-six fiefs brought together in one hand by various means. The count was a vassal of the king of France for most of these, but was also the vassal of nine other lords besides the king, among them being the archbishops of Reims and Sens and four other bishops, and the abbot of Saint-Denis. In addition he was a vassal of the emperor also. Of how many lords he was suzerain it would be difficult to say.*


Amiens
C. of VERMANDOIS
C. of AMIENS
NORMANDY
S. of COUCY
Noyon
Laon
C. of PORCIEN
Meuse R.
GERMAN KINGDOM
Rouen
Beauvais
Oise R.
Soissons
Reims
Verdun
Metz
Seine R.
Senlis
C. of VALOIS
FRANCE
CHAMPAGNE
Evreux
St. Denis
Marne R.
Chalons
C. of EVREUX
Paris
BRIE
ISLE OF FRANCE
Aube R.
Chartres
Etampes
Troyes
COUNTY OF BLOIS
Le Puiset
Sens
B. of LANGRES
Orléans
Langres
Auxerre
Loire R.
B. of AUXERRE
Blois
C. of SANCERRE
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Dijon
Besancon
Selles
C. of NEVERS
Bourges
Nevers
Autun
Deols
Luzy
Chalons
Emperor as suzerain
King of France as suzerain
Duke of Burgundy
Archbishop of Reims
Archbishop of Sens
Bishop of Autun
Bishop of Auxerre
Bishop of Langres
Abbot of St. Denis

Fiefs and Suzerains of the Counts of Champagne

chants and artisans, for it was one of professional warriors who recognized all of the brotherhood everywhere, without distinction of nation or country. Chivalry was an international caste. It was not an order, but military orders were organized within it, as the order of the Knights Templar,

Military orders

the order of the Knights of St. John of the Hospital, the order of Teutonic Knights are evidence. The tradition of having had an ancestor who had performed mounted military service was requisite to establish the rank of knight (French *chevalier,* German *Ritter,* later *Knecht,* whence English *knight*). Other distinctions in time were the right to wear arms, solemn initiation into the service of knighthood, exemption from taxation, title, and escutcheon. A knight was a noble, but not every noble was a knight; for chivalry was an exclusive society.

> "Early in the thirteenth century the vague term *miles* was applied as a sign of nobility and high breeding, of social importance rather than of territorial wealth. Knighthood was almost a sacred condition; its conferment was a privilege; its duties were being formed into a code which comprised the lessons of poetic story no less than the customs of feudal procedure. The distinction which was made in the baron's court between the vavasor and the knight with the hauberk; the economic pressure which divided the ranks of the knights; the customs of primogeniture [1] and indivisibility [of fiefs], which threw a large number of well-born youths upon the world to live by their sword and their wits; the influence of the crusades in linking the idea of a soldier's life with good deeds and lofty purposes—these things produced chivalry." [2]

It became the fashion of noble families to apprentice the sons of the house in their youth to this or that high noble, himself a knight, by whose instruction they might be educated in the duties of the service. This service was a passive one when compared with feudal services of vassals to their overlord, and eminently of a social nature. The young novice was trained in courtesy and deportment, in the proper way to address his superiors, in the way to enter and leave a room in which his betters were, in grace of carriage, in polite speech and manner. All who "passed" this training became gentlemen (*gentilhomme,* the man of gentle blood and manner), although only those of truly fine nature and character became truly gentlemen; the rest grew up to be snobs or bullies, or even ruffians. Thus gradually the noblesse became more or less confounded with chivalry. The evidence of medieval literature is against the legal texts in this particular. Aristocratic to those outside its class, chivalry was democratic within its pale. The knight had no obligations to other classes.

Although feudal society tended more and more to become a closed order, it was nearly three centuries before it became so. It might be penetrated by the men of non-noble birth either by acquisition of a fief, or by the fortunate aspirant's being made a knight. The latter course was more common; ennoblement by chivalry was not peculiarly an act of sovereignty, for, according to tradition, every knight could confer knighthood upon another. But this free recruiting of the feudal nobility from below was stopped in the late twelfth century, when the two gates of access into it were shut. It was made the law that a knight had to be of noble blood, and the acquirement of a fief by a commoner was legally prohibited.

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[1] Primogeniture was introduced in order to prevent the constant morcellation of fiefs owing to the division of lands equally among the sons. The most which was conceded was that younger sons might hold shares in the inheritance (*parages*) on sufferance of the eldest brother. This threw many younger sons upon the world as knights-errant.

[2] F. M. Powicke, *English Historical Review,* XXII, 39.

Church sentimentalizes chivalry

The Church seized on this loyalty of service and on manners in knighthood, when the Peace of God proclaimed protection of the poor and the oppressed, and also when war against the infidel was idealized, to graft new ideals upon the old. As the Catholic Church lifted marriage and kingship till the relation became a sacrament, so she made what was practically another sacrament of the relationship between vassal and lord. She took the feudal fighting man, defined his mission in the social order, and consecrated his old pagan virtues to serve a new and Christianized ideal of the state of life to which his Maker had called him. The true knight had " vocation " as much as the true monk — a vocation not less divine in its own degree. The initiation of the knight was converted into a religious ritual; all through the night before initiation the knight watched upon his arms before the high altar and prayed to Our Lady, for the Virgin became the patron saint, so to speak (though the Virgin is not a saint), of every knight. He was given a ritual bath, a ritual consecration to his calling. In brief, the knight's profession was given a religious tincture; he was given a way of life. His duty was to guard the Church, protect the poor, redress wrong. Half of the great poem of the thirteenth century, the *Roman de la Rose,* is a laudation of knighthood, although the peak of chivalry was not reached before the earlier part of the thirteenth century.

There is something akin to Franciscanism in chivalry, in ideals of social relief and religious devotion to the cause, with the wide difference that the one appealed to the lower classes, and the other to the upper classes. And, like the Franciscan movement, chivalry carried within its bosom the seeds of its own decay, abused and misused its ideals and practices, and became corrupt. Its code became fantastic, its demeanor arrogant. It came to exhibit the evils, not the virtues, of caste. The reprobation and retribution that fell upon the Templars in the first decade of the fourteenth century were significant of the change in the spirit of knighthood. And yet a trace of the perfume persisted long after the flower perished and is found redolent of beauty in Dante's *Vita Nuova,* in that lovely treatise entitled *Amor e cor gentil,* in the naïve loyalty of the Sieur de Joinville to St. Louis, in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* in the fifteenth century.

The social life of the nobility was much influenced by the military nature of the noble's obligations as a vassal. The noble was much of the

Pastimes and pleasures of feudal society

time away from home on military or civil service for his overlord, and even when not active in these capacities he spent considerable time visiting his manors or in social calls upon relatives or neighbors. His chief pastime was hunting, which was a privilege of the nobility. The game laws and forest regulations were burdensome and even cruel in their bearing upon the peasantry. Tournaments or mock duels of armed and mounted knights were a popular sport and were often so violent that a participant might be seriously maimed and even killed. Indoor sports were backgammon and playing at dice, the latter reprehended by the Church because of the profanity in which the participants were likely to indulge. Yet one would err if he were to believe that all medieval nobles were rough-mannered, hard-riding, hard-drinking, hard-swearing gentry. There were nobles of gentle ways, who were fond of books and of art, who were refined and cultivated gentlemen. Ordericus Vitalis, a twelfth-century Norman chronicler, describes such a one. "This man of arms," he says, "might have been taken for a model even by persons living under the monastic rule; such was the frugality with which he led all those who associated with him through a prudent course of living, and such the temperance to which he restricted himself. He never tasted apples in an orchard, grapes in a vineyard, or nuts in the woods, eating food only when the table was spread at regular hours. For he said that it was the part of a beast and not of a man to eat what chance offered, without regard to time and place. He never made predatory raids upon his neighbors, but carefully husbanded his own property and the fruit of his labors."

Castle life

The women of the lord's household did much sewing and embroidery, not only for themselves and the male members of the family, but also on copes and chasubles for the local clergy. If charitably minded, they visited the sick among the tenantry and relieved the distress of poverty. The management of a *château* or great manor-house, moreover, required much careful attention, and there was seldom room for idleness. Occasionally diversion was afforded by the visit of an itinerant merchant with his wares, the coming of a pilgrim, or a company of strolling acrobats, perhaps with a dancing bear or trained animals. If the noble was a great lord, his *château* was often a place of hospitality for a traveling abbot or a bishop making formal visitation of his diocese, or *en route* to some shrine or going to Rome. When fairs rose to prominence during the crusades, the whole family might take a week off in attending it.

During the formative period of feudalism the life of even the noble class must have been physically a hard and uncomfortable one, judged by its improvement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The castles originally, in the ninth century, when they first began to be erected, were timber blockhouses, surrounded by a palisade of trees set vertically close together and a ditch. Rooms in the castle were narrow and dark; the windows were mere slits. Window-glass was unknown in domestic architecture, and even churches were without glass until late in the Middle Ages. Glazed linen curtains served for glass. Gradually the *château* would be enlarged by successive generations, but it was not until the last half of the twelfth century that engineering skill, stone-cutting, and masonry developed sufficiently for great stone structures to be erected. Even then the lower courses were frequently of stone and the upper work of timber. The " stone age " of castle-building hardly began before 1200.

Castle-building

Then arose those formidable erections like the Château Gaillard, built by Richard I on the Seine above Rouen, the Château Coucy, and the Wartburg in Germany. These gigantic creations were really castellated structures of various sorts — the " keep " or great tower, rising massively above the castle, which, at least in a large *château,* was only the largest of several castles and towers, each having its own inner courts capable of being shut off by portcullis gates or drawbridges which crossed interior chasms. Around the whole complex of agglomerated castles ran a thick, high wall, protected at the angles by bastion towers to enable the archers within to enfilade the face of the wall with their volleys of arrows and sustained by lesser bastion towers between these greater ones. The crest of every turret, of every wall, was surmounted by a curtain wall to protect the avenue along the top, by which companies of men could be safely moved from one tower to another, and at fixed intervals of space were battlements of square or swallowtail shape, behind which a couple of archers might crouch, stepping out from behind only at the moment they drew bow, or in the swallow-tail form of battlement, discharging the weapon between the clefts of the battlement. Outside the encircling wall again was a moat, sometimes dry, sometimes with water in it, but in either case difficult to cross when the drawbridges were pulled up.

The size of some of these immense castles staggers belief. The area of ground covered might be as much as fifteen acres, or even more, and the walls anywhere from eight to twenty-four feet thick. There was as much masonry in Coucy le Château and the Château Gaillard and the enormous Krak of the crusaders in the East as in the Great Pyramid. The cost of these structures was very great and their construction required years. They were like modern battleships for expense and upkeep, but unlike them might last for centuries.

The horse almost an historical personage in the Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, as in modern times, the cost of preparedness and maintenance of men and equipment upon a war footing was the heaviest item in economy. Every knight had his charger, a powerful stallion of spirit and mettle, capable of bearing not only its own armor, but its heavy-armored rider. Sometimes the knight had a spare charger and always a pack-horse; his varlets and hostlers, too, had to have their mounts. Consequently each fighting man had to have from four to a dozen additional horses. This necessity explains the interest of the gentry in horse-breeding, in the importation of blooded stock from Barbary or Byzantium. The huge percherons so familiar as draft-horses before the advent of the automobile originated in the little French province of Perche in the later Middle Ages.

Armor

The matter of medieval armor is a very technical one. In Carolingian times a byrnie or breastplate was so rare that it was a serious offense for the possessor of one to omit bringing it with him to the military meet every spring. The Franks fought without helmet and with thongs of leather wound around the forearm and lower limbs for greaves. In the tenth century a sort of skull-cap (coif) made of links of chain sewed to a leather cap begins to appear, and soon afterwards a similarly made curtain for the face and to protect the nape of the neck was fastened to the edge of the morion. Body-armor was improved by a backplate, this and the breastplate being fastened together by thongs woven across and down the sides. The shoulder also was protected by a leather apron, to which chain links or iron rings had been attached. The thighs were likewise protected.

The Bayeux Tapestry, which illustrates the Norman conquest of England in 1066, gives typical examples of knightly equipment. The men on foot probably are horsemen dismounted. First to be considered are the head-pieces. They were cone-shaped, to cause a blow to glance, with an elongation of iron descending over the forehead and nose as protection against a horizontal blow; this was the nasal. These helmets were built on an iron frame covered with some thin metal or woven material. The helmet did not always run behind the head, as the elongation of the hauberk, which covered the neck and back of the head, made it unnecessary. The body-armor is a shirt or coat of mail, a long, narrow blouse-like garment, having short sleeves descending to the elbow, sometimes made of interwoven rings or chain-work, but more often constructed of a strong woven fabric, upon which were sewn or otherwise fastened, in vertical or horizontal or oblique lines, rows of iron rings or of small iron plates. This mail-shirt or hauberk fitted very closely to the figure and was so divided that when on horseback the wearer could have covering for each thigh, or when walking could move without interference and still have the protection of the hauberk. The legs and feet were enveloped in bandages or fillets. The shield completed the defensive equipment. It was generally long in form, rounded or oval at the top, the base being pointed in the shape of a kite or else round. All the shields are bordered; some have rude dragon-like figures roughly depicted upon them, but most have a simple boss with radiating bands. Studs ornament both the face and the border of these shields. On the upper part of the inner face a hollow appears which was designed to aid the knight in carrying the shield when not in active warfare. Farther down there were two parallel hollow grooves, which with two slight bars formed the handle that the knight used in shifting his shield for protection.

Arms

The offensive weapons introduced into the tapestry are the lance, sword, mace, ax, and bow and arrows. The lance is a slender staff, from twelve to fourteen feet long, headed with iron and suitable for either thrusting or charging. It was never used as a javelin to be thrown from the hand. On the march the lance was supported by resting on the stirrup. The sword is in general somewhat large, long, straight, broad-bladed, tapering from hilt to point, and double-edged. When it was in the scabbard, it was worn at the left side. The mace, made either of hard wood or of iron knotted in imitation of wood, was really a club with a massive end. The ax, like the modern hatchet, had a single curved blade, but a long shaft. The bows and arrows were of the common type, with no extraordinary features. They were not used so often as javelins for missiles. There was sometimes a dagger, worn beside the sword. Spurs consisting of a straight sharp spike were then the only kind used. The horses were simply appointed, in the way best suited for their use, with single-reined bridles and well-secured saddles.

For some time after the Norman conquest no great improvements were made in the armor. But one important though small change was made during the last of the eleventh century. The short, broad sleeves of the hauberk were lengthened and made close-fitting around the wrist. This is shown very clearly by the seals of the two Williams. The seal of William the Conqueror displays him in mail-shirt with short, broad sleeves, low in the neck, and with a bowl-shaped helmet. William II has long mail-coat, close at the wrist and neck, with a more closely fitting, pointed casque. But with the exception of this single alteration there is practically no variation in armor until the third quarter of the twelfth century. In the time of Henry II of England (1154–89) the fully equipped knight was armed exactly as his grandfather had been under William Rufus. Certainly it seems astonishing that sixty years of contact with the East had produced no significant changes, but it was not until the end of the century that we find modifications in equipment to be ascribed to a crusading origin.

Early in the century the mail shirt is said to have been more commonly formed of interwoven ring or chain mail, sometimes single, sometimes double, and occasionally, but rarely, triple. It was narrower and wrought throughout in one piece, adjusted to the figure by a belt about the waist. It also had a hood or coif of the same fabric, which could be hung about the neck or drawn over the head of the wearer, at his pleasure. This hood was capuchin-like, leaving only the eyes and nose exposed.

At the end of the twelfth century important changes in knightly

Changes in warfare

equipment begin. The first change, coming during the reign of Philip Augustus (1180 to 1223, and therefore contemporary with the English Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III), was attended with no little inconvenience to the knights. The small, tight-fitting, conical helm is abandoned and the heavier helm, flattened at the top, still with nasal, comes into fashion. This then is superseded by the more massive heaume, which is nearly cylindrical in form, flat at the top, sufficiently large to be put on easily over the mail coif, and of such height that it reached down almost, if not quite, far enough to rest on the shoulders. Two plates or bars of iron were fixed on the front, forming a cross. Below this were perforations drilled for breathing, and above were openings for the eyes, called *vues* or sights. The earliest form of this great pot-helmet is seen on the second Great Seal of Richard I. It is said that the fact that English armies under Richard I were made to abandon their ancient formation and to engage on horseback and to rely on the battle-ax and mace as the chief weapons, and the presence of large bodies of archers and arbalesters which he brought into the field, led to the introduction, probably by Richard himself, of the great heaume worn over the steel cap and padding. This is the first head-piece concealing the whole head. It was so enormously heavy that it was made to come down on the shoulders so as to relieve the head of the weight. It was carried suspended by a chain from the saddle-bow and was not assumed until immediately before the battle. In the figure of King Richard the casque is filled with a movable visor, with two long slits for the eyes, which can be lifted at need. The use of this mighty heaume was continued until the fourteenth century.

Early in the thirteenth century also innovations began to be introduced into other parts of the knight's equipment. He began to wear gauntlets or gloves of strong leather, covered with mail or small pieces of metal; and leggings (*chausses*), also, which were formed of mail, with corresponding covering for the feet (*champons*), came into use. The belt, too, changed position. Instead of passing over the shoulder, it hung around the waist or even a little below, and where it dropped a little in front at the fastening of the ends, the sword was passed through the opening and hung obliquely from hilt to point, sloping away to the left side.

The decorations of the pot-helms, such as the fan-shaped ornament of Richard I, were probably assumed not only for decorative purposes, but to identify their wearers, who, since the face was completely covered, could no longer be recognized by friends. For the same reason the surçoat, instead of being left plain, was now embroidered with the coat of arms of the bearer. Heraldry had begun to come in about the middle of the twelfth century, but it was not until its end that all members of the knightly class assumed regular armorial bearings. Richard I was the first to display the three golden lions on a red ground, which have become the arms of England.

About the same time that pot-helms and armorial surcoats came into use, the shields tended to be reduced in size. The heavy gambeson and mail-coat protected the knight so well that the shield was no longer so necessary. In the thirteenth century the shield was triangular, instead of kite-shaped as heretofore, and all through that age it steadily diminished, becoming comparatively insignificant and too small to use as a stretcher.

Clearly the knights in the later twelfth century presented a very different appearance from those in the early part. The closed heaume, the surcoat, together with the small shield, lent a changed aspect to the soldier who had worn helmet with nasal, large kite-shaped shield, and uncovered hauberk. But beneath these trappings the mail-shirt with its coif was the same, though rendered more effective by the quilted garments worn beneath.

The great development of the use of quilted protections for the body came from the East, where the Saracens had long been acquainted with them. The *wambais* or gambeson, which grew common in Europe in the twelfth century, was a defense of this sort. The gambeson was composed of layers of cloth, tow, rags, or some such substance, quilted on to a foundation of canvas or leather and then covered with an outer coat of linen, cloth, or silk. The knightly class wore the gambeson as extra protection under their coats of mail, while poorer classes had nothing but this quilted arrangement for their protection. So Henry II, in his great Assize of Arms, in 1181, orders every burgess or freeman to appear with an iron head-piece, a lance, and either a mail hauberk or gambeson, according to his means.

One of the forms of gambeson shows its Oriental origin by its name, *acton*. It was so called because it was stuffed with cotton. During the Third Crusade Saladin gave Richard Cœur de Lion "*unum alcottonem satis levem millo spiculo penetrabilem,*" as a specimen of the best Eastern armor. By the middle of the twelfth century it would seem that a distinction had been established between lorica and albergellus, two forms of mail-shirt, the former being the newer, with the coif attached, while the latter was the old byrnie, without that attachment. So again in 1181, by the Assize of Arms, all knights worth more than sixteen marks were ordered to wear lorica while poorer soldiers were to appear in the hauberk and steel cap. The coat of mail remained, with but trifling variations, the chief knightly defense until the close of the thirteenth century, and the protection afforded by it was so complete that of nine hundred combatants who once entered battle in steel armor, but three were slain. At Joppa in 1192, during a battle lasting from the rising to the setting of the sun, only three were killed on the side of the crusaders.

As the manufacture of armor was perfected, it became possible to make the suit delicate enough for protection of the hands and feet. At first the mail mittens had only a separate covering for the thumb, as shown in the effigy of William Longsword (1227). They were fastened to the sleeve of the mail-shirt, and an opening, like that of the modern glove, gave the wearer a chance to slip his hand through and leave the mitten dangling at his wrist. At the end of the century the art of the smith succeeded in turning the mitten into a glove. The leg-coverings also improved. Formerly they had protected the outer side of the leg only, being laced up and leaving the side of the leg next to the horse unprotected. Now they became continuous and longer, reaching to the hips and joining the mail-shirt, which overlapped them.

Of offensive arms the lance was by far the most important. It varied in length, was strong in the shaft, of uniform thickness, with the head long, rather broad, and without any barbs; it was used only when grasped in the hand, never thrown as a javelin. At first all knights without distinction were wont to fly a small flag, or pennon, just below the lance-head. Afterwards only the wealthy knights, followed by their trains of vassals, were allowed to make such display. They were known as " knights banneret." In England all knights carried the pointed or swallow-tailed " pennon," while nobles and men of importance waved square or rectangular banners, upon which their armorial insignia were blazoned in full. Here we see the universal fact that whenever the pressure for improved armament was relieved, the thoughts were turned to the warrior's personal embellishment, partly to gratify the wearer's vanity, partly to captivate and dazzle, but chiefly to affright and awe the enemy. The fact that the French and English wore the same armor and equipment, and the common occurrence of internecine wars at this time, rendered distinguishing costumes particularly necessary. In the First Crusade nothing but different-colored crosses, sewn to the garments of the French, English, and Flemish crusaders, served to distinguish them.

Until the fourteenth century the sword varied very little from that seen in the early eleventh century. The hilt, with the guard, produced a cruciform figure; the blade was long, straight, tapering slightly towards the point, double-edged, and having its two edges separated by a central ridge. The mace or hammer was used especially by fighting bishops who were forbidden to shed blood.

In the encounters which took place between the crusaders and the Saracens, the more prominent and important particular difference can be concisely summed up in the words heavy and light. The crusaders were heavy cavalry, the Saracens light cavalry. The soldiers of the West came forth in solid lines, ready to wage heavy war with their stout lances and the crushing blows of the ponderous and strong maces and swords.

The soldiers of the East were equipped for active and swift movement and for rapid maneuvers; they were masters of fence with the light, keen-edged scimitar and were well skilled in handling the bow and arrow, and in darting with sure aim the sharp jeered or slender javelin.

The Saracen chiefs wore armor of ring or chain mail, admirably wrought, strong, and capable of great resistance, yet light and flexible and in every respect very greatly superior to the more massive and cumbersome equipment which the crusaders carried with them on the First Crusade. This Oriental mail was richly and delicately adorned with gilding, but had no additional defenses of plate attached to it. The iron casque was globular in form or somewhat pointed in the crown, provided with a nasal that was extended until it rose above the crown to receive a plume. Lighter, gilt, and damascened with gold, with the superior art of the Eastern armorers, it formed a contrast to the Western helmet. The shield was small in size, round, boldly convex, and with umbo, or boss, which projected in a point. The offensive weapons were the scimitar, the dagger, the bow and arrows; after the First Crusade the lance was added. The lower soldiers were mostly archers.

The Western knights, well padded, weighed down with their cumbrous body-protection, on their Norman and Flemish horses, in their long battle array, brought to bear a pressure that the Saracens could not at first resist. But when these agile Easterners became acquainted with their foe, they were more than a match for them. Assailing the heavy cavalry first here and then there, darting back and forth, indefatigable, ever increasing in courage and strength, they beat down the lances with their scimitars and found quickly the weak points where they might drive home their weapons. Or perhaps some trifle like the unevenness of the ground would entirely discomfit the heavy cavalry and would expose them to the showers of Saracen arrows and Greek fire.

The cross-bow was used only by infantry, most of these being mercenaries. It was despised by the nobles as not a gentleman's weapon and so formidable that in 1139 the Pope forbade its use except against the infidel. Nevertheless, as the employment of mercenaries increased, it became common in the West. In structure the cross-bow was a powerful bow made of laminated sheets of steel, with a chain for the cord, mounted at the end of a gunstock. It had to be "cocked" by drawing the chain behind a "catch" by a wheel and ratchet contrivance on the lower side of the stock and was released by a trigger. The missiles, called quarrels, were sharpened bolts laid on the stock in front of the chain. The range of the crossbow was not great, but it was a terrible weapon at close quarters, for if one of the missiles happened to hit a joint in the armor, it would tear its way in. Richard I lost his life by being shot with such a weapon, which went in at the shoulder, making a gaping wound, which developed gangrene.

Siegecraft

Siegecraft employed the scaling-ladder, the battering-ram, the testudo, the moving tower, and the catapult — every one of them unchanged from antiquity. They were little used in the West until the crusaders learned of them from the Byzantines. Henry the Lion astonished Germany by bringing these devices into use after his visit to the Holy Land, and the earliest large employment of them in western Europe was at the siege of Milan in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa.

Famous swords were given names; in the epic poetry that of Charlemagne is named Joyeuse and that of Roland, Durandel. Similarly during a siege the army often dubbed a big battering-ram or a mangonel with a pet name, just as great cannon in modern times have been given sobriquets, like the Big Bertha on the west front during the World War.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. THE PEASANTRY AND THE MANOR. RISE OF THE TOWNS

Medieval social theory

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that medieval society was divided into three strata: clergy, nobility, and servile peasantry; and that the first two were ecclesiastically or politically the ruling class, socially an aristocracy, and economically the wealthy classes in medieval society. These distinctions obtained both in social theory and in law. Each of these classes constituted an "estate," whose status was recognized and defined. The office of the clergy was to worship God and to minister to the religious needs of men; that of the nobles was to govern; that of the peasantry was to labor for the material support of the two privileged classes as farmers, artisans, and traders, and to furnish the common heavy labor necessary to the welfare of society. A medieval rhyme ran:

> God hath shapen lives three:
> Boor and knight and priest they be.

Peasantry

The peasantry formed the lowest and the most numerous element in the population. By definition and condition it was a rural folk. For the word "peasant" is derived from the Latin word *pagus,* meaning a country district, through the French *pays,* so that a *paysan* or peasant was a farm laborer. For reasons that have been explained this medieval peasantry was everywhere, with few exceptions, composed of serfs. But although roughly all this lowest class was one in status and condition, nevertheless there were gradations of the unfree class, as there were gradations of nobility. No great society can be entirely simple in structure, for it is made up of composite elements and formed by the blend of men of approximately similar, but not always the same, condition.

Social degrees among the lower classes

Slaves

Serfs

The lowest stratum of servile society, the "mud sill," was made up of slaves. Above them were serfs, some of whom were derived from Roman *coloni* or German unfree in the time of the Germanic conquest; others, of later origin, were descended from freemen who had been depressed to serfdom during the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries. Under the later Roman Empire and during the Merovingian period the landed proprietor was chiefly a slave-master, though there was also another class of dependents, the *coloni,* who were not bondmen, but who had become serfs for debt. Insensibly these two classes tended to commingle. If the slave pulled the colonus down to the condition of a prædial serf, on the other hand the colonus pulled the slave up to his own status. Slavery did not disappear wholly in the Middle Ages, but it largely fused with prædial serfdom.

New serfdom in ninth century

The Carolingian period, by reason of the weight of the *heerban* or compulsory military service, the civil wars in the ninth century, and the inroads of new barbarians, created a new class of serfs by driving down former freemen to that condition. Just as the decomposition of the Frank Empire did not create feudalism, but developed certain precedent quasi-feudal practices into feudalism, so the manorial regime did not originate in the ninth century, but the unstable and violent condition of the time compelled the weak to seek protection of the strong, even at the price of loss of freedom, and thus gave form and fixity to the organism. While these distinctions sometimes faintly survived until as late as the eleventh century, as a general thing by that time they had become blurred, so that if we ignore technical legal differences, the servile class may be said to have become one in nature.

The ninth and tenth centuries were as influential in the formation and fixation of the manorial regime as they were in the formation of feudalism. Then was the rapid growth of serfdom, the reduction of free villages to servile condition, the rapid development of a system of leaseholds to dependent freemen, the seizure and consolidation in the lord's hands of isolated or dispersed peasant holdings.

Manorial regime

This peasantry dwelt in huddled villages and little hamlets upon the manors of the nobles and of the Church everywhere where feudalism existed, and hence may be called the manorial peasantry. The manorial regime in origin was as old as the feudal regime, and its roots were partly Roman, partly German, perhaps even partly Celtic in nature, and it had grown and developed simultaneously with feudalism. But it was not a feudal system; it was not even (though it has been so said) "the lower side of feudalism." For feudalism was based upon an honorable submission of noble to noble, and each party to that relation possessed certain definite specified rights and privileges. Manorialism, on the other hand, was the relation of the noble as a landed proprietor to his servile tenantry. It was the relation of master and servant. There was neither pride of "aid" nor fellowship in it, as in feudalism. The services exacted were the hard, compulsory labors of a farming tenantry.

Manor

What was a manor? As the fief was the unit of the feudal regime, so the manor was the unit of the proprietary regime. It was a social and economic unit primarily, and politically only of atomic importance. The manor may be compared, without straining the analogy too far, with the cotton or sugar plantation of a southern planter before our Civil War in 1861–65, as the tenantry of the manor may be compared — though again with qualification — to the slave population of the plantation. Some manors were historically descended from Roman villas; others were derived from formerly free German village communities which had been depressed to serfdom owing to need of protection, or sometimes reduced by force to that condition by a brutal baron. In either case the manor was a village whose members were serfs and whose acres were farmed by the villagers on sufferance of the lord who owned the village and its farms round about.

The manor was not of invariable or uniform size. It was a farming village, and one manor differed from another in area and number of people in it. A small manor might have no more than twelve or fifteen families, a large one as many as fifty or sixty families. As the average aggregate holdings of a peasant might amount to sixty acres, we thus can estimate that the ordinary manor must have had from nine hundred to three thousand acres of arable land, with at least as much again for meadow, pasture, woods, waste, and the lord's demesne. Many European villages still possess the boundaries which they once had when they were manors.

Life on a medieval manor

The peasantry lived in wattled cottages with thatched roofs and earth floors and without windows. The furniture was scant and of the crudest sort. The bed was a box with a mattress filled with straw or dry leaves. A table made of planks set on wooden horses; a couple of three-legged stools, a chest, an iron pot, and some pieces of earthenware completed the furniture. No artificial light was used. Candles were for churches and the lord's manor-house. The danger of fire was too great even for a flaming pine knot. Moreover, the peasant had nothing to do after dark; he could neither read nor write; he went to bed with the sun and was up with the sun. The cottages were without chimneys, the smoke from a small fire smoldering on the mud floor in the center escaping through a hole in the roof, which let in the rain in bad weather, so that the floor was often damp and slippery. In summer cooking was done out of doors in a crude fireplace, with the pot hanging over the fire from a cross-bar or a tripod. The peasant housewife had no oven; baking for the whole village was done in the lord's oven, which was a local monopoly.

Manor-house

In contrast with these abodes of the peasantry was the lord's manor-house, which represented wealth and luxury to the peasant, though it, too, would probably seem rude and comfortless to us today, who are spoiled by modern contrivances like electric light, steam heat, hot and cold running water, etc. The manor-house was situated on the best site in the village, on a knoll if possible, which provided both view and drainage.

Village priest

Not far from the manor-house stood the local church and the priest's house. The church and the manor-house were the only real edifices in the hamlet, for they would be timber structures or made of stone. The priest might have his own field apart from the fields belonging to the community, or he might possess strips of arable land amid the tenures of the serfs. In either case the ground had to be worked for him by the peasantry, although sometimes the priest, if of peasant stock himself and on good terms with his parishioners, might take a hand in the planting and harvesting of his patch.

Domain

If a small proprietor, the lord might own only a few manors; but if a large and wealthy proprietor, he might possess many manors, just as a rich country gentleman nowadays may own thirty or forty farms in a single county. The sum total of all his manors constituted the lord's "domain." Most of these domains were not formed of contiguous and adjacent manors, but of manors, often several, even many, miles apart. Interspersed between his own manors would lie the manors of other lords, who were his neighbors. In the interest of convenience and economy of administration these proprietors often traded or sold an outlying manor in order to acquire another nearer home. These land transfers are very interesting to study and cast a good deal of light on medieval rural economy. Each manor had its local bailiff or steward to manage it, and much of the time of the lord was spent in traveling from manor to manor, surveying the farm acres, examining the steward's accounts, and supervising his tenantry.

The manor, although the lowest social and economic unit of medieval society, was not the simple organism one might imagine. Just as modern science has shown that the molecule is a complex of particles called atoms, and that even these atoms are formed of associated electrons, so the historian has analyzed the manor into its component elements and proved that its economic composition and its social ingredients were various.

Complex landholding

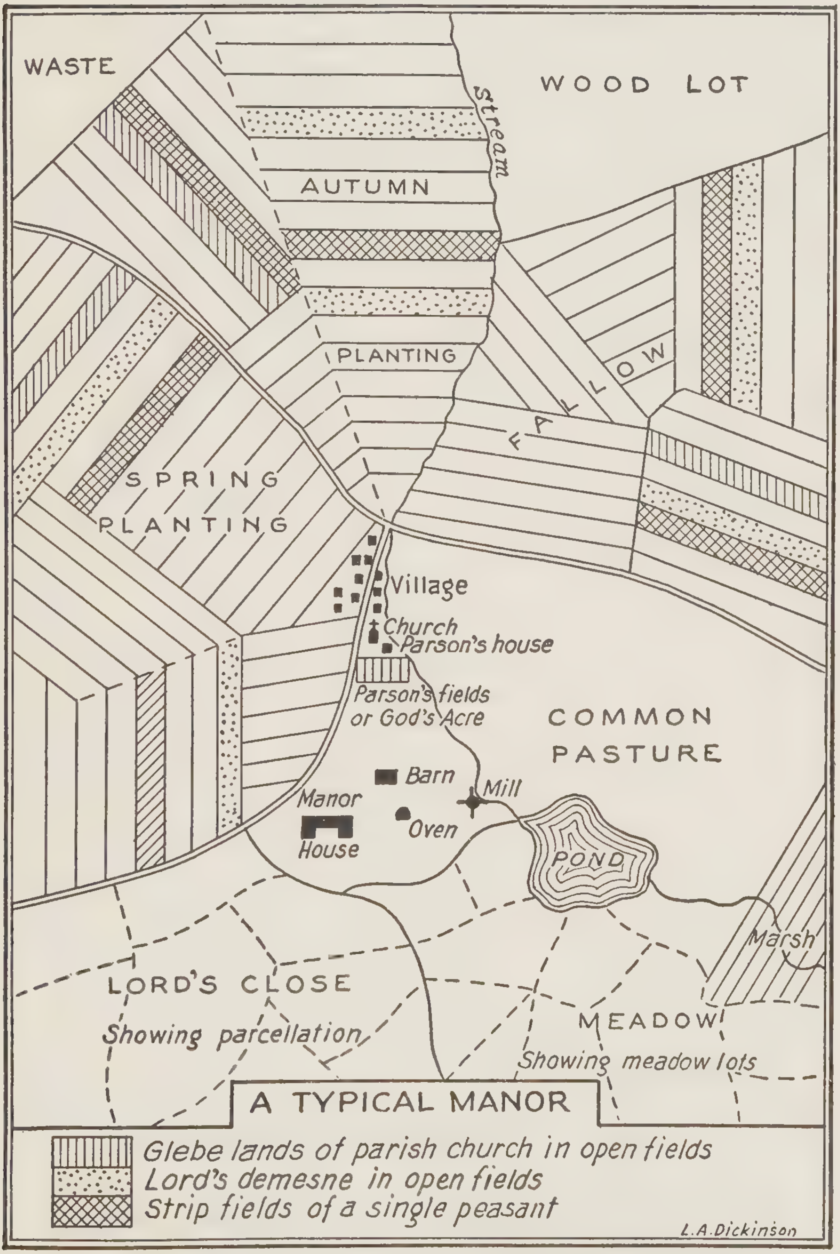
In the first place there were seven different kinds of land and landholding in a normal manor. Some of these tracts were in severalty, some were common lands. These seven kinds of land were: (1) the lord's demesne, a term which must not be confused with domain, (2) tenures, (3) the close, (4) the common pasture, (5) the common woodland or forest, (6) the common meadow, (7) the common waste. Observe that the last four kinds of land are owned in common by the villagers.

Farming

Very early in manorial history the proprietor had divided his estate into two parts; one part was the lord's reserve or demesne, sometimes called "inland"; the other was the acres of the villagers. But they were not called "acres" as we understand that word. For the entire arable land of the community was comprehended within three great blocks known respectively as the spring planting-ground, the autumn planting-ground, and the fallow. Not only was rotation of crops practiced, but there was annual alternation between the cultivated portions and the fallow. In each successive year the former autumn area was permitted to lie fallow, the spring area became the autumn planting-ground, and the former fallow became the spring planting-ground. This was called the three-field system

Three-field-System

and was an agricultural innovation or invention of the Middle Ages, for antiquity knew only the two-field alternation between tilled and fallow ground. This alternation first appears in the eighth century and is much younger than rotation of crops and sharply to be distinguished from that


A TYPICAL MANOR

WASTE
WOOD LOT
Stream
AUTUMN
PLANTING
FALLOW
SPRING
PLANTING
Village
Church
Parson's house
Parson's fields
or God's Acre
COMMON
PASTURE
Barn
Mill
Manor
House
Oven
POND
Marsh
LORD'S CLOSE
Showing parcellation
MEADOW
Showing meadow lots
▥ Glebe lands of parish church in open fields
░ Lord's demesne in open fields
▦ Strip fields of a single peasant
L.A. Dickinson

practice. Each tract of the arable was divided into long and narrow strips averaging four rods wide and forty rods in length, called "plowlands" or *carucates* — the true acre-fields of the village. Every head of a family or householder in the village owned one or more strips in each arable area, and the sum of these sometimes widely scattered strips of land formed the peasant's farm. For, unlike a modern American farm, the medieval farm was not composed of contiguous fields, but of scattered patches of soil lying round about the village. Each strip was a "field," and, all told, they were called "open fields," for the reason that the strips were not fenced, but separated from the adjacent strips by a ribbon of unplowed turf or by a "balk" formed by throwing two furrows up against each other to make a ridge.

These plowlands were subdivisions of a once greater division in the primitive German village known as a "hide" or *hufe,* which was a tract of about a hundred and twenty acres. The parcellation was the result of everyday experience and observation that a team of oxen could average only so much area in a day's work. The graphic German word for a plowland, *Morgenland* or "morning land," shows this. But we find other subdivisions of the hide into lesser areas of sixty, forty, thirty, even twenty acres called "virgates" or "yardlands" or by many other local terms. Thus the plowlands of an old manor might in course of time become split up into a bewildering patchwork of pieces of land, some here, some there, some in a third locality, and the peasant's "farm" would be the sum of all these tenures wherever found.

Each householder, it has just been said, owned a larger or less number of these strips in severalty. But he did not own them unconditionally. For the ultimate title to all the land of the village was vested in the lord of the manor, who owned the village. These strips were "tenures" (from Latin *tenere,* to hold), which "held" the serf, not he them, to the performance of certain services and the payment of certain taxes imposed by the lord proprietor. If he failed to comply with these conditions, onerous as they often were, the serf was liable to ejection from the community and doomed to become a vagrant (*homo migrans*), a precarious lot in a hard and violent age, for he might then be captured by some slave-trader, being a masterless man who had no one to protect him.

The "close" was a portion of the demesne which the lord let separately under different and more profitable conditions than those on which the tenures were held. These conditions will be explained further on.

Common lands

The four kinds of common land in the manor explain their own nature: the pasture, the meadow, the woods, the waste. Yet a word of elucidation is necessary. The fact that these tracts were used in common must not be taken as evidence that communal ownership *of the arable* had once obtained in very early times. It is not proved that communal ownership of the plowland of the primitive German village ever existed. Nor must this communal ownership, in so far as it is found in the medieval manor, to be taken as evidence of former social equality in the early German village community, which continued even after the village lost its freedom. Not much labor was required in the exploitation of the common property of the village, except in getting in the hay of the meadow and cutting firewood or timber in the woods. Hay was necessary to winter the stock, and so before the grass grew long, the meadow was divided by lines of stakes into squares or strips according to the head of stock that each householder possessed. After the hay was in, the cattle might feed in the meadow, which was supplemented by the pasture and the young grass on the fallow.

Co-operative labors

Co-operative labor, however, was necessary in plowing and harvesting time; for no single villager had the material resources for these activities unassisted. Even if the peasant had a plow of his own, he had not enough oxen to draw it. The stubborn glebe was hard to cut with the rude implement of the time, made of the forked trunk of a tree, with the angle stub sharpened, perhaps having a sharp iron shoe at the end, but without share or mold-board. Moreover, the medieval ox was not like modern oxen, big, heavy, strong brutes, but a thin and light-weight animal, hardly weighing more than a heifer, so that the plow-team was made up often of all the available oxen in the hamlet, twenty or more hitched by doubles to the tongue of the plow. The same co-operation was required at harvest time; for rye, wheat, and oats when ripe must be garnered at once lest the heads lose their grains; and harvest was a scene of intense activity, all turning into the fields, men, women, even children. It was so also with hay, which is a precarious crop, which must be got in under cover as soon as the hay is dry, lest it be mildewed with rain.

Only the best stock was carried through the winter. Old oxen, hogs, and sheep were killed for meat, which was salted or smoked, the best and greatest amount going up to the cellars of the manor-house. Hay frequently gave out before spring, and the animals had to be fed on straw or tree loppings. Hence it often happened that the cattle in the spring were so weakened by starvation that they could barely walk to pasture when the young grass began to appear. Wolves were a pest, especially to sheep. Hogs, however, could shift for themselves summer and winter, feeding on acorns and beech-nuts in the woods, and the fierce formidably tushed boars were able to defend the herd from wolves.

Varieties of population in a manor

There were different degrees of serfdom and different sorts of serfs in a manor, because the nature of their services and the impositions laid upon them were conditioned by their status. Excluding the few slaves who might be on the manor, who were employed as household domestics and not for outdoor labor, the lowest in the scale were prædial serfs, who were

Serfs bound to their tenures — "bound to the glebe," as the phrase was — for life and from father to son, and obligated to the performance of a series of onerous services. A second kind had more liberty of movement; they were of unfree status, but were not indefinitely bound to a tenure; they might even dwell outside of the seigniory, being loaned out to some other proprietor or working as artisans in some town; but wherever they were and whatever they did, they were still subject to the charges and incapacities arising from a servile condition. There were others who were personally free, but who had undertaken to work a servile tenure; their serfdom was the consequence of the tenure they held. Legally these were *Villeins* "villeins" and not serfs, for the manorial impositions laid upon the villein — villein services — were clearly defined and of limited scope and application. The villein was not "taxable to the limit (*taillable à merci*)" as was the serf. These villeins were, in origin, dependent freemen (*hospites*) who had drifted into the manor from other places and were allotted lands to work by the lord out of his "close" or his demesne, if he chose to divide that tract. The villein's tenure did not have the vexatious exactions attached to it which were attached to servile tenure. Villeinage was the highest form of serfdom. Finally — but late in the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries — we find another and higher class of villeins, "free villeins," in the most progressive manors, who were tenant farmers working a plot of farmland on shares (*métayage*). These tracts were neither from among the serfs' strips nor yet out of the lord's close, but were newly broken land out of the forest or the waste. For the population of Europe began rapidly to increase in the eleventh century, so that almost every manorial village grew in numbers and naturally required more land for cultivation. Free villeinage was the highest form of all dependent social status, for immediately above it was the free peasantry. The free villein class was recruited from emancipated serfs and even from free peasants who preferred to farm on shares for the protection it gave them.

The lord's domain was a miniature state which he ruled. He had his local court in each manor, he collected taxes from his tenantry. Hence we now pass from land to labor, for most of manorial taxation was exacted in the form of compulsory services. Manorial impositions were of every degree, the rate varying with local custom, and of every sort of name, the customary terminology being bewilderingly various. But all these impositions may be classified under three heads: (1) services, (2) renders, (3) banalities.

Services were exactions of from one to three days' work of the *Manorial taxes* tenantry without compensation. The most general one of these was the plowing, seeding, and harvesting of the demesne, which, therefore, cost the lord nothing to exploit. The chief other service was the *corvée,* which was the exaction of a certain amount of gratuitous work of the serf by the lord, as road-making, ditch-making, bridge repair, carting, etc. This was capable of great abuse, and custom tended towards fixation of the *corvée* to a definite and prescribed amount of work.

Services and renders

The three principal " renders " were the *census,* the *champart* and the *taille.* The *census* or *chevage* was a head tax payable annually by the serf to his manorial lord. It might be a few pence, it might be in a commodity, as so many pounds of butter or wax. It was not heavy, but was detested because it was the outward sign of the condition of servitude. There was another kind of *cens* which was indirectly a land tax in that it rose from landownership. It was not levied under this name, but under a host of other names, the commonest of which was *champart.* This was a tax of so many sheaves of grain, so many bushels of vegetables, so many chickens, geese, ducks, eggs, etc., a tenth, twelfth, fifteenth, twentieth, etc. The *tallage* or *taille* was a true direct tax levied on the income of the serf; it might be on his land (*taille réal*) or upon his movables (*taille personelle*). In the early stages of feudalism it was most often paid in kind, but with the development of a money economy it tended to be commuted into a money payment. The rate varied according to local custom. But in any case it was a tax capable of great abuse and liable to be onerous, so that its fixity was one of the strongest demands of the servile population.

The taille was not derived from the head tax, as some scholars have supposed, but was of independent origin. It differed absolutely in its nature, in that it was not fixed like the capitation tax, but aggravatingly variable. Moreover, it was not levied upon the individual, but upon the collective tenantry of the domain. It was less a right than a custom. Just because the taille was of a variable and not a constant nature, the lord might levy it arbitrarily, and if enforced to the limit, it was the very negation of the serf's right to possess movable property, for the lord might take it all. The taille was one of the servile impositions most resented and the first to become fixed, when, of course, however heavy, the lord's power of exploitation was limited. In the twelfth century it generally became a constant, and the worst grievance arising from it was mitigated.

Banalities

The banalities were historically and legally of different origin and nature from " services " and " renders." They were fiscal exactions arising from the capitalization of the lord's proprietary prerogative. Thus he owned the mill, the bake-oven, the winepress, the local brewhouse, sometimes even the village well and the village bull. Every serf on the manor was required to bring his grain to the lord's mill to be ground; his flour, usually rye and *not* wheat, to the lord's oven to be baked; his grapes to the lord's winepress; his barley to the lord's brewhouse; his cows to the lord's bull to be bred. There were other banalities also which arose from the lord's " justice "—that is to say, the fines levied in the lord's court for trivial offenses, like crimes of petty violence, or petty property contentions between his serfs.

Other rights of the lord of the manor:

Outside of these categories of impositions upon the serf lay the lord's rights of *formariage, mortmain,* and *heriot.* The serf, not being able to dispose freely of his person, was compelled, if he wished to marry, to ask the authorization of his lord. When he espoused a woman of the same domain there was little difficulty; but if he wanted to marry a woman of a domain pertaining to another lord, the lord, fearing the loss of his serf, refused his consent. Nevertheless, it was not possible to forbid the marriage of serfs, so that the primitive prohibition was changed in the eleventh century into a "render" or payment to the lord for the right. This is the origin of *formariage,* the prefix signifying "outside." The Church objected to division of families, so that it usually fell out that the family was kept together by one lord trading with the other an unmarried serf for the one who was married. Commonly the wife went with the husband, and not the husband with the wife.

Formariage

Mortmain

Mortmain was derived directly from the originally precarious nature of the peasant's tenure. In the beginning—in late Roman times—the lord could eject the colonus at will. But gradually by fatal evolution the tenure became one for life and then hereditary. But the serf did not own the property; he was a permanent lessee; he could not alienate it nor sell it nor devise it to his heirs. For the title was vested in the lord. Hence the lord exacted mortmain in virtue of a customary law of servile succession. The tax exacted under right of mortmain was called a *heriot,* and was heavy and very abusive. Frequently the lord stripped the peasant's cottage of all his gear and was certain to take the best ox as his due.

Heriot

Tithe

To all these manorial taxes must finally be added the *tithe.* Originally tithes were ecclesiastical exactions, but in the ninth century the right to impose them in many places escaped from the hands of the clergy and was appropriated by the proprietary nobles. This arose out of the circumstance that the church upon the lord's domain was a dependency of the domain. The Carolingian kings in vain endeavored to stop this manorial engrossment of tithes, but utterly failed, so that tithes as a general thing in the Middle Ages were seigniorial rather than ecclesiastical impositions and a customary portion of the lord's manorial revenue.

It will thus be seen that the manorial regime was one of excessive fiscality and singularly exploitative. It would be an error, however, to think that feudalism, by establishing the seigniory, created the manorial regime. Many economic and social facts of the Middle Ages date from the epoch anterior to that of feudalism properly so called; many go back to the time of the Roman Empire. For example, the lord's monopoly of the mill, the winepress, the bake-oven, was not created in the feudal period, but was an inheritance from the Roman proprietary system which passed into the manorial regime. Manorialism did not create these institutions, it found them established and incorporated them. It regulated what was an anterior economic system.

On the other hand, the capitation tax (*census, cens, zins, chevage*), the arbitrary tallage or taille, *formariage,* and mortmain all seem to have appeared during the late Carolingian or early feudal epoch. The first is mentioned in the cartulary of Abbot Irminon (*c.* 829). Perhaps the *cens* was the most primitive and most characteristic imposition of serfdom.

Local industries

A medieval manor was largely, though not completely, self-sufficient. All the food necessary was produced on the place except such luxuries as spices, pepper, and silk, which the lord of the manor, if he used them at all, had to import. In winter the wool was dyed and woven into cloth by the women; the hides were tanned and worked up into shoes and saddlery and harness by the men; every manor had a wheelwright and a blacksmith. But iron, millstones and salt had to be brought from the outside.

The peasant's life was hard, his food simple — but he drank wine or cider, not water — his cottage comfortless, the village hygiene abominable, the labor long and heavy. Yet one must be on one's guard lest one exaggerate the peasant's misery. He knew no other life until the crusades widened his horizon and gave him new contacts. He was inured to toil and accustomed to be content with little either in kind or in degree. He had no artificial wants such as modern manufacturing and high-pressure salesmanship create for us.

Sentimental exaggerations of hardships of the medieval peasantry

One must discount the contempt or scorn of the peasantry as found expressed in contemporary literature — the current use of the word "villein" is a survival out of this age — because the literature reflects the mental attitude and the social sentiments of the aristocracy. In England every peasant was "Hodge"; in France he was called "Jacques." But not every Hodge or Jacques was "back-broken" or "heavy of foot" or "mute" or "dumb" or "patient" or with "slanting brow" or "brutal jaw" or "empty face." Many were straight-backed and sturdy men. Contemned in the Middle Ages, the peasant was sentimentalized by the eighteenth century, with its doctrine of "natural rights" and idealization of the primeval period as the golden age of mankind. But never, either in medieval times or in France under the ancient regime, did the writers perceive that peasant psychology was formed by immemorial and intimate contact with nature and the soil, which was, it is true, the source of the peasant's suffering, but not a little also of his happiness.

As in the feudal regime, so in the manorial regime, the evils of the system arose more from abuse than customary use. All manorial lords were not cruel and exploitative, though undoubtedly many were. It may often have been that the lord was unaware of the grievances of his tenantry until an outbreak on their part informed him of them. For, as has been pointed out, the management of some of his manors was entrusted to stewards, who may have abused their authority, overtaxed the tenantry, and profited dishonestly from the lord's revenue. The peasant insurrections recorded in the chronicles more frequently are found on church lands, not because the clergy was harder of heart, but because the Church's administration usually was more intelligent and efficient, and the peasantry suffered from the pace and pressure exacted.

Peasant amusements and pastimes

The peasant had his days off, like Sundays and Saints' days; he went to the near-by weekly, fortnightly, or monthly market; when the fairs arose in the twelfth century, largely owing to the impulse to wider commerce given by the crusades, he and his whole family would go to the fair; if a strolling conjurer or band of acrobats or a man with a dancing bear appeared at the manor and was given lodging for the night by the lord, all the villagers were likely to see the performance, sometimes in the big hall of the manor-house, sometimes in the church — for a medieval parish church was like a modern community house; it was a social meeting-place as well as a house of worship. Collections of peasant folksongs have come down to us from the Middle Ages which show that the peasant could be blithe, and there are interesting allusions to plowmen singing in the furrow as they followed the oxen. On the other hand, there are bitter medieval proverbs, such as " A serf may be sold like a horse "; " Where the plow goes, there goes the tithe "; " No land, no taxes "; " A horn for the noble, an ox for the (free) peasant, a pig or a goat for the serf."

The peasant's calendar

The saints' days played an important part in the regulation of the peasant's life, for by them his seasonal labor was governed. Spring plowing must be begun after Easter, planting be over by Whitsuntide; the pasture was opened to the cattle on St. George's Day (April 23); harvesting began with St. John's Day or Midsummer Day (June 24) and must be over by Assumption Day (August 15); in this time also fell the haying season; fruits were gathered between this day and St. Michael's Day (September 23); and from then until St. Martin's Day (November 11) the root crop and wine crop was gathered.

Decline of serfdom

Social changes

No vital society — and the Middle Ages were very vital — ever remains immutable and unchanged. The status of the serf changed; his material lot improved noticeably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the thirteenth a revolution had taken place in the condition of the medieval peasantry. Revolutions are rarely the result of extreme misery. Oftener they are movements to ameliorate conditions that are already improving because of the impatience of those who wish to hasten reform. It was thus that before the crusades we discern a number of transformations and changes which the crusades stimulated and pushed further forward. The curtailment of private war, the growing authority of the greater feudatories over the less, which introduced greater law and order, and the awakening of commerce and industry, along with which came improved roads and more and better bridges, had begun to improve the countryside before the crusades gave a new impulse to these changes. In Europe everywhere the population markedly increased, a good sign in itself, which stimulated the clearing of forest and the redemption of swamp land. " The Crusades could not have taken place had it not been for the freeing of social forces during the half century preceding their inception in the year 1095." Then it was that enfranchisement of the serfs grew apace. Serfdom had slowly and steadily shrunk previous to them, but the crusades, by introducing a broad demand for money, first compelled the mutation of manorial services into money payments, and thereby they became fixed instead of aggravatingly uncertain as before, and then it was not long before the manorial proprietors discovered, too, that it was economically more profitable to employ freemen as hired day-laborers because they worked with better spirit and produced more than serfs. Enfranchisement of the serfs, in a word, was due to economic and not to humanitarian reasons. In order to keep his serfs upon his land the lord had to enfranchise them; otherwise they ran away and he was left in the lurch. Sometimes we find evidence of the migration of whole villages, popular secessions. Attention has already been called to the fact that the great military and colonizing expeditions of the eleventh century, like the Norman conquests in lower Italy and Sicily, the Spanish "crusades" and the Norman conquest of England, were accompanied by hundreds and even thousands of runaway serfs, some of whom became hireling mercenaries in the ranks of the armies. A more peaceful example of the exodus of serfs *en masse* is found in the Flemish colonies established in eastern Germany. The crusades themselves, especially the First Crusade, opened the door of opportunity to tens of thousands of serfs to break away from the glebe. Serfdom lingered on into the thirteenth century in almost every quarter of Europe, but it was a declining if not a vanishing institution. It lasted longer in Germany and England than in Italy or France. In Normandy it has entirely disappeared by the eleventh century. The abandonment of the requirement of week-work on the lord's demesne, which ceased to exist in many parts of France, the Low Countries, and Italy, is an index of this great change.

Enfranchisement

The place above all to which the serf betook himself was the town. From the point of view of the common people of Europe the rise of the towns is the most important phenomenon of the history of the feudal age. It was a political, economic, and social revolution of the first magnitude.

No historical continuity can be shown between the city of antiquity and the medieval town. The ancient city's institutions perished, its people

Rise of towns

disappeared; only the memory of a vanished Roman tradition, a crumbling wall or tower, and the site itself, survived. Where the ancient city survived at all, it was so transformed that it would have been unrecognizable to a Roman ruler. The most important former Roman cities had become seats of bishoprics and they were governed by bishops. Commerce and industry had shrunk to local dimension except for a few luxuries like silk, spices, and frankincense, which were precariously imported from the East at enormous expense for the benefit of the clergy and the services of the Church. This trade was almost entirely in the hands of Jews, many of whom were from the Orient, and birds of passage. The Christian merchant had vanished; his existence and continuance cannot be proved except by torturing the texts. The community was a servile one, like the peasantry in the country, but these serfs were employed in the shops of the bishop or the chapter or a local monastery as artisans and craftsmen more than as agriculturalists. The jurisdiction of the bishop extended over a zone of some miles in extent around the walls of the city, and this region was dotted with hamlets of agricultural serfs, on whose products the inhabitants within the walls lived. In a word, the medieval town after the disappearance of the Roman Empire was a manor like that of other manorial proprietors save that the populace was denser and less engaged in farming than in industry and petty trade. The ancient town had lost all evidence of its past except its ruined monuments. In the bishop's town were nothing except those things indispensable to worship and the daily support of the clergy — that is to say, a local market, a local tax (*tonlieu*) on what trade survived, a mint, some magazines or warehouses for storage of the bishop's harvest and fruits and vegetables that had been raised on the adjacent episcopal and monastic domains, a cathedral or monastery school, a few vassals of the bishop, perhaps, and finally the mass of servitors and small artisans with their families.

With the advent of the feudal age, the building of castles, and the walling of cloisters, other and new communities of serfs arose around these strongholds, which vouchsafed protection to the agglomerated cluster that gradually grew up at the base of the hill on which the castle stood or close under the lee of the monastery wall. The denser nature of this social group, the confined area in which it dwelt, the protection that it enjoyed, stimulated homely industries more than agriculture; even if the serf worked in summer as an agricultural laborer, in winter he turned his hand to wood-turning, leather-working, weaving, pottery, etc.; more and more this group came to rely upon the country-side roundabout for food-stuffs. The products of these simple crafts were sold across the threshold of the maker's cottage or marketed at the local market. But an accretion of commerce was afforded by wandering merchants, first Jews, then Lombards, who brought imported wares to sell to the noble and his family and his vassals. At first these came and went, then one and another settled in the community, not as a serf-trader, but as a free *negotiator* or *mercator,* whose house was a real store and not a place where only one ware was made and bartered or sold.

In course of time this group of merchants settled in the vicinity of the castle were permitted by the lord thereof to build a compound or walled enclosure adjacent to the castle; for it was profitable to the lord to have such a group whom he might tax and which drew others to the community. This walled compound was known as the "burg," and the resident cluster of traders dwelling within it were called "*burgenses*" or burghers. Wherever found, whether in episcopal towns or near a château or outside the walls of some abbey, these "burgenses" were the nucleus of the future town, and the limited rights given them by the lord, whether bishop, abbot, or noble, were the beginnings of the chartered liberties of the future town. With the slow formation of these burghal points we have the origin, with their development the genesis, of the medieval towns; with their ultimate political recognition the sunrise of the medieval towns. The long eclipse of town life in Europe then passed. But how long that eclipse had endured, and how complete the lapse of commerce and any industry but that of the simplest sort was, may be appreciated from the appalling poverty of documentary evidence with reference to towns over a space of six hundred years (500–1100). In this very poverty we have a measure of the prolonged economic depression of Europe.

Three factors directly operated for the formation of the medieval town: the revival of commerce, the appearance of a merchant class, and the creation of the burgs. The tenth and eleventh centuries were the period of gestation, the twelfth century the period of birth of the medieval town. The process of formation was a very slow one. For many years the towns reflected the agricultural condition of the age, and it was a long time before they became predominantly commercial and industrial in condition and spirit. The population was almost unbelievably small. Even late in the eleventh century the greatest towns, like Mainz and Cologne in Germany, Milan and Pavia in Lombard Italy, Paris and Lyons in France, had not more than two or three thousand persons in them.

Contributory movements

Certain of the larger movements of the eleventh century influenced this change. The Normans established themselves in northern France, in England, in Lower Italy and Sicily, driving the Saracens out of the peninsula and the rich island, and suppressing Arab piracy in the Mediterranean; in Germany the Slavs were stopped on the Elbe, the Hungarians in the bend of the Danube; the Peace of God and its more potent sequel, the Truce of God, suppressed the worst evils of baronial warfare and protected the merchant; the great reformation of the Church was begun by Cluny and the popes; in Spain Castile began to expand and to drive Mohammedanism out of the heart of the peninsula; increase of population led to forest-clearing, moor-cultivation, swamp-draining; then came the crusades. All these factors and forces tended to break down the manorial system and to substitute commerce and industry for agriculture. Land ceased to be the sole source of the production of wealth.

Influence of crusades on commerce

Relation between towns and trade

As the result of the crusades the Italian maritime cities got into the rich Levantine trade. Venice, indeed, had anticipated that development and by exception had never been an agrarian community. From its foundation it had subsisted on trade. But Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa soon arose as rivals of Venice. Marseilles, Narbonne, and Barcelona followed. The traffic in Eastern goods became so great that not all of it could be accommodated at these great ports, and a large part of it found its way up the Po, where it made the fortune of the Lombard cities, which became middlemen for its distribution over the Alpine passes. From having been the "bishops' lane" the Rhine became the merchants' lane through central Europe, and its tributaries the Main and the Moselle, on either hand, distributed these commodities all over central Europe. In Champagne the greatest cluster of fairs of the Middle Ages arose and were fed by this rich commerce. Farther down the Rhine stream, where it expands into a delta and where the Meuse and the Scheldt converge upon the mouths of the Rhine, the cluster of burghal communities, which had gradually grown up around the castles of the counts of Flanders at Bruges and Ghent and Lille and Ypres, around the castle of the dukes of Brabant at Mons, around the walled monasteries like Saint-Vaast at Arras and at Saint-Omer, expanded into chartered towns.

Commercial routes

In process of time the Baltic and the North Sea rivalled the Mediterranean as commercial lakes. The Norse commercial empire had once stretched from Kiev and Novgorod to London, Newcastle, and Bristol in England, to Rouen in France, to Dublin and Waterford in Ireland, even to Iceland and Greenland. In the twelfth century the central country in all this immense area was Flanders, whose rivers and whose seaboard put it into contact with all northern Europe as well as with central Europe and Italy. Physical geography accounts for the important fact that in Lombardy and Flanders was found the most extensive as well as most intensive city life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Caravans of merchants traveling by land; flotillas of merchant barges on the rivers; Mediterranean, Baltic, North Sea, and cross-channel shipping became a familiar sight at this time. The number of merchants greatly increased, no longer Jews, but Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Genoese, Flemings, Germans, Provençals. Sedentary groups of merchants arose, native to each of these countries, to compete with the traveling importer. Fairs multiplied all over Europe, for local markets now failed to suffice for the previously limited demands of the people, and wholesale trade emerged. The volume and variety of commerce increased by leaps and bounds.

Influence of important events on promotion of commerce

In the thirteenth century new and far-reaching political events happened which profoundly affected and enlarged European commerce, and consequently the growth of the towns changed old trade-routes and opened new ones. The most important of these events were: the conquest of Constantinople by the Western crusaders in 1204 and the founding of the Latin Empire of Constantinople; the Albigensian Crusades, which, although they destroyed much of the prosperous commerce of Languedoc, gave the kings of France an opening on the Mediterranean, while the damage done was quickly repaired by the intelligent and just administration of St. Louis; the entrance of Marseilles and Barcelona into the Levantine trade; the establishment of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia (1228), which promoted German eastward trade expansion around the bight of the Baltic and founded the port towns of Libau, Memel, and Reval; the Mongol destruction of Kiev (1240), which broke across the back the trade-route from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and by which Novgorod profited by establishing trade connections with the newly risen ports of Esthonia and Kurland and so with north German commerce; the Mongol destruction of Baghdad (1258), which threw Asiatic commerce from its former exits on the Mediterranean to a new exit through Trebizond, where a junction was affected with the Genoese, who (1261) overthrew Venice's monopoly on the Golden Horn and succeeded to her former trade in the Black Sea. Venice found compensation for this reverse by acquiring control of the former Syrian trade, driven in 1291 to Cyprus by the Egyptian conquest of Palestine and Syria. In the middle of the Mediterranean in 1282 Aragon became a great naval and commercial power by the conquest of Sicily; in the Spanish peninsula Castile by the capture of Seville in 1242 and Cadiz in 1262 reached blue water and became a commercial and sea power.

The heroic epoch of the towns may be said to lie between 1075, when Cologne rebelled successfully against its bishop, and 1183, when the cities of the Lombard League secured chartered rights of self-government from Frederick Barbarossa. Cologne's action, however, was an isolated instance. The Italian towns were naturally the pioneers in the communal movement, followed by those of Provence, the lower Rhine, and Flanders. We are tempted to think that the rise of the towns was a violent upheaval. But we must not be deceived by appearances. It is true that we do find record of tumult and revolt in places — Milan, Cambrai, Cologne, Laon — but these are exceptions and not the rule. The rise of the towns was usually a slow and gradual movement, proceeding by a series of stages, recognition by the feudality, and advancement in chartered rights. The lords reluctantly relinquished their executive, police, taxing, and judicial power, and the towns as slowly acquired them. The completed form of these successive grants or cessions was the charter, which was a written instrument of government, the constitution of the town; and it was carefully guarded in the town archives.

Town government

This charter was not broadly and loosely granted to all the *cives* or inhabitants of the town, but always to an inner group among them. The origin and nature of this group varied according to the past history, economic condition, and social ingredients of the community. Sometimes it was a merchant group, sometimes a body of craftsmen, sometimes the bailiff and his assistants (*villici*) on a thickly populated manor, sometimes a group of *ministeriales* or former serfs who had been employed in domestic administration on a secular or monastic manor, sometimes the custodians of an ancient market. But wherever found and whatever the composition of the group, this group was the town corporation, the legal town, from whom the mayor, the aldermen (widely called consuls), and other town officials were chosen. This oligarchy — for it was an oligarchy — gradually extended the franchises or "liberties" of the town to other inhabitants, but always the richer element. The lower classes were denied the franchise, shut out from the town hall and town government. Thus the medieval town, though democratic when compared with the feudal privileged classes, was aristocratic and oligarchic in its nature when compared with the mass of the population in the town. The tumultuous history of the towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries arose from this political, economic, and social cleavage in the population. There was a constant conflict between the "bourgeoisie" and the lower classes, between the rich capitalistic employer class and the working classes. The trade and craft gilds, which had begun as mutual associations of free and equal workers, fell under the mastery of the rich, who converted them into great and exclusive corporations, like modern mercantile and industrial companies, which controlled capital, manipulated prices, and regulated wages and hours of work.

Gilds

The capitalistic age, of which we hear so much today, had its origin in this development in the medieval towns. The continuity of history between then and now is perfect and uninterrupted. The gild merchant was the first step also towards the establishment of that policy of "protection" of commerce and industry from competition. The towns welcomed the serfs who drifted into them from the rural areas, but only because they increased the laboring class within the towns. The serf or the villein met with a cold reception if he tried to buy a plot of ground within the town wall, which was exclusively held by the burgesses. Freedom from serfdom did not imply political qualification. Such a one could not vote, nor hold office, nor possess real estate inside the town walls.

The rise and spread of the towns was a phenomenon of constant repetition. Lombardy and Flanders, the most typical centers of town life, anticipated the history of all the rest; that history varied infinitely in detail, of course, but the fundamental factors and conditions were universal. The rise of commerce and industry created the towns. What differences are found were due to local political conditions or particular economic environment and geographical location. The factor of imitation was very strong. One town might borrow intact the administrative institutions of another town. Whole "families" of towns are thus found. This practice was not hindered by political or even national lines of partition. Some towns of northeastern France were like Rhenish towns in form of government; some Provençal towns imitated Italian models. The rise of the towns was an international, not a national, movement.

Town walls

Once established and encircled by a wall, the town grew by agglomeration — that is to say, by the formation of suburbs around it, in which dwelt the poorer classes. In process of time a new wall would be thrown around these suburbs, they would be incorporated with the town proper, and the old inner wall destroyed. Usually the site of the old wall was converted into a street; this accounts for the circular topographic form of the oldest part of many European towns. It is very perceptible in the Ringstrasse in old Vienna, in old Munich, in old Paris. Such towns were radiocentric in form. But in eastern Germany, in the new towns founded by German colonists who pushed into the country and dispossessed the Slavs, in southern France after the Albigensian Crusades had so destroyed the old towns, we find a more artificial form of town established, more symmetrical, but less picturesque in effect. These towns, not having grown by natural accretion, but being political foundations created all at once — in a word, being towns that were "made" instead of having "grown" — were laid out with straight streets intersecting at right angles, so that the effect was that of a gridiron. The ground-plans of both these types of town are interesting to study.

Many towns, except those in Lombardy and Flanders, for a long time — indeed, even for centuries — still retained within their boundaries areas and groups of the population which were exempt from the municipal jurisdiction. Such spots were survivals of previous feudal or ecclesiastical dominion. Even Paris had such enclaves as late as the reign of Louis XIV. Marseilles and Poitiers were a mosaic of fiefs. In the former the bishop and the abbey of Saint-Victor shared jurisdiction with the municipality; in the latter the count-duke of Poitou and the bishop divided rule with the town authorities.

Except for one or two of its churches and the town hall no buildings in a medieval town were of a pretentious nature until the thirteenth century when rich merchants began to erect palatial homes for themselves. The houses were high because natural lateral expansion was cramped by the town wall. The streets were narrow and filthy. Few towns had any water-supply save that provided by wells, which means that typhoid and other fevers were rife. The streets were unlighted or almost so, for here and there perhaps a light burned before some shrine. At nightfall the householder battened his windows with thick plank covers and fastened his door with lock and chain. Commerce was conducted in the town market on fixed days; otherwise, but not always, the merchant sold his goods through the window of his house, behind which, or even in which, was his shop. Separate edifices for the greater gilds were of late erection. All industry was "domestic," or pursued in the house. The factory is a modern industrial institution. Congestion of population, owing to the circumscribing wall, led to crowding of numerous families into a single house, which might be as much as six stories high. Thus it will be seen that the medieval town had its problems of sanitation, hygiene, public improvements, crime, and police, as modern cities have on so much vaster a scale. The fundamental difference between a medieval and a modern city is that in transportation.

How medieval London was even in the reign of Charles II is exemplified in the following quotation:

> "The old city [of London] — there is no gain by mincing matters — was filthy. . . . To this day there is borne in mind, in an ancient city custom observed each year, remembrance of the streets' foul condition. The Vintners' Company when going in procession from the Hall in Vintry to church, sends ahead the Tackle Porters. They wear white gowns and carry new brooms and they sweep a path clear before the master and wardens. It was an actual necessity in old times to brush aside the mud and mire that fouled the streets before the fur-robed officials could make their progress unbesmirched. . . . Water, indeed, had been supplied to London from springs at Tyburn as early as 1236 and by channel and pipe brought into the city. . . . As for drainage there was no public service. Late as 1662 an act of parliament required citizens whose houses were upon a street to hang out a lanthorn with a candle each from his house from dark till nine o'clock at night, from Michaelmas until Lady's Day." [1]

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CHAPTER XXVI

MEDIEVAL EDUCATION. CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC SCHOOLS. RISE OF THE UNIVERSITIES. THEOLOGY AND SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

The Middle Ages, through the Church and monasticism, inherited the Roman system of education, its method and its text-books, and preserved the form of ancient education, though the Church changed much of the content of the past. But the rupture with antiquity was not so great in education as in literature. The schools had remained unaltered throughout the history of the Empire. The popularity of Rome as an educational center is attested in the Theodosian Code (439), and the schools of Athens held their pre-eminence in the East until closed by Justinian in 529.

Roman influence and tradition

As Roman education looked back to the Greeks, so medieval education looked back to Rome. In the early Empire there were both lower and higher schools, which were supported by the State in the great cities and larger provincial towns, and even some system of certificate and appointment for teachers. In the lower schools reading, grammar, arithmetic, and music were taught; in the higher schools the stress was laid on rhetoric, declamation, and literature, with some law and philosophy. But the discipline was one more of the memory than of critical understanding. These schools of rhetoric disappeared in the fifth century, but secular schools conducted along Roman pedagogical lines survived in parts of Gaul and Italy until as late as the end of the sixth century. The grammars of the two pagan grammarians of the fourth century, Donatus and Servius, were the popular text-books. The standard text-book, however, was Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticæ* or *Institutions of Grammar,* in eighteen books, composed about A.D. 500 in Constantinople, but written in Latin and not Greek. It is preserved in hundreds of manuscripts.

Oldest text books

The seven liberal arts

Trivium and Quadrivium

The schools everywhere, owing to the decay of government, the barbarization of the times, and the power and prestige of the Church, fell wholly into ecclesiastical control in this period, and Christian grammarians arose, like Martianus Capella (*c.* 425), who first distinguished the "seven liberal arts" — grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. An analysis of this group of studies will reveal that it naturally is divided into two categories — what we could call humanistic and scientific studies, or the arts and the sciences. This differentiation was made by the great scholar Boethius (*c.* 475–524), who denominated the first three the *trivium,* meaning "three ways," and the last four the *quadrivium,* or "four ways" to knowledge, a classification that received the influential endorsement of Cassiodorus, from whom the system passed into the monasteries. The influence of Boethius on medieval education was enormous through his clearer definition of fields of study and his translation of the six treatises of the Aristotelian logic, which became a standard textbook of the Middle Ages. But Donatus still remained a widely used text in spite of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), who despised the ornament of rhetorical style and gloried in the "rusticity" of his own Latin, which really was the popular "low" Latin of the common people and not the artificial classical Latin that only the educated classes could understand.

Until as late as A.D. 600 the schools continued to provide elementary education for all in what was called the "outer" (or lower) form, but before long they became wholly for the training of those intending to become priests and for the monks. The Germans manifested strong disinclination for learning. Theodoric the Ostrogoth forbade the children of the Goths to be sent to school. He used to say that those who were made to fear the rod of the schoolmaster would never have the courage to face swords and lances with bravery. The historian Procopius, from whom this is quoted, relates that when Theodoric's daughter Amalswintha wished to have her son Athalaric educated as befitted a noble Roman, the Gothic nobles protested, saying that "knowledge is far from manly ability, and the teaching of old men leads to fear and cowardice."

Decay of secular schools

By the beginning of the seventh century the schools were wholly episcopal — the episcopal school at Toledo appears in 531 — and monastic; and the training was for holy orders entirely. The famous Merovingian School of the Palace was not a school in the usual sense of that term, but an imitation of the Gallo-Roman school maintained at Treves under the later Empire for the education of youth in military exercises, riding, the carriage of arms, and the knowledge necessary for public employment. A little civil and canon law was taught in them — sufficient to train up clerks. The "graduate" had to be able to draw up a charter or diploma in formal, technical phraseology. The pages of the Merovingian court were trained in this school.

Biblical influence eclipses classical traditions

It was not so much change in method of education as change in the spirit of education and of the content of what was taught that marked the transition from ancient to medieval education. This revolution — for it was that — took place about 600. If Boethius and Cassiodorus could have availed against the authority of Gregory the Great, the culture of the past, Latin literature and ancient philosophy, would have continued to be taught in the schools. But the Pope's influence on future education was preponderant; he had no toleration of either subject and hence laid the whole emphasis of instruction upon the Bible and theology. For centuries to come, as we shall see in the chapter on medieval literature, humanistic studies were upon the defensive and compelled to fight against ecclesiastical authority and the menace of oblivion.

Henceforth on the continent and in England, whither Christianity expanded through the initiative of the mission of St. Augustine in 596, whom Gregory the Great sent thither, episcopal and monastic schools alike, beyond the rudiments of education (the three R's), taught only theology, music, scripture, lives of saints, which were crowded with miracle, and homiletic literature. Instruction was for edification and training of boys for the priesthood. The cultivation of classical literature became almost surreptitious. The epilogue of the *History of the Franks* by Bishop Gregory of Tours (died 594) clearly sounds this new and triumphant note:

> "I have written ten books of history, seven of miracles, and one on the lives of the Fathers. I have composed one book of commentaries on the Psalms; I have also written one book on the Offices of the Church. . . . Whoever thou art, O priest of God, if our Martianus [Capella] hath instructed thee in the seven arts, which is to say if by grammar he hath taught thee to read, by dialectic to discuss propositions for argument, by rhetoric to know the different metres, by geometry to reckon the measurements of surfaces and lines, by arithmetic to compute the parts of numbers, by music to bring into one harmony songs of sweet accent and modulations of sound, if in all these things thou shalt be so skilled as to hold my style inelegant, even so, I pray thee, remove naught of that which I have written."

Monastic learning

In western Europe higher learning and humanistic culture, including the study of Greek, survived only in Ireland, from whose monasteries the light was carried to Caledonia (Scotland), Northumberland, and thence over all England. The continent at the same time was illuminated by the coming of St. Columban and the Irish foundations established in Frank Gaul, Germany, and Lombardy, notably the abbeys of Saint-Gall and Bobbio. As it was, the seventh century is the darkest era in the intellectual history of western Europe. The hostility of Benedictinism, deeply imbued with Gregory I's prejudices, would have destroyed this influence if it had not been arrested by St. Boniface (died 755) and his comrade missionaries out of England, where English monasticism had been saved from Gregorian reaction by the Irish element which had invaded it, and which was extended to the continent in the eighth century. The monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld, which Boniface founded, the old monasteries in Gaul and the episcopal schools which he rejuvenated, saved medieval education and paved the way for the great reformation of the schools by Charlemagne, one of the many manifestations of the intellectual awakening of Europe known as the Carolingian renaissance. The capitulary of 788, directed to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda, resulted in the multiplication of episcopal and monastic schools. The latter had an "inner" and an "outer"

Carolingian renaissance

school, the one for the education of novices intending to proceed to taking the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; the other for instruction of those who were to be secular priests.

In a capitulary issued in 789, and another in 802, Charlemagne enjoined upon bishops and abbots the reformation of the schools and complained of the illiteracy of the clergy, the corruption of manuscripts of the Church Fathers, and of the Bible. He drew upon the best talent of England, Italy, and Spain, calling Alcuin of York, the greatest scholar of the day, trained in the best traditions of Northumberland scholarship, Paulinus, the grammarian from Aquileia, Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, a Lombard monk of Monte Cassino, and Theodulf from Spain, to the Frank land. The school at Tours, under Alcuin's direction, became the center of an intellectual revolution in the Carolingian Empire. Here manuscripts were produced in profusion and sent abroad to other monasteries to be again copied; here Alcuin chastened and purified the corrupt and illegible handwriting, so that the script of Tours became a thing of beauty. Indeed, no other handwriting of the Middle Ages was ever so beautiful or so legible as the Carolingian minuscule, though ancient Irish manuscripts might excel in ornamentation and illumination. The only handwriting that ever competed with the script of Tours was the Beneventan script, which prevailed at Monte Cassino and generally through Italy. For centuries after the Carolingian Empire had disappeared, this exquisite minuscule held its sway in the monasteries, and was not supplanted until late in the twelfth century by the new and more angular form of handwriting known as Gothic.

While the primary aim of Charles in initiating these reforms was to purify the text of the Vulgate and that of the liturgy and other service-books of the Church, the movement also extended to the preservation of the ancient Latin classical manuscripts, so much so that most of the oldest manuscripts that we have date from the Carolingian renaissance. When the great revival of classical learning came in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy, the scholars of that time were able to discover few manuscripts older than the Carolingian period.

In his court at Aachen Charlemagne established the old Merovingian *schola* on new lines. Besides being a school for pages and for instruction in the civil service, it became a sort of club of scholars. To be sure, the deliberations seem to have been pedantic and one may smile at the affectation that induced the members to adopt "literary" names derived from pagan antiquity or the Bible. But it is significant that some classical names were adopted and that not all of them were biblical. Thus Charles himself was known as David; Alcuin as Flaccus, in compliment to the poet Horace; Angilbert, an influential official, as Homer; Einhard, Charles's secretary and biographer, as Bezaleel, since he was the Emperor's superintendent of works, as Bezaleel (Exodus xxxi, 2–5) was the traditional constructor of the tabernacle. The Emperor was intensely interested in every sort of knowledge, especially in astronomy. Although he could hardly write — very few laymen could in those days — he spoke and read Latin and had a smattering of Greek.

Schools sprang up in bishoprics and monasteries all over the Frank Empire, and some of them survived its collapse, notably those at Reims,[1] Lyons, Ferrières, Corvey, Fulda, and Pavia. The Carolingian scheme of formal education included boys and youths, but not girls, though we have evidence of literate women in the ninth century; but it was evidently chiefly intended for education for the priesthood. A capitulary of 802 enjoins that "everyone shall send his son to learn the alphabet and he shall remain at school until he has been well instructed." Another, of 805, reads: "In regard to arithmetic all shall learn it correctly." Astronomy was taught to instruct the monks in a way of calculating the dates of the movable feasts, in the observance of which there was no uniformity. At the same time a simple knowledge of the heavens was promoted. Arithmetic was given attention, and it was much needed. The monks still counted on their fingers. It was hard to do sums on parchment with the clumsy Roman numerals. The Arabic numerals were not known in Germany till the eleventh or twelfth century. Alcuin showed, for example, how to multiply CCXXXV by LV: CC (200) × L (50) = M^{x} = 10,000; XXX (30) × L (50) = MD = 1,500; V (5) × L (50) = CCL = 250; CC (200) × V (5) = M = 1,000; XXX (30) × V (5) = CL = 150; V (5) × V (5) = XXV = 25. Total M^{xii} CMXXV = 12,925. However arduous this process appears to us, it was a great advance over the finger-method. Alcuin was strong for arithmetic, mainly for religious reasons; 3, 7, 10, 12, 40, etc. had for centuries been sacred numbers.

The enthusiastic and lovable Bishop Theodulf of Orléans, however, dreamed of more popular education and in his diocese provided that "the priests in the villages and hamlets shall conduct schools, and when a member of the parish has entrusted a child to them, he shall teach him to know the letters and shall not refuse. He may not exact a fee, but may take what the parents choose to give him." In 829 a church council petitioned Louis the Pious "to follow the example of his father" in promotion of schools. Pope Eugene II (826) commanded the maintenance of an episcopal school in every diocese, and the injunction shows that secular learning (*artes liberales*) was still distinguished, at least in Italy, from theology (*sancta dogmata*). But the distinction was a vanishing one, for in 853 Leo IV, confirming this decree, added the concessive words:

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[1] At the high-water mark of the invasions of the Norsemen, in 885, Archbishop Fulk of Reims was corresponding with Alfred the Great upon the matter of schools. See Hardy, *Catalogue of British History,* I, ii, no. 1124, and compare p. 601.

"although teachers of the liberal arts are, as usual, seldom found, yet masters of Holy Writ and instruction in the ecclesiastical offices must not be wanting." The best thing that can be said of the Emperor Lothaire I is that in 825 he ordained the establishment of nine central schools at Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo (for the duchy of Spoleto), Verona, Vicenza, and Forum Julii (Cividale). The first of these never perished, indeed hardly grew dim, and became a lamp of learning.

Saxon renaissance

Although by 877, when Charlemagne's most cultivated and scholarly grandson, Charles the Bald, died, the Carolingian intellectual revival had spent its force, nevertheless the beneficial influence of the revival never wholly expired. But in the tenth century the sceptre of learning passed from France to Germany, which felt the vigor of the new Germany of the Saxon dynasty in every sphere. The Saxon renaissance was like the Carolingian renaissance before it, but fainter in its effect. It was literary, artistic, and educational. The inspiration was derived from that movement of monastic reform whose history has been related in a previous chapter, which emanated from Brabant and spread up the Rhine lands, where it was advocated by Otto the Great's able brother, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, and became closely identified with the monastery of Gorze in Lorraine, so much so that it has been called the Gorzean reform.

The *Life* of John of Gorze casts light on the education of the middle of the tenth century.

> "John was born near Metz. His parents were decent folk and quite well-to-do. First he was turned over to someone [apparently the parish priest] to be taught the most elementary knowledge; later he received instruction at Metz. He also stayed at the monastery of Saint-Mihiel on the Meuse for some time, where a certain Hildebold taught grammar. But John profited little from his instruction, though his father frequently sent presents to Hildebold. Then he was sent to the deacon Berner of Metz, from whom he learned grammar and the first part of Donatus and then he turned his entire attention to the Holy Scriptures, being satisfied with this introductory education."

In the same period the future Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg was getting his education at the abbey of Reichenau on an island in the Lake of Constance, where, proving to be a bright boy, he was carefully observed (*suspectus*) by his teachers, but once got a hard birching when he was reading the "Marriage of Mercury and Philology" (a portion in Martianus Capella's work) and could not parse and expound it. To fail in grammar was a heinous offense, for on its understanding depended the correct interpretation of scripture. Grammar thus carried with it the knowledge of literature. Priscian abounded with classical quotations. Most medieval students owed all their knowledge of the classics to Priscian.

Saint-Gall

No school of Germany could vie with Saint-Gall, where the Irish tradition was still strong. Every progressive monastery at this time had an "inner" and an "outer" school, the former for boys intending to become monks, in which the quadrivium was taught; the latter for boys intended for the priesthood, most of whom began as choir-boys, and who were taught the trivium. The admirable chronicler Ekkehard IV of Saint-Gall has preserved for us a charming picture of how Conrad I visited the school in 913 and the boys got a three days' vacation, "a privilege," he adds, "which lasts to this day." Ever afterwards the boys at this time played at "waylaying" strangers and holding them for "ransom" when they visited the abbey. The discipline was harsh and severe, and the rod was freely, even brutally, used.

A picture of infant education

We have a moving description of the privations of a small boy at school from the pen of Guibert de Nogent (died 1124), who in that priceless *Autobiography* of his tells how as a child of nine he was daily sent to be taught by an ignorant and brutal clerk, "who had begun to learn grammar late in life" and was employed as a tutor in a neighboring family, but took in other children of the neighborhood and had a one-room school in the little town. "Even on Sundays and holidays," Guibert records, "I had to submit to the severity of school exercises; on no day and hardly at any time was I allowed a holiday." The master "was utterly unskilled in prose and verse composition, and almost every day I was pelted with a hail of blows and hard words, whilst he was compelling me to learn what he could not teach. Clearly I did not deserve to be flogged, for if he had had the skill in teaching which he professed, it is certain that I was, for a boy, well able to grasp anything which he taught correctly. But so ignorant was he, having learned late in life, that he maintained and defended with blows even his errors, regarding all his own opinions as right. . . . It was wicked of him to demand of a young mind what he had not put into it. For there is nothing more difficult than trying to discourse of what you do not understand, which is bewildering to the teacher, but more to the pupil, and makes both appear as blockheads. . . . We should not attempt to teach as a certainty every assertion we make, nor involve others in our own guesses. To reason about things is wise; to say that you know everything is stupid." There is deep understanding of child psychology in this excerpt, which few historians of education are acquainted with. Guibert, after this pedagogical digression, goes on to tell how one day the teacher "marked my tender skin with many weals," how once "at a certain hour in the evening, when my studies, such as they were, had ended, I went to my mother's knee after a more severe beating than usual"; how he gamely kept back the tears; how his lovely mother (he gives a charming picture of her) sensed the truth and "threw off my inner garment which is called a vest or shirt and saw my little arms blackened with bruises, and the skin of my back puffed up with welts."

Schoolboys in the Middle Ages were as fractious as they are today, and those in the episcopal schools, which were not so closely guarded as those in cloisters, sometimes broke bounds. It is told of Vicelin of Paderborn that he had to pursue a crew of such lads who were picked up loitering in the streets of the town, and some were found in a *stuba,* an inn — the use of the German word in a Latin chronicle is interesting to come upon. Many of Vicelin's pupils ran away because of his severity.

Decay of monastic schools

Rise of episcopal schools

In 1112 Vicelin, his biographer records, "decided to go to France to pursue higher studies there." For while the German and Lombard monastic and cathedral schools held their own, the French schools of Reims and Chartres about the year 1000 had blossomed into schools whose teaching transcended anything known elsewhere in Europe. It is important to observe that both these schools were episcopal, not abbey schools. The monasteries, especially those of the Cluniacs and Cistercians, had become too absorbed in the question of reformation and the politics of the time, owing to the Cluny reform, to give much attention to progressive education, while the Benedictine houses in Germany still adhered to old traditions of education. Even then they failed to keep up to date. By 1100 the day had gone by when it could be said of any other monastery what Ordericus Vitalis wrote of Bec:

> "The monks of Bec are become so devoted to literary pursuits, and so exercised in raising difficult questions of divinity, and in profitable discussions, that they seem to be almost all philosophers; and those among them who appear to be illiterate, and might be called clowns, derive from their intercourse with the rest the advantages of becoming fluent grammarians."

In Reims this education was an outflowering of an old plant into new and stronger intellectuality. In Chartres it was a new seed implanted there. The only monastic competitor in France of these two cathedral schools was the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire. Scientific studies formed a considerable part of the curriculum in these schools, the leaders in which were Gerbert of Aurillac, at Reims, Fulbert of Chartres, and Abbo of Fleury. The work and influence of each of these in this capacity will be considered in the chapter on the progress of scientific thought in the Middle Ages.

The nature and importance of instruction in grammar is set forth by John of Salisbury in the following language:

Importance of grammar

> "Bernard of Chartres, the most abounding spring of letters in Gaul in modern times, followed this method, and in the reading of authors showed what was simple and fell under the ordinary rules; the figures of grammar, the adornments of rhetoric, the quibbles of sophistries; and where the subject of his own lesson had reference to other disciplines, these matters he brought out clearly, yet in such wise that he did not teach everything about each topic, but in proportion to the capacity of his audience dispensed to them in time the

due measure of the subject. And because the brilliancy of discourse depends either on propriety (that is, the proper joining of adjective or verb with the substantive) or on metathesis (that is, the transfer of an expression for a worthy reason to another signification), these were the things he took every opportunity to inculcate in the minds of his hearers.

"And since the memory is strengthened and the wits are sharpened by exercise, he urged some by warnings and some by floggings and punishments to the constant practice of imitating what they heard. Every one was required on the following day to reproduce some part of what he had heard the day before, some more, some less, for with them the morrow was the disciple of yesterday. Evening drill, which was called declension, was packed with so much grammar that one who gave a whole year to it would have at his command, unless unusually dull, a method of speaking and writing and could not be ignorant of the meaning of expressions which are in common use. The material, however, of the evening lesson was chosen for moral and religious edification, closing with the sixth penitential psalm and the Lord's prayer.

"Before those for whom the preliminary exercises of boys in imitating prose or poetry were prescribed, he held up the poets or orators, and bade them follow in their footsteps, pointing out their combinations of words and the elegance of their phrasing. But if any one had sewed on another's raiment to make his own work brilliant, he detected and exposed the theft, though very often he inflicted no punishment. But if the poorness of the work had so merited, with indulgent mildness he ordered the culprit to embark on the task of fashioning a real likeness of the ancient authors; and he brought it about that he who imitated his predecessors became worthy of imitation by his successors.

"The following matters, too, he taught among the first rudiments and fixed them in the students' minds; the value of order; what is praiseworthy in embellishment and in the choice of words; where there is tenuity and, as it were, emaciation of speech; where a pleasing abundance; where excess; and where the limit due in all things. History and poetry, too, he thought, should be diligently read, without the spur of compulsion; and he insistently required that each pupil should commit something to memory every day; but he taught them to avoid superfluity and be content with what they found in famous writers. . . . And since in the entire preliminary training of pupils there is nothing more useful than to grow accustomed to that which must needs be done with skill, they wrote prose and poetry daily, and trained themselves by mutual comparisons."[1]

By the side of this account we may put that of Hugo of St. Victor in his *Didascalicon:*

"Daily I examined my notes of topics, that I might hold in my memory every proposition, with the questions, objections, and solutions. I would inform myself as to controversies, and consider the proper order of the argument on either side, carefully distinguishing what pertained to the office of rhetoric, oratory, and sophistry. I set problems of numbers; I drew figures on the pavement with charcoal, and with the figure before me I demonstrated the different qualities of the obtuse, the acute and the right angle, and also of the square. Often I watched out the nocturnal horoscope through winter nights. Often I strung my harp . . . that I might perceive the different sounds."[1]

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[1] *Metalogicus,* i, c, 24; *cf.* A. Q. NORTON, *Readings in the History of Education,* pp. 31–3.

Importance of theology

But the supreme intellectual strength of the Middle Ages was expended upon theology, and the progress of reason may be most clearly discerned in studying the development of theological thought. The necessity of taking medieval theological speculation into account cannot be proved except by taking the whole body of medieval philosophic thought into account. It is important to observe that it was deeply impregnated with Hellenism through the patristic writers and had long been potently influenced by Platonic and Aristotelian thought.

Theological thinking was given new stimulation during the Carolingian renaissance. Charlemagne himself had legislated in regard to the Adoptionist heresy, which argued that Christ was the Son of God by adoption instead of by eternal generation. Alcuin may be regarded as the forerunner and remote founder of Scholasticism. Though more interested in theology than philosophy, he considered the latter as necessary to the theologian; he wrote works on grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, metaphysics, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. From Alcuin to the thirteenth century and thence to the Renaissance and modern times the continuity of philosophic thought is unbroken. Rabanus Maurus, "the first teacher of Germany," introduced the teaching and method of Alcuin into Fulda and Mainz; Adalhard, a pupil of Alcuin, founded the school at Corvey, from which came Paschasius Radbertus; Rabanus Maurus was the master of Haymon of Halberstadt, of Servatus Lupus of Ferrières, who taught Heiric of Auxerre, who taught Hucbald, founder of the school of Saint-Amand. Gerbert revived at Reims the teaching of Rabanus Maurus, from whom the line is direct through Fulbert of Chartres, Berenger of Tours, Roscellinus, William of Champeaux, and Abélard. In the first half of the ninth century Paschasius Radbertus for the first time advocated the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was not to gain the day until the eleventh century. John the Scot, an Irishman, the best and almost the only competent Greek scholar of the ninth century, who found refuge from the Norse invasions of Ireland at the court of Charles the Bald, translated the works of Dionysius the Areopagite into Latin. He merits place not only among medieval thinkers, but in the general history of ideas. To him religion and philosophy were fundamentally one. He stressed symbolism in the service of truth and laid the foundation of the future great controversy between realism and nominalism. Western Europe was not to have his like as a philosopher until Anselm (died 1109), in whose formulation of what is known as the scholastic philosophy medieval philosophic and religious thought acquired uniformity and fixity. It is worth observing that this settled state of medieval reflective thought coincides with the beginning of more settled feudal government. Perhaps there is a relation between the two developments.

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[1] Cited in TAYLOR, *The Mediæval Mind*, II, 63.

Rise of scholastic philosophy

St. Anselm was driven by his anxiety over what he regarded as the dangerous trend of thought in the eleventh century. Berenger of Tours (died 1088) was the pupil of Fulbert of Chartres, who had been the pupil of Gerbert of Aurillac. An accomplished dialectician, Berenger raised the question as to whether one ought to accept on faith what was denied by reason, and hinged the controversy on the doctrine of transsubstantiation, which, while not yet officially promulgated as *the* doctrine touching the sacrament, was, nevertheless, the most widely current and prevalent one. He declared that one's reason told one that the bread and wine of the mass were not transformed by a miracle into the body and blood of Christ, but that these elements were symbols. A storm of protest arose, in which the question of " substance " and " accidents " became a burning issue. These were philosophical terms to describe the elements of the mass and their phenomena. Proponents of transsubstantiation argued that the " substance " of the elements was changed by a miracle (the bread became Christ's flesh, the wine became His blood), but that the " accidents " — that is to say, what the senses of smell, touch, and taste perceived — were not altered. This was a merciful provision of Providence in order to save the communicant from being shocked by the thought that he was eating human flesh and drinking human blood. To this argument Berenger rejoined, appealing to reason, that if the " accidents " of the bread and wine did not change in the ceremony of the mass, then the substance, of which the " accidents " were emanations, did not change either.

Debate over doctrine of transsubstantiation

This controversy was paralleled by another, that of predestination, which also went back to the Carolingian age. St. Augustine had argued that the " elect " were predestined to be saved, but his logic flinched from saying that the rest of mankind was damned. Gottschalk, a ninth-century Saxon monk and one of the sincerest and boldest thinkers of the Middle Ages, could not understand why this was not a logical conclusion from the first proposition. The bishops took alarm, for this fatalistic view of predestination seemed to be a disparagement of ecclesiastical authority. Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, condemned this doctrine of double predestination, declaring that by it God was made the author of evil. Gottschalk made a remarkable defense of himself at his trial and for a whole day quoted texts from the Bible and the Fathers sustaining his position. When he seemed to be getting the best of the argument, Hincmar re-

Question of predestination

proached him for showing lack of respect for episcopal authority. Gottschalk's intellectual honesty cost him his freedom, for he was imprisoned for life.

Fundamentalism vs. Modernism

If these controversies seem vain and subtle and without interest to the reader, let him try to understand that they were the medieval form of the present controversy between modernism and fundamentalism, and that in them the question of what is truth, of freedom of thought and liberty of speech, of progressive thinking, of reason versus superstition, was involved. The issue was joined between the two schools of thought in the first half of the twelfth century in the debate between realism and nominalism. St. Anselm hinged his teaching on the idea of God, which is furnished by faith. The existence of the notion of God in thought would be impossible if God did not exist in reality. It is impossible to think that God does not exist, because since He exists in faith, He must exist in idea.

St. Anselm

St. Anselm had no sooner formulated the doctrines of the realists or fundamentalists in the scholastic philosophy, in which he enounced that man had two sources of knowledge, reason and faith, but that in case of doubt faith must prevail ("*neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam* — For I do not seek to know that I may believe, but I believe that I may know"), than the challenge of the nominalists or modernists was thrown down. The whole controversy turned, therefore, upon the nature of knowledge. The realist predicated faith, the nominalist reason.

Realism and nominalism

Again it is necessary to explain philosophical terminology. Berenger had been perplexed to understand how a "substance" could continue to exist apart from its "accidents," or the "accidents" apart from the "substance," or the one be changed and not the other. Here another clear thinker arose in Roscellinus of Compiègne (died *c.* 1120), who taught at Tours and at Loches — where Abélard was one of his pupils. He clarified the confusion of thought, in which he was helped by the logic of Aristotle, Porphyry, and Boethius, by making sharp distinction between a thing itself (*res*) and the name (*nomen*) for a thing, and contended that knowledge grew from more to more by proceeding from particulars to generals and from individuals to universals. The word "dog," for example, was merely a word to signify all the impressions and ideas derived from experience with dogs. To this argument Roscellinus's opponents replied that the root of all things was in idea; before ever the world was created, it existed as idea in the mind of God; the world was the product or reflection of the divine idea; general ideas, instead of being simple names, were *real* things — indeed, the only real things — and individual phenomena were mere illustrations of them. This was the ancient philosophic quarrel about general conceptions. The realist contention was that universals existed before the individual things modeled upon them (*universalia ante* *rem* — universals are before the thing). It was this distinction between "nominal" and "real" which gave the name of nominalist and realist to the two rival schools. For a realist, humanity was a reality; for a nominalist, humanity was an abstraction, while men and women were real.

The most brilliant period of scholasticism began with the nominalist Roscellinus, who was the first really to challenge the position of John Scotus. Scholastic theology was the result of applying dialectical methods to questions of theology. Anselm used the method, first raising and then answering objections to the orthodox faith. But he knew where he was coming out before he started. His slogan was "*Credo ut intelligam.*" His purpose was to add knowledge to pre-existent faith; reason was subordinate to authority. With Roscellinus reason undertook to criticize and, where necessary, modify the accepted faith and received theology. He was the first really to show the explosive possibilities of dialectics when applied to theology.

Dialectics

The instrument of argumentation was dialectics, which was derived from, or an extension of, grammar and logic, the two arts in which speculation was not seriously hampered by facts. Dialectics was a sphere where the medieval mind had a little freedom; syllogisms could not be pagan. This explains the extraordinary interest in dialectics, and the enthusiasm for Aristotle. But it was Aristotle the logician, not the natural scientist and metaphysician; it was only towards the end of the twelfth century that the whole of Aristotle's works were made known to western Europe, partly from Arabic sources and partly in direct translations from the Greek, chiefly undertaken in southern Italy. Plato also had a very considerable influence, though little was known of him beyond the fragments of his teaching in Augustine and Macrobius and in the opinions of Aristotle. The *Timæus, Phædo,* and *Meno* were known, but in quite restricted circles. Little was known of him except his doctrine of ideas, but the controversy between Aristotle and Plato over the reality of universals supplied the Middle Ages with its great central topic.

If Roscellinus had been content with confining himself to dialectics, he would not have got into trouble; but he applied the conclusions of his logic to theology. In the matter of the Trinity he said that, as he could not admit that humanity was a reality apart from the individuals who composed it, so he could not admit the Trinity except as individuals and not a three-in-one God. He wrote to Abélard: "It is a confusion of the persons of the Trinity to say that the Son is the Father, and the Father the Son."

Practical application of nominalistic philosophy

Perhaps by taking this issue out of the realm of theology and applying the nominalist's argument to more familiar things we may get a better comprehension of it. If any great institution like the feudal State, the

Church, the papacy, had existed in the mind of God before it was given reality by historical origin and development, that reality put it beyond human right to question or to change the nature of the institution. It had authoritative origin, nature, and foundation. The human mind might not question the fact; it could only speculate on the how and the why of the fact. It is easy now to see that the realist doctrine powerfully operated to harden the dogmas of the Church, to suppress heresy, to coerce doubt, to increase ecclesiastical authority; and it must not escape attention that this great controversy coincided with the Gregorian papacy and the growth of the canon law. The liberty of free development of all things, individuals and institutions, was jeopardized by the teachings of the realist philosophy. The struggle of all Europe against established authority was implicit in this controversy; for example, the conflict between papacy and Empire, between Church and State, between Frederick I and the Lombard cities, of serfdom against the rule of the feudality, were one and all phases of the issue. Realism was for the supremacy of the constituted authorities, for the established order without change, against even the right to doubt or to question that authority or that order. On the other hand, nominalism was for reason against authority, for the right of private judgment, for change when things required change. The nominalist was a modernist and a progressive; the realist was a fundamentalist and a reactionist.

It is difficult for us at this remove from the twelfth century to understand the absorbing interest which these controversies had for thinking men of that time. Doctrines that today have lost meaning because connected with a system of philosophy that is no longer held and a metaphysics that is now extinct, with its "substance" and "accident," then attracted thousands of students when they were debated. It is only by keeping steadily in mind that though the garment of thought has been changed, the naked issue of the source and nature of knowledge and the right of reason to prevail has not been changed that we can realize the import of the controversy. Few more ignorant and intellectually degrading opinions have ever been expressed than the philosopher Hegel's dictum that "it cannot be expected of anyone to know at first hand the philosophy of the Middle Ages, for it is as comprehensive and voluminous as it is barren and ill-expressed." A distinguished historical scholar has truly said that "it is these early efforts of the human mind to work out in what seemed a scientific fashion the greatest problems of faith and thought that we find the beginnings of modern higher education."[1] Many of the ideas that are now the common property of educated men were conceived in monastic cells or lecture-rooms of patient, serious, and fearless thinkers in these centuries. Their methods may not have been the same as ours, but they were just as earnest in search for truth, of as intelligent and inquiring mind, as scholars of today.

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[1] Emerton, *Medieval Europe,* p. 525.

As the argument waxed hotter and ecclesiastical authority evinced a disposition to repress unhampered teaching in the schools, bolder spirits, who refused to be intellectually bound, quitted the episcopal schools (the monastic schools, as said before, were indifferent to the discussion) and became free-lance teachers in the open air. The greatest of these were William of Champeaux and Abélard. If it were not for the latter, we probably should not have heard of the former.

Abélard (1079–1142)

The celebrated Abélard (1079–1142) was born near Nantes. His father had been somewhat of a student before he abandoned books for a career of arms, but his son's zeal for learning drew him to Paris instead of into the career of a knight. William of Champeaux at this time was drawing crowds of youth to his open-air lectures, but the keenness of Abélard's questions so discomfited him that he withdrew to the seclusion of the cloister of Saint-Victor, destined soon to become the greatest seat of medieval mysticism. Abélard showed his inherent military spirit by proclaiming his triumph in a public address, which sounds like a victory bulletin. He was now the idol of the students with whom Paris abounded, and, like Berenger before him, soon got into trouble with the Church. Logic now became the popular instrument of thought. Even grammar was made to do homage to it.

Abélard's brilliant analytic abilities and his romantic love-affair with Héloïse have heroized him beyond his deserts. He was above all a skillful dialectician, clever in verbal thrust and parry, with a keen mind, but one not so deep as usually supposed. He compensated for his want of depth by brilliance and daring. His merit lies in the stand that he took for freedom of thought and his refusal to be bound by authority. Abélard reversed the teaching of Anselm, saying that we must first understand before we can believe; we must know what to believe and what not to believe. Honest doubt is an asset. Faith is based upon an acceptance of mere authorities. These are the Scriptures and the patristic writings and the decrees of the Church. But the Fathers, not being subject to direct revelation, were capable of error; even the Scriptures are susceptible of error, owing to wrong translation and faulty transcription. Hence all these primary authorities must be subjected to criticism. Abélard's method appears clearly in his famous book *Sic et Non* (*Yes and No*), in which he propounded 158 questions and then by deadly parallel showed that the great thinkers of the past were of divided opinion on the questions, to the vast confusion of those who were fond of citing authorities. Here are his own words, in the Prologue to his *Sic et Non:*

> "Wherefore we decided to collect the diverse statements of the holy Fathers, as they might occur to our memory, that raising an issue from their apparent

repugnancy, which might incite the readers to search out the truth of the matter, and render them the sharper for the investigation. For the first key to wisdom is called interrogation, diligent and unceasing. . . . By doubting we are led to inquiry; and from inquiry we perceive the truth."

In this work he gave to the Christian mysteries "the form of a problem, and to the dogmas the form of a solution." The influence of his method is most strongly impressed upon the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, while a study of the famous code of Gratian, the *Decretals,* also shows contact with the ideas of Abélard. Although Abélard was silenced by the Church, owing to the clamor raised by St. Bernard, a typical realist, he was not a heretic. He never declared that reason was superior to authority; his endeavor was to make authority clarify its thinking and bring order out of confusion. St. Bernard called him a heretic, but it was really Abélard's critical spirit and rationalism that he could not bear with. The rock upon which the Church was founded was also his rock of knowledge, he said. From the point of view of philosophy Abélard established no system comparable to that of John the Scot. He had no patience with Neoplatonic mysticism; his mind was Aristotelian, logical; and he was a thorough nominalist, disbelieving "universals" and loyally adhering to the conviction that knowledge proceeded from particulars to generals, from individuals to universals.

Abélard's influence was not due to founding a school of philosophy or building a system of thought. His service consisted rather in sweeping away the cobwebs that had enmeshed the older dialecticians and in breaking away from the timidity that had characterized the handling of theological problems since the days of Erigena; the wall separating philosophy and theology was broken down, and the right of reason was proclaimed. In addition to his large intellectual gifts, which included a clear, analytical and penetrating mind, a retentive memory, and an extraordinary ability to impart such knowledge as the time afforded, he had rich physical gifts, which enhanced his presence and attractiveness: beauty of person, a rich voice, which he knew how to use in creating a pleasing delivery. Héloïse's correspondence, written even after she had for years been a nun, gives abundant evidence of his physical attractiveness. And then the wealth of his imagery, his sympathetic use of literature, and his freedom from excessive piety, all helped to make him the master teacher that drew hundreds and thousands of students from all over western Europe. In estimating his greatness it is not necessary, any more than it is proper, to call him the "Socrates of Gaul" or the peer of Plato and Aristotle; his fame is sufficient without such titles. He drew students as no man before or after him.

Of course not all the thinkers of the twelfth century adhered to either one of these two schools. One of these groups was the Mystics, of whom

Hugo of St. Victor

the greatest was Hugo of St. Victor (died 1141), who contended that neither faith nor reason could avail to understand without inner revelation or spiritual intuition. Far from approving the realists' assertion that some knowledge was forbidden to know and that certain things must be blindly accepted on faith, he asserted that all knowledge was open to free inquiry and discussion. "Try to learn everything," he said, "and you will discover that nothing is useless." Hugo of St. Victor's mysticism was constructive in intellectual method, a philosophy of dignity and beauty, having nothing vague or vaporous about it, as mysticism usually seems to have. His great work, *De sacramentis,* remains one of the greatest books ever written. For the guidance of his students he composed a treatise on method called the *Didascalion,* in which he says that reading and meditation are half of methodology. The little work is a singularly true and refreshing one and his observations are as apposite today as then. It is a pity that it has never been translated.

The Aristotelians

Another group of thinkers of the time endeavored to find in ancient Greek, and especially in Aristotelian philosophy, the key to knowledge and understanding without compromising scripture. This group sprang from the old episcopal school of Chartres. Its chief votaries were Gilbert de la Porrée (1076–1154), Bishop of Poitiers, and John of Salisbury (1110?–80?) who, though an Englishman, lived most of his life in France and died bishop of Chartres. Other members of this school of Chartres were Bernard Sylvester and William of Conches (died 1145), who gave their lives to the study of science and whom we shall meet in another chapter. John of Salisbury had no patience with hair-splitting dialectics, but whole-heartedly believed that liberty of thinking was a function of the extent and the variety of knowledge. He had a deep respect for every serious philosophic system, believing that each was *an* answer to the great mystery of God and the universe. He was a Greek pagan, yet a Christian — an Aristotelian, yet orthodox in his faith. One of his noblest utterances has been rendered into poetry by a modern writer:

> The world's face has grown grey in quest of truth.
> More time has been consumed than Rome, in sooth,
> To conquer and to rule the world required —
> And still the riddle riddles age and youth.

John of Salisbury bravely declared that it was ignorance that made men dogmatic, because they feared truth; that truth and freedom were in learning and knowledge; that when a man knew only one system of thought or only one solution, he was naturally inclined to accept that as the right one, whereas it might be the wrong one after all. He would have endorsed the statement of the late Professor Josiah Royce that unless one has much knowledge and has doubted much, he does not know what to believe, and that honest doubt often contains as much truth as half the creeds.

The vital and stimulating atmosphere that prevailed in these circles of free-lance teachers and no less free-lance pupils, who were tired of the routine of the established schools and the cut and dried nature of the curriculum, is described in a notable passage of John of Salisbury which deals with the years 1136–47:

> "When as a lad I first went into Gaul for the cause of study (it was the next year after that the glorious king of the English, Henry the Lion of Righteousness, departed from human things) I addressed myself to the Peripatetic of Palais [Abélard], who then presided upon Mount Saint Genovefa, an illustrious teacher and admired of all men. There at his feet I acquired the first rudiments of the dialectical art, and snatched according to the scant measure of my wits . . . whatever passed his lips with entire greediness of mind. Then, when he had departed, all too hastily, as it seemed to me, I joined myself to master Alberic, who stood forth among the rest as a greatly esteemed dialectician, and verily was the bitterest opponent of the nominal sect.
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> "Being thus for near two whole years occupied on the Mount I had to my instructors in the dialectical art Alberic and master Robert of Melun (that I may designate him by the surname which he hath deserved in the governing of schools; howbeit by nation he is of England): whereof the one was in questions subtil and large, the other in responses lucid, short, and agreeable. They were in some sort counterparts of one another; if the analytical faculty of Alberic had been combined in one person with Robert's clear decision our age could not have shewn an equal in debate. For they were both men of sharp intellect, and in study unconquerable. . . . Thus much for the time that I was conversant with them: for afterwards the one went to Bologna and unlearned that which he had taught; yea, and returned and untaught the same; whether for the better or no, let them judge who heard him before and since. Moreover the other went on to the study of divine letters, and aspired to the glory of a nobler philosophy and a more illustrious name.
>
> "With these I applied myself for the full space of two years, to practice in the commonplaces and rules and other rudimentary elements, which are instilled into the minds of boys and wherein the aforesaid doctors were most able and ready; so that methought I knew all these things as well as my nails and fingers. This at least I had learned, in the lightness of youth to account my knowledge of more worth than it was. I seemed to myself a young scholar, because I was quick in that which I heard. Then returning unto myself and measuring my powers, I advisedly resorted, by the good favour of my preceptors, to the Grammarian [William] of Conches, and heard his teaching by the space of three years; the while teaching much: nor shall I ever regret that time. While at Chartres I also studied with Richard [l'Evêque] a man whose training was deficient almost in nothing, who had more heart even than speech, more knowledge than skill, more truth than vanity, more virtue than show: and the things I had learned from others I collected all again from him, and certain

things too I learned which I had not before heard and which appertain to the quadrivium, wherein formerly I had for some time followed the German Hardwin. I read also again rhetoric, which aforetime I had scarce understood when it was treated of meagrely by master Theodoric. The same I afterwards received more plenteously at the hand of Peter Helias.

"Since I received the children of noble persons to instruct, who furnished me with living — for I lacked the help of friends and kinsfolk, but God assuaged my neediness, — the force of duty and the instance of my pupils moved me the oftener to recall what I had learned. Wherefore I made closer acquaintance with master Adam [du Petit-Pont], a man of exceeding sharp wits and, whatever others may think, of much learning, who applied himself above the rest to Aristotle: in such wise that, albeit I had him not to my teacher, he gave me kindly of his, and delivered himself openly enough; the which he was wont to do to none or to few others than his own scholars, for he was deemed to suffer from jealousy. . . .

"From hence I was withdrawn by the straitness of my private estate, the instance of my companions, and the counsel of my friends, that I should undertake the office of a teacher. I obeyed: and thus returning at the expiration of three years, I found master Gilbert [de la Porrée] and heard him in logic and divinity; but too quickly was he removed. His successor was Robert Pullus, whom his life and knowledge alike recommended. Then I had Simon of Poissy, a trusty lecturer, but dull in disputation. But these two I had in theologics alone. Thus, engaged in diverse studies near twelve years passed by me.

"And so it seemed pleasant to me to revisit my old companions on the Mount [at Paris], whom I had left and whom dialectic still detained, to confer with them touching old matters of debate; that we might by mutual comparison measure together our several progress. I found them as before, and where they were before; nor did they appear to have reached the goal in unravelling the old questions, nor had they added one jot of a proposition. The aims that once inspired them, inspired them still: they only had progressed in one point, they had unlearned moderation, they knew not modesty; in such wise that one might despair of their recovery. And thus experience taught me a manifest conclusion, that, whereas dialectic furthers other studies, so if it remain by itself it lies bloodless and barren, nor does it quicken the soul to yield fruit of philosophy, except the same conceive from elsewhere."[1]

The influence and effect of all this intellectual ferment culminated in the establishment of the University of Paris about 1200, and other universities soon afterwards.

Rise of the universities

But before going on with the subject of the University of Paris it is important to observe that while speculative theology and philosophy engaged the attention in France, in Lombard Italy quite another kind of intellectual movement had arisen. This was the study of the Roman law, out of the interest in which the University of Bologna was founded, about

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[1] *Metalogicus,* ii, 10, as translated by R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* (1920), pp. 177–86.

1158, and thus nearly a half-century before Paris. In Italy, that "land of practical ecclesiasticism and urban living," both the tradition and the practices of the Roman law had partially survived all the vicissitudes of Italian history, and particular events had stimulated interest in it. These events were the conflict between the popes and the emperors, the struggle of the Lombard cities with Frederick Barbarossa, and the question of the Matildan lands.

Influence of revival of Roman law

Not only was knowledge of the Roman Law never completely lost, but there was never even a time when instruction in Roman law could not be obtained somewhere in western Europe during the medieval period, at least from the beginning of the ninth century. In France Roman law was very early taught at Narbonne. In the eleventh century Angers had already earned considerable fame for the study of law. In Italy there was even more activity in early legal study. A school of law apparently existed in Rome from the time of Cassiodorus. Pavia had legal instruction as early as the time of Rothari, the Lombard King.

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the Roman law studied and taught during this early period was vastly different from that of the classical jurists and that of the later medieval doctors. The civil law that prevailed in Europe from the fifth to the twelfth centuries was mainly a body of legal rules inherited from the Empire and preserved in the codes and practice of the Romano-Germanic states. It contained little that could be called scientific jurisprudence. The revival of the latter was made possible only with the full recovery of the *Corpus* of Roman law, and it is this recovery that forms the essential feature of the legal renaissance of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Roman law has been preserved under two forms: the *jus civile,* and the *jus canonicum*. The canon law was the law of the Church. This law was modified by the councils and by the popes in points where it disagreed with the principles of the Church, as in those regarding marriage, the taking of interest, and the theory of good faith. Its content is to be found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici,* the official *Decretum* since 1234, and other collections. This law is very important, because its application was very extensive. In fact, the judges of the Church had jurisdiction over many crimes. Every diocese had a special tribunal, the *officialité,* so that the canon law was applied throughout all Europe.

The other form of Roman law was the civil law, derived from the compilations made by Justinian. It fell into decay everywhere in western Europe, and what survived of the Roman law in the early Middle Ages was the *jus scriptum,* the customary Roman law formed before Justinian. But from the twelfth century the classic law of Justinian was studied and taught at the great school of law at Bologna.

Of all the countries of western Europe Italy was pre-eminently the

Why it emerged in Italy

home of the revival of the Roman law. The reasons are not far to seek. In large measure the revival derived from an increased prosperity and a growing self-reliance. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were a time of great economic awakening in the Mediterranean area, especially in northern Italy. The new trade and commerce demanded a system of law more flexible and more universal in its application than the essentially local and customary law of the Lombards. The towns came to prefer the Roman law. The tendency towards political consolidation likewise demanded a common law of wider application. In addition the eleventh and twelfth centuries were a period of political controversy centering in Italy, and both sides eagerly seized upon whatever doctrines of Roman law would support their contentions. Considerable weight may also be attached to the opinion that the revival of the civil law was the result of a new economic system which involved different relations from those familiar to the feudal stage of society. The establishment of a wage economy, for example, made feudal law based upon personal service obsolete.

There were still other reasons. The classical tradition remained stronger in Italy than anywhere else in western Europe. In a sense there was never even a discontinuance in the reign of Roman law in many sections of the country. Wherever the Roman population continued to outnumber the barbarians — and that was true pretty generally throughout Italy — there the Roman law remained the legal system of the land. A large part of formal education in Italy served legal purposes primarily. Grammar and rhetoric were studied as aids to the composition of legal documents, as a preparation for the legal rather than for the theological profession. Logic was employed rather as a discipline for argumentation in the law-courts than as an instrument for probing the mysteries of theology. In other words Italian education developed essentially along secular lines, and legal science instead of theology or scholastic philosophy. The Italian temperament did not adapt itself readily to theology and other abstract sciences.

But the paramount factor making possible the revival of the Roman law was the strengthening of municipal autonomy which became a reality, for the first time since the fall of Rome, with the victory of the Lombard League over the Hohenstaufen in 1183. In the commercial and political life of the emancipated cities there arose a demand for practical knowledge, directly related to the concerns of practical living; and this demand was met by a revived study of the long neglected but never wholly forgotten legal knowledge of the ancient Romans.

Ravenna and Bologna were the chief seats of this interest, especially the latter. We read in a chronicle:

> "Upon the pleading of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Count Werner revived the Roman books of law, which had been largely forgotten and in

which no one studied any more. This was the collection made by Justinian, or the *Corpus Juris*. The first portion of this collection is the *Institutes,* which are a beginning and an introduction to the Roman civil law. The next part is the *Digest* or *Pandects*. The third part is the *Code,* in which the decretals of the emperors have been preserved. The fourth part is the *Novels* or *Authentica,* which were added by Justinian for the extension and improvement of the imperial laws."

In another chronicle it is told that

"Lanfranc of Pavia and his companion Garnerius found a copy of the Roman laws which the Emperor Justinian had had codified in 530 in an abridged form at Bologna, and set themselves to read and expound this work to others. Garnerius remained at this work, but Lanfranc went into France where he had many pupils in the liberal sciences and in theology. He became a monk at Bec in Normandy and later was made archbishop of Canterbury."

Again in the *Deeds of Frederick* by Otto of Freising we read:

"During the impressive diet at Roncaglia in 1158 the Emperor Frederick I . . . had four judges, Bulgarus, Martinus, James, and Hugo, well educated in jurisprudence, doctors of law in Bologna, who advised him."

University of Bologna

It is this last evidence that gives ground for the belief that the University of Bologna's *privilegium* or charter as a school of law was granted in 1158. It was not a university in the full sense of that word, for it did not teach the liberal arts, but only law. The first great teacher of Roman law there was Irnerius, but Gratian, the compiler of the code of canon law which bears his name also taught there. Arts and medicine did not exist as part of the academic organization at Bologna till 1316. The school of theology was not added till 1360, by Innocent VI. Theology and the arts did not flourish in Italy until the Renaissance. Dante complained of the exclusive academic devotion to law, but the truth is that legal studies were the open sesame to high civil office and profitable employment.

Thus Bologna was the issue of one form of intellectual awakening in the twelfth century, Paris of another. Bologna was a law-school, Paris was a school for instruction in theology and philosophy — in a word, in speculative knowledge as distinguished from practical knowledge. Both were products of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

University of Paris

The University of Paris was an outgrowth of the cathedral school of Paris, and this school attained little eminence until the first half of the twelfth century. But behind this development the educational revolution of the eleventh century must be taken into account, in which progressive education passed from monastic schools, like Bec and Tours and Fleury, to the episcopal schools of Reims and Chartres, especially the latter, owing to the great influence of Fulbert of Chartres. As we have already seen, Berenger of Tours, Roscellinus, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Abélard were all, immediately or mediately, products of the school of Chartres.

The germ of the future University of Paris was in the episcopal school in Paris, the first known master of which was William of Champeaux, but it was the teaching and prestige of Abélard that gave the school renown and crowded it with students. While caution must make one discount the exaggerated figures of twenty to thirty thousand students in Paris at this time, there can be no doubt that the number was very large. At first it was recognized scholastic standing that gave the right to teach. But as the educational movement grew, and with it the number of teachers required, it was not long before the necessity of some regulation was felt, especially to prevent men starting to teach without license, and so presumably without adequate preparation. Abélard was prevented from setting up as lecturer both at Paris and at Laon on the ground that he was not so licensed.

Some sort of organization had to be introduced into this agglomerated mass of teachers and pupils, or else the whole new educational movement was in danger of falling into disrepute. Most of the students were strangers in Paris, youths from the provinces, from Germany, from England, from Spain, from Italy, living in cheap lodging-houses, and most of them of little means. The municipal authority in Paris was interested in controlling them, or having them controlled, for, as "clerks" presumably studying for holy orders, they were not subject to the local secular government. The masters and students, too, were desirous of some formal organization.

Meaning of the word "universitas"

Originally the word *universitas* implied nothing more than a collection of teachers and students associated loosely together for communication of ideas. At Bologna the students had taken the initiative and formed themselves, after the manner of a gild, into an association called a *universitas,* divided into two main groups, the cismontane and the ultramontane — that is, those from Italy and those from beyond the Alps; these groups in turn were subdivided into "nations," a loose term to distinguish Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans, Bavarians, Swabians, Provençaux, Burgundians, etc. Each "nation" chose a *conciliarius,* and these together elected a "rector." The masters had not formed and were not members of the University of Bologna, but were employed by the organized student body and were paid fees according to the number of courses and students they had.

In Paris the solution of organization was the reverse of that at Bologna. There the masters formed the corporation or *universitas*. The students were divided into four nations, each with a procurator at its head and with its own statutes. The procurators designated the rector, who, however, before long became immediately responsible to the bishop of Paris. On the whole, the government at Paris was far more in the hands of the masters than at Bologna. One reason for this was the difference in age of students in the two places. At Paris they might come as young as twelve or fourteen years. At Bologna the students were older and more mature, for as the main interest was in law, many of the students were officials and men of affairs. The freer atmosphere of the Lombard communes no doubt exercised its influence also. As the students were young when they came, the period of residence would be long, ten years being not uncommon. With the free movement of students, there was a strong cosmopolitan atmosphere. Paris and Bologna may be said to be the only original universities. Paris supplied the model for the universities of masters, Bologna for the universities of students. Of course, as time went on, various institutions in their development embodied mixed features of the two archetypal universities. In Paris the "nations" were more numerous than in any other university. The intensity of provincial spirit in France is shown in the names of these groups, as Normans, Picards, Burgundians, Provençals, Gascons, besides English, Scots, Germans, Italians, Spaniards. At Oxford students from north of the Trent formed the Northerners, in which the Scots were included; Welshmen and Irishmen were classed as Southerners. All the later universities were a modification or imitation of these types.

Studium generale *the real term for a medieval university*

The term used in the early period for what we call a university was *studium generale,* meaning, not a place where all subjects were studied, but a place where students from all parts were received. This term did not become common, however, till the beginning of the thirteenth century. Rashdall names three characteristics that qualified a *studium generale:* first, that the school attracted students from all parts; second, that it was a place of higher education; that at least one of the higher faculties—theology, law, medicine—was taught there; third, that such subjects were taught by a considerable number of masters. This question of a school's being a *studium generale* was settled by custom or usage, not by authority, and in this connection it is interesting to note that at the opening of the thirteenth century three institutions stood out above all others. These were Paris for theology and arts, Bologna for law, and Salerno for medicine.

Church influence

The influence of the Church was the paramount factor in the formal organization of the universities. The Church was the sole source of learning; the whole movement of the new education had sprung from the episcopal schools; it was impossible that "the greatest institution of all the ages" should not direct and control this new education—all the more because if it got out of hand and developed without control, the authority and teachings of the Church were in danger of being compromised and impaired by the freedom of opinion which was being so boldly expressed. The Church, with magnificent prescience, perceiving that the movement could not be crushed, resolved to guide and regulate the new education. The first evidence of this is found in the papal requirement that candidates for the doctorate at Bologna had to be approved by the bishop, and at Paris in the identification of the rectorship with the episcopal office. Yet, all things considered, the universities as a whole — Paris less so than others because it soon became the seat of theology and canon law — managed to preserve a large degree of academic freedom.[1] Even when the Dominicans and the Franciscans acquired almost monopolistic control of the professorships, this remained true.

But before passing on to the effort of the Church to keep the new rationalism in leash, something needs to be written in regard to the faculties, the curriculum, or body of courses, the method of teaching, examinations, and the life of the students.

Faculties

An ideal university would have had faculties of arts, theology, law in two fields, and medicine — the separation of arts and science is a wholly modern distinction — but no medieval university was so well rounded. Instead a university specialized in one or two fields. Thus Paris was notable for speculative philosophy, theology, canon law, and the arts; Bologna specialized in Roman law; Salerno and later Montpellier in medicine. Oxford held a high place in theology, although theology, law, and medicine did not develop an independent organization.

At Paris the control of the *chancellor* (whose original duties were the keeping of the chapter seal, etc.) extended to the fitness of candidates to be teachers. This control of the chancellor, on one hand, and the right of the competent teacher to a license, on the other, formed the basis of the French university system.

Masters of arts

In tracing the development of the university the struggle between the students and the chancellor plays a very important part. In order to teach, the master's degree was essential. At first the chancellor could not only refuse a license to a master to teach, but he could also deprive him of it. He could bring ecclesiastical pressure to bear upon a master and then enforce his commands. In spite of these powers, however, the chancellor was not a member of the university. The masters as a body could refuse to recognize the "inception" of a new member and in this way exercise control equivalent to the chancellor's over the license. By other means the university could make it difficult for any undesirable licentiate to teach, so that in time the inception of the candidate became as important as the license.

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[1] "At the height of its maturity medieval thought displayed a latitude which is truly surprising; the speculations of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries contain a diversity which quite belies the notion of any orthodoxy rigorously imposed from without. On the other hand it is undeniable that the dogmas of the Church exercised an influence which was paramount. But this influence was psychological rather than authoritative in the sense of external compulsion." — C. R. S. Harris, *Duns Scotus,* I, 40.

The masters in arts controlled the university because they far outnumbered the masters in the upper faculties of theology, law, and medicine. With their still younger students the masters in arts divided themselves into the four nations, French, Normans, Picards, and English. They voted by nations in their meetings, but at an early date in their organization a rector was elected for all four nations and not one rector for each. The rector, as time went on, supplemented the chancellor of the cathedral or the real head of the university.

" Nations "

The curriculum, or courses given, was based upon the old quadrivium, with much gradual amplification and differentiation. Intellectual interest was by no means all concentrated on law, medicine, philosophy, and theology. There was much interest in mathematics, then still a rather mysterious science. Geometry was cultivated as including a variety of sciences, especially geography, in which the crusades and commerce had stimulated a great interest. Astronomy meant chiefly astrology. There was much interest in bestiaries and lapidaries, with their symbolical and often mysterious significance. When, towards the end of the twelfth century, the whole of Aristotle became known, the authority that he had enjoyed as logician was transferred to the field of metaphysics, and, with more impressive results, to natural science. Science was much commingled with pseudo-science, and the authority of Church and Scriptures remained strong. But there was a gradually rising spirit of investigation, and rapidly growing curiosity about the world, which could not but have its effect. The universities naturally became the homes and fostering places of such a spirit. For the lower degree of Bachelor of Arts four or five years were required; and three or four more years for the master's privilege. The course of study embraced grammar, rhetoric, and logic, the *Organon* of Aristotle, preceded by Porphyry's *Isagogé*. The mathematical branches of the quadrivium were required. Finally, a good part of Aristotle's philosophy was studied. In theology the course was very long, especially at Paris, where eight years was the minimum and the degree of doctor was not given before the age of thirty-five. The chief subjects were the Scripture and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. In addition the candidate had to make a good showing in sermons and disputations. The latter often resolved themselves into a trial of skill and endurance, since the candidate had to contest against a succession of opponents from six in the morning till six in the evening, with but an hour's refreshment at noon. For the degree of doctor there were two examinations, a private and a public one, and the degree was conferred in the cathedral. The private examination gave the title of licentiate — *licencia docendi* — but only after the public examination was the title of doctor conferred.

Curriculum

Degrees

The test of a student, of course, was the examination. Even as now in Paris students preparing for the licentiate discuss among themselves the

Examinations professors and the lectures which they will have to pass, so they did in the Middle Ages. We have some curious information on this head in a little treatise written by Robert de Sorbon in the middle of the thirteenth century entitled *De Conscientia*. Robert, who was chaplain to Louis IX and founded the college that bears his name, wished to impress the students with the seriousness of these examinations, which, it must be remembered, were preliminary with most of the students to the taking of holy orders. He compares the examination to the Last Judgment and the winning of the degree as an entering into paradise; as the chancellor is the august examiner on earth, so in heaven one will be judged by God, the supreme searcher of mind and heart.

The method of instruction was entirely oral, being conducted by lectures and discussions of the master or doctor with the students. Until the universities gradually acquired buildings of their own, they used such accommodations as the various ecclesiastical structures clustered around the cathedral afforded. These rooms were bare and cold, often devoid of any furniture save a desk for the master. Before forms or benches were provided, the students sat on the floor, sometimes with a cushion or truss of straw under them. Much of the success of a student depended upon having a retentive memory, for parchment cost so much that few students could afford it or pens and an ink-horn. Sometimes the students of a *Cost of books* single master would club together and buy parchment and, when the lecture was over, adjourn to one of their lodgings or probably oftener to a pot-house, where one of them would be delegated to reduce the lecture to notes, each contributing what he could remember that the master had said. Endless discussion arose at these times, which was education in itself; such effort drew out the innate faculty of the student. For the end of education is not to impart information, but to develop the natural mental ability of the student and to give him intellectual discipline. The lecture notes thus produced were the common possession of all the members of the class and were passed from hand to hand for study. Then, as now in our colleges and universities, there were dullards and triflers among the serious students. Gilbert de la Porrée once told a class that most of them would make better bakers than scholars.

Student life The problem of providing for the material care and moral supervision of these hundreds and even thousands of students was a serious one for the faculties, the Church, and the municipality. The students were young and full of robust youth; they were away from home and without customary restraints; they were poor for the most part and compelled to subsist on meager fare and to lodge in mean quarters; they were tempted by grog-shops and places of prostitution, in which they came in contact with thieves and cut-throats, and some of them would snatch a purse or pick a pocket if chance afforded; moreover, as they were clerks, they were immune from arrest by the ordinary police authority and abused this privilege of clergy. Conflicts of the students of one "nation" with the students of another "nation" were frequent. The Italians did not like the Germans, nor the French the English. The most trivial incident might start a fight. Riots between "town" and "gown," between the citizenry and the students, at times reached formidable dimension.

Founding of the colleges

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century a solution of these administrative and social problems was found in the establishment of the colleges. Originally these were merely dormitories or hostelries to house a group of students in order to provide them with better living-quarters and to keep them under supervision. It was only later that the faculty of the university at large was differentiated and some masters attached to one college, some to another, as a teaching staff. The earliest college at the University of Paris was that of the Bons Enfants (1209), which was followed by the foundation of the Bernardins (1244), Calvi (1252), Sorbonne (1257), Trésorier (1268), Cluny (1269), Dix-huit (1280), Cholets (1294); twenty-seven others were established in the fourteenth century, and four in the fifteenth. On the continent all such colleges have been abolished since the French Revolution, but in England, Oxford, and Cambridge still preserve the medieval federated form of a university. Thus at present Oxford has twenty-three colleges, and Cambridge nineteen, most of them of medieval origin. These colleges were endowed by rich prelates, great nobles, wealthy burghers.

Oxford

Cambridge

Salerno

Salamanca

Prague

Heidelberg

The history of the University of Paris is so typical that it is unnecessary to dwell upon the particular history of other great universities. Oxford, like Paris, sprang from clusters of masters and students which frequented the cathedral school there in the twelfth century, and, like Paris, we do not know the exact date of its emergence as a chartered institution; but it was about 1200. Cambridge was founded in 1209 by a secession of students from Oxford. Sometimes a new university was started like a new hive of bees, by the "swarming" of masters and students in a new place. Salerno, chiefly a medical school, had remote and obscure beginnings in the twelfth century and acquired definite form in the early thirteenth century. Salamanca appeared before 1230. The first university north of the Alps was that of Prague in Bohemia, which was founded by the Emperor Charles IV in 1347. Heidelberg (1385) was the first German university.

Intellectual revolution made by Aristotle's works

The new thinking of the twelfth-century renaissance, culminating in the establishment of the University of Paris about 1200, had been a revolution. But this new revolutionary thought was destined to experience another revolution in the century that followed. This was due to closer knowledge of Aristotle's works and the development of the study of natural science. It was this double influence that accounted for the rapid growth of other universities in the thirteenth century. Previous to 1200 the only work by Aristotle known in the West was his *Logic;* the rest of his ideas were known only vaguely and at second hand through quotations from him in classical and patristic manuscripts.

Influence of Arabic learning

The importation of new Aristotelian knowledge came through the medium of Arab schoolmen in Spain. It speaks volumes for the originality and force of Aristotle's thought that it was not direct, but was filtered through Latin translations of Hebrew translations of Arabic translations of Syriac translations from the original Greek! Thus we are carried back to the time of the first Mohammedan conquests and the Abassid renaissance at Baghdad after 750. It would be more accurate, however, to say that the Arabic language, and not the Arab race, was the agent of this preservation and dissemination. For the great scholars of the Islamic world were many of them Oriental Jews and Persians, though having Arab names. In the Eastern Khalifate in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries

> "a new concentration of culture was being accomplished with youthful energy in the newly founded cities of Baghdad, Basra and Kufa — comparable in many respects to that which had taken place centuries before in Alexandria. Streams of knowledge were converging in the Caliphate from the Byzantine Empire, from Persia, and from India. But this new concentration was not by any means as easy as the old Alexandrian one; that had been mainly a prolongation of the Greek culture, with a few foreign additions of minor importance. On the contrary, the vehicle of the new Muslim civilization was a language which had never been used before for any scientific purpose. Almost every bit of knowledge had to be translated either from Greek or from Sanskrit or from Pahlawi before it could be assimilated. And not only that, but these interpretations necessitated the creation of a philosophic and scientific terminology which did not exist. . . . The Abassid court was entirely permeated with foreign influences — Persian, Jewish, Nestorian, Hindu, Greek."[1]

But for the fortunate possession of the treasures of Greek thought this Moslem revival of learning in the East would probably not have gone farther than the Carolingian renaissance in the West.

From the Baghdad Khalifate this knowledge gradually flowed westward through Mohammedan Egypt and Africa into Spain, where in Córdoba the schools vied with those of Baghdad. In the next chapter the particular subject of medieval science and Arabic influence upon its development will be discussed. Here we shall distinguish between philosophy and science and treat only of the former and the influence of Aristotelian philosophy as apart from science upon Western Christian philosophy. Aristotle's metaphysical ideas first became known to the Latin West through translations of the commentaries of the great Spanish philosopher Averroës of Córdoba (died 1198), who himself was deeply indebted to

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[1] Sarton, *History of Science,* I, 523–4.

Al-Ghazali (died 1111) of Nishapur and Baghdad, the greatest theologian of Islam, and comparable to St. Thomas Aquinas; but "his personal contribution to theology was more considerable than that of the Christian theologian."[1] Averroës also owed something to Saadia Ben Joseph (892–942), "the first great philosopher in Judaism after Philo . . . equally steeped in Aristotle . . . [who] attempted to reconcile rationalism with the Jewish faith."[2]

Jewish learning

The great Jewish philosopher and theologian Maimonides should not be omitted from this list of great thinkers. He labored to reconcile Aristotelianism with the Jewish Scriptures as St. Thomas labored to reconcile Christian dogma with Aristotle. To sum up:

> "The newer sources of Arabian and Jewish peripateticism, mixing with the older currents of the Augustinianism of the twelfth century, issued in a confusion of ideas and theories so heterogeneously various as almost to defy analysis. . . . In that amazing confusion of philosophic speculation three distinct theories of knowledge may be distinguished, all of which were current during that period and all of which influenced in various degrees the thought of the great masters of scholasticism. Oldest of these was the traditional Augustinian theory, strongly Platonic in its associations, with its doctrine of divine illumination. . . . Knowledge comes rather from within than from without. . . . The recovery of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* and the *Metaphysics* effected something which may well be called a revolution in scholastic thought. . . . Divine illumination began to be dispossessed by the Aristotelian empiricism. . . . The third innovation emanated from the Mohammedan philosopher Averroes, and may be defined as skepticism or agnosticism. For both Averroes and Avicenna contended that no science can prove the existence of its own object. The difference between these two was that the former looked at things theologically, the latter metaphysically."[3]

Aristotle banned

Inevitable conflict was precipitated by this new body of thought, and the University of Paris became the battle-ground of it. The scholastics took new alarm. By establishing the university and appointing masters and doctors to be teachers therein the Church thought that it had safeguarded its authority and curtailed at least dangerous extension of free thinking. But Aristotle's philosophy, now becoming rapidly and widely known in the schools, acted like an explosive. "To show that Aristotle was on your side practically amounted to winning the game."[4] In 1210 the teaching of Aristotle was forbidden at Paris by the provincial council, under pain of excommunication of the offending master. Five years later the study of the *Organon* was permitted, but that of the *Metaphysics* was still forbidden, together with anything of Averroës or tainted with Averroism. Nevertheless the influence of the great Stagirite was not arrested;

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[1] G. F. Moore, *History of Religions,* II, 457.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Harris, *op. cit.,* I, 141, 190–1.

[4] Harris, *op. cit.,* I, 204.

Aristotle's works circulated in surreptitious manuscripts; his philosophy in camouflaged form continued to be taught by Amalric of Chartres, (who was burned alive) and Siger of Brabant, who fortunately escaped immolation.

St. Thomas Aquinas

Then the Church, as before it had perceived that it could not crush nominalism and so feigned to tolerate it, but sought to disarm it, showed masterly adroitness again in trying to disarm Aristotelianism, which it saw could not be crushed. In 1220 Honorius III enjoined the appointment of Dominicans and Franciscans as professors in the University of Paris in order to keep this new rationalism under control. Nay, more, with a magnificent gesture, the Church set itself to "reconcile" the scholastic philosophy with the new thought. Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were to be bent to and made to accord with theology. This was the stupendous intellectual achievement of St. Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), an Italian Dominican, in the *Summa*. The Western mind has never possessed a greater intellect of its kind than that of this great Dominican theologian and philosopher. The tool of his thinking was logic and syllogism, and all that intellect could do in systematization of conflicting ideas, and in reconciliation of irreconcilables St. Thomas accomplished. While deferring to authority and faith, St. Thomas used logic to limit faith, recognizing that some authorities were more valuable than others and distinguishing between them. He discerned two sets of dogma, those which came from immediate experience and were subject to the processes of reason, and the mysteries of the Christian faith. The limits of reason are obvious. Reason should not destroy faith, but strengthen it. Reason cannot explain the mystery of the Trinity, which must be accepted on faith, even though it cannot be understood. Revelation is the divine source of knowledge, of which the Scriptures and the Church are the two channels, as Greek thought is the chief channel of "natural" truth or reason. These truths, while they follow different paths, are not incompatible, since they have a common origin in the well of God's truth. In accepting authority, then, St. Thomas applied the critical faculty to determine the best authorities. He believed that the highest happiness came, not from sense-perception nor from the will, but from the intellect. With him what is true was more important than what is good, the speculative mind greater than the practical mind.

"In ethics as in metaphysics St. Thomas was an innovator. So novel in fact was his system that it shocked even the advanced thinkers of the thirteenth century. Augustinianism in theology and Platonism in philosophy had dominated for so long the intellectual life of mankind that a theology presented in terms of Aristotelianism seemed to many but an adventure in heresy. St. Thomas proved, however, that a satisfying synthesis of Christian ethics and humanistic philosophy could be made and it did not take long for his system to be accepted, first by the faculty of the University of Paris, and then by every university in Europe."[1]

Dying at the age of forty-nine, St. Thomas left writings that fill twelve folio volumes in the Vatican edition; the quantity is amazing, the quality still more impressive. Doctrinally and philosophically the Roman Church stands today upon the *Summa* as upon a rock. The Thomistic philosophy yet reigns in the sphere of Catholic education.

Roger Bacon

Roger Bacon (died 1292) followed in the path of scholasticism, although he attacked its methods. He accepted the entire truth of the Bible and of revealed religion, the importance and all-inclusiveness of theology. He even accepted, though less blindly, the writings of the Fathers. In criticizing the methods of scholasticism Bacon made four points: the use of unworthy authorities, blind adherence to tradition, proneness to accept what was popularly thought to be understanding, and concealment of ignorance under a show of wisdom. But in spite of his criticism — sometimes bitter — of scholasticism, Bacon was fundamentally a schoolman in maintaining the subservience of all knowledge to theology.

Duns Scotus

The first break with Thomist teaching came with Duns Scotus (1274?–1308). He still used Thomist methodology, but pointed out that the same criteria may not be employed to judge questions concerning the material world and questions concerning God. For we are conscious of the former through immediate experience, but knowledge of God comes from some higher experience, as intuition or faith, which is subject to different rules. If this be true, said Scotus, then to endeavor to explain revealed religion through Aristotelian logical categories is futile.

William of Ockham

Thus Duns Scotus blazed the path for the agnosticism of William of Ockham (died *c.* 1349) by distinguishing the provinces of religion and philosophy, of faith and reason. Each had a standard of truth which differed from that of the other, a quality valid for its own sphere, but not valid in another sphere. Ockham flatly denied the interdependence of religion and philosophy. The two truths (*veritates*) are separate and distinct. Religion, he said, dealt with things beyond immediate experience. The data of faith are not the data of reason. Hence the mysteries of theological dogma are not subject to philosophical rules. In fact, as far as philosophy is concerned, they may be untrue, although to faith they are eternal verities. Thus Ockham removed religion from the field of science and contracted the area of demonstrable truth, while widening that of the supernatural. Science does not depend on religion, for what can be proved by reasonable evidence requires no other proof. Conversely, theology stands alone on the firm foundation of divine revelation.

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[1] Ryan, in *Speculum*, January 1926, p. 118.

In spite of his caution Ockham gave to his followers a heritage of skepticism which gradually undermined the older scholasticism. For with his denial of the utility of logical proofs of authority he did away with the elaborate system of apologetics of the preceding century, which was based upon the very principle that he denied. Further, by dividing the spheres of religion and philosophy he inevitably invited criticism of method, which to the intellectual world could lead only to one end — the overthrow of authority.

Reasons for decay of scholasticism

The increasing interest in and development of the study of the Roman law at the same time operated to destroy the long monopoly of theological studies. The legists were the most prominent faculty in by far the greater number of medieval universities, and law was the most widely studied and the most influential subject of late medieval learning. The establishment of law-schools led to a considerable decline in the study of theology in every country of western Europe, so that even ecclesiastics abandoned theological studies to devote their time to law; the study of the civil law became so alluring that the number of doctors in the legal faculties exceeded the number in the theological faculties by four to one in several places, and many universities of major importance were almost exclusively law-schools, with no faculty of theology at all.

Perhaps the best evidence of the decline in the popularity of theology after the legal renaissance is to be found in the official attempts to prevent the Roman law from gaining too complete a supremacy. The first of these decrees was issued by the Council of Reims in 1131, prohibiting the monks from studying the civil law. The same prohibition was renewed in 1180 by Pope Alexander III. In 1139 and 1163 the councils of the Lateran and of Tours, respectively, forbade members of all religious orders to study the civil law. In 1220 came the famous bull of Honorius III, *Super Speculam:* ". . . We forbid, under pain of excommunication, at both Paris and the neighboring towns and cities, any person to employ himself in teaching or learning civil law. We have learned with sorrow that, abandoning the study of philosophy, to say nothing of that of theology, the majority of the clergy hasten to the lectures on secular law; and that in the majority of states no one is chosen by the bishops to occupy positions of dignity and honor, or ecclesiastical prebends, unless he is either a professor of civil law or an advocate. . . . " In 1254 Innocent IV extended the prohibition against Roman law to all of France. A final proviso to the bull, however, virtually nullified its effects, by permitting the head of the state to allow the teaching of secular law. It was doubtless this proviso that made possible the establishment of the University of Orléans, exclusively a law-school, in the vicinity of Paris.

During this period the civil lawyer was regarded by many pious folk as the enemy of God. John of Salisbury relates that some of his contemporaries destroyed all manuscripts of the Roman law that they could lay their hands on. St. Bernard lamented bitterly the enthusiasm that ecclesiastics manifested for legal studies, to the obvious neglect of more spiritual concerns.

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CHAPTER XXVII

SCIENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

While the Church and the theologians, by trying to reconcile Aristotelianism and Scholasticism, dexterously performed the remarkable experiment of putting the wine of new thought into old bottles, there were other thinkers in the thirteenth century who were tired of the endless discussion about "substance" and "accidents" and "universals" and "individuals" and would heartily have approved — if they had known them — the lines of Omar Khayyám, the poet and mathematician of Nishapur (died 1124):

> Myself when young did eagerly frequent
> Doctor and saint, and heard great argument
> About it and about, but evermore
> Came out by the same door as in I went.

"One individual," wrote Roger Bacon, "is worth more than all the universals in the world. . . . God has not created the world for the sake of the universal man, but for the sake of individual persons." Bacon and many others with him in the thirteenth century were interested in science and not in theology and metaphysics.

Heritage of ancient science

The history of science in the Middle Ages must begin with the body of this knowledge which was received from antiquity. It was neither large in quantity nor of much quality, for unfortunately the Romans had been an engineering and practical people and were little interested in what the Greeks had achieved in science. They were content with compendiums of the Greek treatises, and hence the original treatises were unknown to Western thought until translations of them from the Arabic began to circulate in the twelfth century. Some of these manuals, accordingly, acquired an importance altogether out of proportion to their real value. For example, the medical works of Galen, the greatest Greek physician, circulated in the form of a paraphrase, and Galen did not come into his own until the school of medicine that grew up at Salerno in the eleventh century became familiar with the whole of Galen through Latin translations of the Arabic translations from the original Greek. In mathematics the Romans were interested in surveying, and the Latin treatises of the *agrimensores* survived; but pure mathematics suffered. The sole work of this sort which the West knew for centuries was Boethius's *Arithmetic,* which was a free translation or paraphrase of a Pythagorean mathematical work by Nicomachos of Gerasa (end of the first century). Geometry suffered more than arithmetic. Menelaos of Alexandria, who made astronomical observations in Rome A.D. 98, was the author of a work on the calculation of chords and another on spherics. The first proposition of the third book of the latter work was the foundation of the solution of spherical triangles among the ancients and was used by Arab scholars to elaborate their astronomical theories. But Menelaos's own works had to wait until the twelfth century before they became known in the West.

Domination of theological over scientific thought

Theological expediency and ecclesiastical domination increased and prolonged this eclipse of science in western Europe. " Christian doctrine was based on faith. Science is reason." One has merely to read St. Augustine to realize how pitifully ignorant the countries of Latin Christendom were for centuries, and how dogmatism inhibited research. The emphasis laid by the Church upon introspective life closed men's eyes to the world of nature around them. St. Augustine expressed astonishment that " men go abroad to admire the heights of mountains and study the circuits of the stars, and pass themselves by." He ridiculed the idea that the earth was a sphere, though the Greeks had known it for centuries, and declared the notion of the antipodes both ridiculous and heretical. Along with this retrogression of scientific thought went also corruption of it by the universal belief in miracles and widespread superstition. Magic polluted what little genuine scientific knowledge survived; alchemy, which at least had the elements of chemistry within it, and astrology, which in like manner contained the elements of astronomy, became paramount forms of belief, and pseudo-science instead of science became supreme for centuries in western Europe. " In the thinking of the Middle Ages it is always necessary to remember that the knowledge of the day was not only perverted and corrupted in quality, but it was also extremely small in extent." [1]

Byzantine Europe was no better off. When Justinian closed the schools of Athens (529), the light of Greek science and philosophy went out. The exiled scholars found refuge in Persia at the court of Chosroes I, the Great (Nushirwan the Just), whose capital became the greatest intellectual center of the time, where mathematics, natural science, and philosophy were cultivated and the knowledge of them increased by the infiltration of Hindu science out of India.

All this accumulated heritage of Greek, Persian, and Hindu scientific knowledge passed over intact to the Arabs after their conquest of Persia, Syria, and Egypt and formed the basis of the Abassid renaissance in the East about the same time as the Carolingian renaissance in the West. But the latter was an educational and literary revival and without interest in science.

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[1] SINGER, *From Magic to Science*, p. xl.

The whole range of scientific knowledge in western Europe in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries may be measured in the *Etymologiæ* or *Encyclopædia* of Isidore of Seville (died 636), the writings of Bede (died 735), and the *Glossæ Salomonis,* an encyclopedic dictionary which originated at Saint-Gall, but is named from Archbishop Salomo III of Constance, of which it has been written that "it illustrates how exceedingly inadequate was the state of learning and how narrow were the conceptions of life at that time."[1] The inspiration and the source of information for all three of these writers was Pliny's *Natural History* and little else.

So far as science in the early Middle Ages was concerned, in the East only was there light. While these Eastern scholars were not all, or indeed many of them, Arabs, but chiefly Persians or Arabized Jews, yet the universal and fixed nature of the Arabic language, owing to the Koran, made that tongue an international language from India and even China to Spain. The Moslem renaissance from the first was essentially of an international nature and in this respect was unlike either the Carolingian or the Byzantine renaissance of the ninth century.

Greatness of Arabic science

It was fortunate for Mohammedan science that the Baghdad Empire was the common meeting-place of Greek, Persian, and Hindu thought, and it is a singular reflection that Hindu mathematics had developed entirely independent of the influence of Greek mathematics, and that both met together in the schools of the great Arab Empire. This double stimulation is a remarkable event. Merely to list the names of eminent Arab scientists between 750 and 1100 would fill a paragraph; only the greatest of them can here be mentioned. First in point of time stands Geber of Kufa, in the eighth century, at once alchemist and technical chemist. Then follow Al-Khwarizmi of Khiva, in the first half of the ninth century, "one of the greatest scientists of his race and the greatest of his time," mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, who fused Greek and Hindu mathematics and founded algebra — discovered by the Hindus — in the sense that translations of his mathematical works centuries later gave algebra to western Europe; Al-Battani (died 929), a Sabian, one of the most famous astronomers of Islam; Al-Razi of Baghdad (died 923 or 924), "the greatest clinician of Islam and of the Middle Ages," the Mohammedan Galen; Avicenna, in the first half of the eleventh century, whose medical treatises "remained the supreme authority not simply in Islam, but also in Christendom for six hundred years"; Ibn Al-Haitham (965–1039), a great physicist, particularly in optics, to whom Roger Bacon over two hundred years later was indebted; and his contemporary Ali Ibn-Isa, the oculist. This brilliant series may be said to terminate with Omar Khayyám, the mathematician, in the first quarter of the twelfth century. By that time Mohammedan learning had spent its force; its precocious genius was burning out.

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[1] Stälin, *Geschichte Württembergs* I, 405.

The Arabs added algebra and plane and spherical trigonometry to Euclidian geometry; they invented the sinus; they calculated tangents, cotangents, and secants; they maintained astronomical observatories at Baghdad, Raqqa, Damascus, Cairo, Samarkand, Córdoba, and Fez. The Mongols added those of Meraga and Peking. They used the astrolabe and the sextant. The latitude and longitude of every great city of the Islamic world were calculated. Arabic mathematicians proved the enormous error of Ptolemy by reducing his estimated length of the Mediterranean from 62 degrees to 42 degrees.

Penetration of Arabic science into western Europe

But before the era of decline set in, Arabic science had begun to penetrate the scientifically benighted Latin West through Sicily and Spain. The obscure beginnings of the medical school at Salerno go back to Shabbethai ben-Abraham ben-Joel, a Jew of Otranto in Lower Italy, who was taken captive by Saracen pirates in 925 and carried to Palermo, where he learned Arabic and "studied all the sciences of the Greeks, Arabs, Babylonians, and Indians." Southern Italy at this time, it must be remembered, was a Byzantine possession, and hence Greek and Arabic learning met in the schools of Otranto, Salerno, Rossano, etc. From this region John of Gorze before 950 brought back to Lorraine an example of Aristotle's *Categories* and of Porphyry's *Isagogé,* transcripts of which we find at Fleury-sur-Loire before the year 1000. From Calabria at the end of this century came that John who was instrumental in the revival of Greek studies in Germany during the so-called Saxon renaissance. But part of the inspiration of that movement was of Arabic origin. And again the vehicle of transmission was John of Gorze.

Arabic science north of the Alps

Until very recently the earliest positive date for the transmission of Arabic learning north of the Alps has been 984, a date attached to the history of the famous Gerbert. But it has now been proved that we can go back as far as 956 for this event. For in 953 Otto the Great sent John of Gorze on a mission to the Khalif Adb-er-Rahman III of Córdoba, and here John fell in with the great Spanish Jewish scholar named Hasdai Ibn-Shaprut, high in the favor of the khalif, and who was versed also in the Latin language. We are not told definitely what manuscripts John of Gorze brought back with him to Germany from Spain, or even that he brought any. But the circumstantial evidence points strongly that way. For in the schools of Lorraine in the last half of the tenth century a remarkable renaissance of mathematical studies was manifested and we can detect evidences of Arabic science in the writings of learned monks of that time.

Gerbert

Contrary to what is widely believed, little light in this matter of the introduction of Arabic science into the West was shed by Gerbert of

Reims, afterwards Pope Sylvester II (999–1003), who was master of the school of Reims by 972. He was "the first mind of his time, its greatest teacher, its most eager learner, and most universal scholar." He was the teacher of Abbo of Fleury (died 1004), who made that abbey the last shining monastic example of higher learning, and of Fulbert of Chartres (1007–29), who refounded that brilliant school. Early in life Gerbert had dwelt at Barcelona and there may have acquired some faint perception of the value of Arabic science. He is widely credited with having introduced Arabic, more accurately Hindu, numerals into Europe,[1] but it is not established. Certainly he deplores the "iron process" of solving an example in long division with Roman numerals, a sentiment with which all will sympathize who will try to do so.

Gerbert's learning represented to the fullest degree the nature and extent of the learning of Europe just before the intellectual awakening of the eleventh century, so that it is fitting to dwell upon this subject at some length. Fortunately for this purpose we have a clear account of the matter from the pen of one of his students, the historian Richer of Reims. If one analyses this account, it will be apparent that Gerbert's learning was almost wholly the sum of European scientific knowledge as derived from Pliny, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Bede, and the Carolingian renaissance. No direct and immediate Greek knowledge and none that is Arabic is observable. Richer tells at length what books and which order of books Gerbert observed in his teaching and casts some light upon his method of instruction. Long as this account is, even when abridged, it deserves citation for the interest and value of it.

> "He presented dialectics after the order of the books and explained that subject with comprehensible explanations. First he commented upon the introduction [i.e., the paraphrase] of Porphyry the philosopher [who died in Rome in 304] to the *Categories* of Aristotle, according to the translation of the rhetor Victorinus, [who lived in Rome about 360] and afterwards, also, according to the commentary of Boethius."

Therefore Gerbert had only a Latin translation of a Greek paraphrase of the original.

> "Thereupon he expounded Aristotle's book on the *Categories* — fundamental principles like substance, attribute, quality, quantity, etc., in ten propositions. This was followed by the *Periermenias* or the 'Interpretation' — a Latin version of the Greek — the difficulties in which he amply demonstrated. Then he presented the topic — that is to say, the basis — of the arguments (*argumentorum sedes*) which Tully [Cicero] had translated from Greek into Latin, and upon which Boethius had commented in six books. He also ex-

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[1] "The earliest Muslim documents containing Hindu numerals are dated 874 and 888." — SARTON, *History of Science,* I, 601.

pounded with suggestion the four books upon divers methods of reasoning, two upon syllogisms and categories, three upon hypotheses, one upon definitions, and one upon division of thought. After that he passed on to rhetoric and observed that it were impossible to make progress in the study of rhetoric without a knowledge of the modes of expression found in the Roman poets. He read and elucidated Maro [Vergil], Statius, Terence, and the satirists Juvenal, Persius, and Horace. In history we read Lucan's *Pharsalia*. After having been thus instructed in rhetoric we were trained in argumentation and debate by the study of logic. The study of mathematics cost us a great deal of labor. He began by teaching arithmetic, which is the first part of that science, from which he passed to music, a science long neglected in Gaul. He indicated the different tones on the monocord, showing their consonance or harmony in whole and half tones, and distinguished intervals of two whole tones and those of half tones; he also combined the tones into accords in a most artful manner.[1] Although the science of astronomy nearly passes human understanding, Gerbert did, however, make it comprehensible to us with the aid of apparatus. First he represented the globe of the earth by means of a round wooden sphere and indicated by other spheres the relation of the planets to our globe. The poles were represented to be obliquely opposite to each other from our point of vision, and the northern and southern constellations were pictured. He determined the position of the globe by means of the circle which the Greeks called the horizon, and the Romans knew as the *circulus limitans* or *determinans,* because it forms the boundary line between the stars that are visible and those that are not seen. The rising and setting of the stars was clearly visualized, and after that he explained the constellations. On clear nights he would take us out to view the sky and he admonished us to note their oblique course and to learn to locate the great stars and constellations."

Richer goes on at length to tell in technical language how Gerbert drew parallels and meridians upon the wooden sphere, marked the equator, and distinguished the zones, and by an ingenious contrivance illustrated the movement of the planets and even the great constellations. He directed no less energy to instruction in geometry. As arithmetic was the first part of the quadrivium Gerbert devoted much attention to it. Contrary to a widely circulated opinion, he originated nothing in this subject, but taught it as it had been taught since Roman times and expounded by Boethius in the sixth century. Instruction was imparted by use of the abacus, a board having twenty-seven compartments or squares marked upon it, on which, by manipulating the nine digits, any problem of simple arithmetic could be worked out mechanically. From Richer's long and technical account of the use of the abacus it is evident that, when he was Gerbert's pupil, Arabic numerals were not employed. Neither was the zero used or any signs of addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division.

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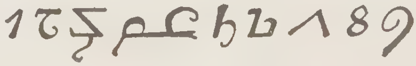
[1] The monocord was a box-shaped instrument with a cord or string of gut stretched tight across it. It was used to illustrate the variety and degree of musical tones.

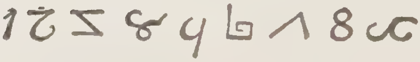
Results in these processes had to be expressed by a word indicating the nature of it.

Leonard of Pisa

In the thirteenth century Leonard of Pisa, who was the son of a Pisan collector of customs in north Africa, is the first European scholar of whom it is established that he used Arabic figures. But even so this statement needs qualification. Leonard seems to have been the first one who employed the term "cipher," which comes from the Arabic *çifr*. In the same way "zero" is derived from the Arabic *zefiro*. The Arabs themselves called the figures that they used "Indian ciphers," but it is not certain that our so-called Arabic figures are of Hindu origin. Soon after the year 1000 a pupil of Gerbert named Bernelinus composed a *Liber Abaci,* a résumé of his master's lectures, which remained the standard treatise on the abacus for two centuries. But when Arabic numerals became current medieval Christian scholarship was too proud to admit their invention to the Arabs and alleged that not only Gerbert, but Boethius had used similar signs, which were called *apices,* long before Arabic learning was known in the West. These spurious figures are interesting. The really original contribution of Arabic mathematical thought to notation was the device of the zero, which, however, cannot be proved to have been used in Christian Europe before the thirteenth century. The invention of the zero made possible the simple multiplication of any of the digits 0.9, 10, 100, 1000, etc. The invention of the zero is attributed to the Mohammedan Ibn Mousa, surnamed Al-Kharizmi, because he was born in the province of Kharizim in the Baghdad khalifate. By a corruption of his surname the word "algorithm" or "algorism," meaning the science of numeration, was derived.



The alleged *apices* of Boethius



Figures attributed to Bernelinus

Stimulative factors in the dissemination of Arabic science

Gerbert represented the maximum of medieval scientific learning as it was derived from Roman antiquity, with the limitations of that knowledge imposed by Roman indifference to Greek scientific theories and higher learning; but he was not a creator or disseminator of the new learning imparted by the Arabs. It is only through vision that any progress can be made, and Gerbert had little vision of the future of learning which was in preparation and soon to be revealed to Europe. He saw the first faint flush of the dawn; he did not see the dawn itself, the birth of an active spirit of scientific research. The change was stimulated by increased commercial intercourse, the crusades, the long domination of the Moors in Spain, the Arabic conquest of Sicily and prolonged occupation of Provence, the intellectual influence of the Spanish Arab universities of Córdoba, Seville, Toledo, and Granada, the diffusion of Arabic mathematical and scientific treatises, all of which were media of the transmission of Arabic culture. The number of Arabic words is naturally greatest in Spanish, but the French language has almost a thousand.

Christian translators of Arabic treatises in science

The makers of this dawn were the noble galaxy of translators of the treasures of Arabic science into Latin, by whom the mind of the West was made to see a new and great light. As we have seen, Sicily and Spain were the two seats of Arabic culture in the West, and it was from these two countries that Arabic learning radiated. The earliest Western translator whom we know was Constantinus Africanus, a Christian who was born in Carthage and was for many years an Arab subject; he traveled in the East and about 1056 became a monk at Monte Cassino, dying in 1087. His translations deeply influenced the study of science in southern Italy and almost created the medical school at Salerno, where, however, one must make allowance for the fact that Greek medical tradition had never been entirely broken. The historian Leo of Ostia called him "the master of East and West." In the next century Spain's doors were opened by a host of translators after the Christian recovery of Toledo in 1085. "Toledo was the natural place of exchange for Christian and Mohammedan learning. At this center of scientific teaching 'were to be found a wealth of Arabic books and a number of masters of the two tongues, and with the help of these Mozarabs and resident Jews there arose a regular school for the translation of Arabic-Latin books of science, which drew from all lands those who thirsted for knowledge.'"[1] Archbishop Raymond of Toledo (1125–51) must be given credit for his liberal encouragement of this movement.

Chief among these translators were Adelard of Bath, Plato of Tivoli, Robert of Chester, Daniel of Morley. Their labor was supplemented by that of Jewish-Latin translators dwelling in the Mohammedan part of Spain, men like Petrus Alfonsi, and Abraham ben-Ezra. While Toledo was the chief seat of this Christo-Arabic learning, we find translators in Barcelona, Segovia, Pamplona, and over the Pyrenees in Toulouse, Narbonne, and Béziers. All of these scholars lived and labored during the first half of the twelfth century. The latter half of this century saw the most prolific translator of all in Gerard of Cremona (died 1187), the catalogue of whose translations totals seventy-one Arabic works done into Latin.

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[1] Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediæval Science*, p. 52, quoting V. Rose.

Influence of the new science

The effect of this mass of new and potent knowledge upon the Western mind was an intellectual revolution. In order to understand how this came about, one must bear in mind that other intellectual awakening in this century — namely, the conflict between nominalism and realism, or rationalism and fundamentalism, which prepared the soil for this new seed. In this debate logic had almost imperceptibly led to physics, for there is a close relation between logic and experimental science. The spirit of research implied in this intellectual revolution was expressed by William of Conches in a noble sentence: "We toil for truth alone." One can understand how men like Roger Bacon, with the new world of science opening before them, became tired of abstruse metaphysics and endless argumentation over "accident" and "substance" and turned with relief to the new study of science.

Alarm of the Church

The alarm of the Church over this new scientific knowledge was little less than its alarm over the spread of Aristotelianism, for both might and did compromise theology. Accordingly, just as the Church endeavored to control rationalism by putting Dominicans and Franciscans into university chairs and setting St. Thomas Aquinas to his elaborate attempt to reconcile Aristotelianism with Scholasticism, so the Church also labored to conciliate the new science with its theology, that ecclesiastical teaching and authority might not be undermined.

Great scientists of the Middle Ages

While the line between the phenomena of religion and the phenomena of science was not drawn in the Middle Ages — nor indeed until the eighteenth century — so sharply as today,[1] nevertheless the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century may be divided between those who were primarily interested in theology and dogmatism, and those who were primarily interested in science. In the former class were Alexander of Hales and St. Thomas Aquinas; in the latter Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (died 1253), Michael Scot, a protégé of the brilliant Emperor Frederick II, Albertus Magnus (died 1280), and, above all, Roger Bacon (died 1294). The observant student will not have failed to note that the number of English scholars interested in the new science exceeds that from any other country. For Adelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Daniel of Morley, Grosseteste, and Bacon were all Englishmen, and Michael Scot was an Irishman or an Englishman of Irish extraction. St. Thomas Aquinas, with his hair-splitting dialectic, tried to do homage to the new science and yet spare theology by declaring, when the Ptolemaic system was questioned, that "although the phenomena can be saved on the Ptolemaic hypothesis, we do not assert that they are true, since perhaps the phenomena of the heavenly bodies may be saved in some way not yet grasped by the mind of man." It was something to prevail upon the "seraphic doctor" to make even such a concession, but other scholars were more forthright. The whole story of the creation in Genesis was questioned and attacked by these bold thinkers. Why was light created on the first day, and the stars on the fourth? Why was the moon called one of the two great lights, since it was smaller than any of the planets? Why were birds and reptiles said to issue from the water, and quadrupeds from the land?

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[1] "Science is reason organized and systematically applied. Religion is a reasoned . . . abdication of reason with regard to problems which *are not* amenable to scientific treatment." — Sarton, *History of Science,* I, 23.

Though medieval science to the end of the Middle Ages did not succeed in liberating chemistry from alchemy, or astronomy from astrology, it nevertheless was science.

> "Alchemy and even more astrology contained at least a nucleus of scientific thought. The fact that even this nucleus was proved to be erroneous by subsequent investigations does not matter much, for every truth is but relatively and temporarily true. Pure astrology was a very remarkable scientific system; it provided a congruous explanation of the world. . . . The scientific ideas forming the core of ancient astrology and alchemy influenced the progress of science . . . because they stimulated new observations and experiments. . . . For science is essentially a cumulative, a progressive activity."[1]

The true intellectuality of the thirteenth century is to be found in scholars such as these and not in the credulity of the masses, nor are they to be impeached because astrological and alchemical ideas still invested their thinking. It would be unjust to measure them by our modern knowledge and our modern laboratory methods. It is their influence in the intellectual development of the age that must be considered, the advance in knowledge which they made.

Franciscan and Dominican teachers of science

As we scan the list of these eminent names, we identify almost all of them as either Dominicans or Franciscans, but the cleavage between the groups was great. The Dominican scholars were intellectual conservatives, endeavoring to sustain authority, tradition, and dogma by conciliating the old and the new learning. The Franciscans, on the other hand, were forward-looking, critical, revisionist, radical. There is immense suggestion in this fact.

The great deficiency of the medieval mind in the matter of scientific interpretation was failure to perceive the unity of nature. Things for the medieval man had a value independently of other things; natural phenomena were not co-ordinated and synthesized. Roger Bacon, more than any other scholar of the age, caught a glimpse of this underlying unity of nature and had an adumbration of a monistic philosophy. He realized, at least dimly, that physics, chemistry, astronomy, and mathematics were different functions of the same thing. Yet great as Bacon was, he owed his initial inspiration to Robert Grosseteste, who reduced physics, chemistry, physiology, and all other natural phenomena to cosmic geometry. All natural phenomena, according to Grosseteste, were reducible to lines, angles, planes, figures. The sphere was the perfect figure because light multiplies itself spherically. It was an anticipation of Cartesian philosophy in the thirteenth century.

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[1] George Sarton, in *Isis,* VI (1924), pp. 85, 78.

Lack of technical apparatus, not lack of thought

What the medieval man of science lacked was technique. The scholars of that time were intellectually as able as scholars of today, and they were far less ignorant than is commonly supposed. No scientific man in the Middle Ages believed that the earth was flat. The reason of eclipses was known and they were even calculated. Adelard of Bath spent two summers studying the tides and worked out a reasonable theory of the phenomenon of flux and reflux; he contended that matter was indestructible, though he could not demonstrate it, having no such laboratory or apparatus as a modern physicist has. The same proposition was argued by Hugo of St. Victor, which does not make him seem to have been a mystic. The principles of optics were understood in the twelfth century from Arabic treatises, and the lens was also known. Bacon describes it as "a useful instrument for the old who have impaired eyesight," and about 1300 we find the lens spoken of almost rapturously: "When the reader who looks at the writing of any book, however difficult it may seem to read to the naked eye, uses a lens, the letters appear greater, so that even the old can read with ease." What shall one think of Duns Scotus, who spent a winter in Paris calculating the precession of the equinoxes, in which he employed both Greek and Arabic mathematics? Albertus Magnus, who was primarily a natural scientist, at the beginning of his work on minerals discusses the different ways in which minerals may be classified and weighs the value of each method. Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* has been truly called "at once the Encyclopædia and the Organon of the thirteenth century." His famous indictment of the science and the scientists of his time is not what it seems; it is really the complaint of a great spirit, impatient as genius ever is, owing to the slowness with which truth is discovered, discontented with the smug contempt of the ignorant, sometimes disheartened by the limitations under which he worked and the indifference that he met with from those who had no understanding of the nature and the value of scientific research. Bacon urged the investigation of nature and the useful application of the knowledge thus gained. His epistle on the possibilities and the future of science is one of the classics of the history of science, like Tyndall's famous Belfast Address.

The debt of the world to medieval science is far greater than is realized. To the cloistered students of the Middle Ages we owe our modern system of notation and algebra, the magnifying glass — Bacon made many microscopes for himself — the art of distillation, and pure alcohol, almost every acid and alkali not already occurring in nature, the first fulminating agents, almost every remedy known to the pharmacopæia before the advent of modern chemistry, and the process of manufacturing linen paper.

Real progressiveness of medieval science

One of the paradoxes of our time is the ignorance of even men of science of what they owe to medieval and renaissance scientific research. They need to read the history of science as a prophylaxis against priggery. The thirteenth century was equal to the Renaissance in the real advancement of learning, and superior to it in disinterestedness of spirit. That continuity of scientific thought from the Greeks and Arabs downward, which Bacon perceived, made Copernicus and Galileo possible in the sixteenth century. The progress of mathematics, in which Germany far exceeded any other country, may be traced from Albertus Magnus through John of Saxony, Conrad of Meginburg, Nicholas of Cusa, Georg Peurbach, and Regiomontanus (Johann Müller of Königsberg) to Copernicus without a break. Duns Scotus (born between 1266 and 1274) was the teacher of William of Ockham, and Ockham, more than any other medieval philosopher, may be said to have been the father of modern philosophic thought. Francis Bacon in the sixteenth century, Locke and Descartes in the seventeenth, and a host of the great philosophic and scientific thinkers of the age of rationalism in the eighteenth century were Ockham's intellectual descendants.

Medieval encyclopedias

The volume and variety of old knowledge revised in the light of Aristotelian and Arabic learning and of new knowledge derived from the Arabs had by the thirteenth century reached such dimension and the general interest in it was so great that Pliny's *Natural History* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies,* long the stand-by, failed to suffice. A host of encyclopedists arose who endeavored to correlate the new learning. The most eminent of these were Alexander Neckham (*On the Nature of Things*), Bartholomew Anglicus (*The Properties of Things*) — notice that these two were Englishmen — and Vincent of Beauvais (*Mirror of Nature, Mirror of Doctrine,* and *Mirror of History*). These works by Vincent of Beauvais form three huge folio tomes in the printed edition of 1624, and "perhaps one-half of the whole, say three thousand folio pages, deals with science in the more particular sense."

Frederick II as a patron of science

This chapter upon medieval science would be incomplete without mention of the greatest patron of science in the Middle Ages. The Emperor Frederick II was a person of great personal charm and native ability. Innocent III, as early as 1208, wrote of him: "He is endowed with virtues beyond his years; he is passing from the gate of boyhood into years of discretion at a quicker pace than usual, whence we may expect the happiest results." The Germans knew him as "by nature wonderfully endowed," and Salimbene spoke of him in a similar tone. He possessed that charm of manner which made even his enemies—and he had many—love him for the moment.

Frederick's most distinctive mental trait was his boundless curiosity. He was curious to the point of investigating and experimenting in almost every intellectual activity of his age. Philosophy, grammar, mathematics, language, poetry, and art were the objects of his interest. The methods by which he satisfied this curiosity illustrate the second feature of his mind, his skepticism. This skepticism accounts for much that is unusual in an age when reason was rare, and superstition and blind faith common. It was a habit of mind with Frederick, characteristic of his approach to religion as well as to science.

The curious thing about Frederick's views is that those who have studied them come to such widely different conclusions. Villari speaks of him as a sincere Catholic, disposed to persecute heresy, while Haskins calls him "profoundly rationalistic," and points out that he applied the test of reason and experience in affairs of state as well as in matters of science. Sedgwick describes him as an epicurean pagan, to whom life was a glorious opportunity for happiness and intellectual adventure.

And yet Frederick had a strong element of superstition in his make-up, and placed a great deal of faith in the predictions of his astrologers. We know the names of only two of what was probably a large number of those who cast the royal horoscope and foretold the fate of military adventures and affairs of state, as well as of matters more personal in their nature. Michael Scot speaks with pride of his successful predictions of campaigns and the avoidance of unfavorable seasons, and later astrologers pointed to the truth with which they had foretold the Emperor's death. Legend has it that Frederick long avoided Florence because he had been warned that his death would take place near iron gates at a town the name of which was derived from *Flora*. His last illness prevented him from going beyond Fiorentino.

Frederick loved to relax from the cares of government by a study of the exact sciences. He is known to have read the *Abacus,* written by Leonard of Pisa in 1202, and Leonard's treatise on *Squared Numbers* is an attempt to solve problems that the author and John of Palermo had discussed in the Emperor's presence. Geometrical and astronomical problems were solved for the Emperor at Mosul. Moreover, he made use of his well-known questionnaires to secure solutions from famous mathematicians in other lands. We have a series of geometrical questions sent by one of Frederick's philosophers, in Arabic, to the young Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen in Toledo, together with replies. In the reign of Al-Malik al-Kamil, Sultan of Egypt (1218–38), the Emperor set seven problems to test Moslem scholars. Three of these, which concern optics, have been preserved, with their answers. If further proof of Frederick's knowledge of mathematics is needed, we have only to recall that some knowledge of geometry and other branches of mathematics would be necessary to the designer of the towers at Capua and the builder of castles.

Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus* is something more than its name would indicate, a treatise on hunting and the use of falcons; it is a treatise on the anatomy, domestication, and habits of birds used in this pastime. The treatise contains six books, only two of which have yet been printed. Haskins describes very minutely the manuscripts, of which he says there are two classes: those containing the first two books only, with Manfred's additions, written not long after the middle of the thirteenth century, with illustrations in a contemporary hand; and those containing six books, with marginal illustrations of birds, done in brilliant colors, accurate even to details of plumage, while the representation of birds in flight has an almost photographic quality. Of the six-book series the first book is a general treatise on birds and their habits; the second is on birds of prey; the third describes the different kinds of lures; the fourth, fifth, and sixth are on hunting. Even this is not all that the author intended or accomplished, for the preface to the second book mentions an account of the care of birds during molting and of the treatment of their diseases, an account which does not appear. Three kinds of sources were available for such a work: scientific works on natural history as Aristotle's *De animalibus historia;* practical treatises on falconry; direct observation and personal inquiries. Frederick used Pliny and Aristotle, but he elaborates upon, fortifies, and even corrects through his own observation such authorities as he uses. He had the writings of skilled falconers brought from the East and translated. The third source, direct observation and personal inquiry, was the Emperor's choice. Thus he tried the well-known experiment of hatching eggs by the heat of the sun; he sealed vultures' eyes to discover whether or not they got their food by smell. The surviving fragment of a register of correspondence for parts of 1239–40 contains forty references to falcons and falconers in different parts of his domain, indicating that Frederick would go the length of using any and every officer in his administration to carry on experiments and secure information.

With so decided a *penchant* for natural science, Frederick was bound to become acquainted with the science of medicine. He had wished to become a physician, and his interest in medicine was so great that he even wrote prescriptions for members of his own family. He was especially interested in matters of hygiene, such as blood-letting, diet, and bathing. He had Theodore write a series of precepts on hygiene for him, and, according to a French manuscript, he had a doctor named Aldobrandin de Sienne, in 1234, translate into Latin a Greek treatise on medicine. He provided for the care of the numerous hot springs that supplied the baths at Pozzuoli and had the curative properties of each carefully recorded. In 1231 he revived the statute prohibiting the practice of medicine without examination and license. What his motive was we do not know. Huillard-Bréholles speaks of it as a " sage réglement." Haskins and Rashdall disagree. Haskins writes that it was " issued in the interests of bureaucratic government rather than of university development."

Frederick II was almost as much interested in philosophy as in science and had his own court philosopher at the Sicilian court. Master Theodore, who is designated in the prologue to the French romance *Sidrach* as " *Todre li phylosopher,*" and, according to the Dominican annals, silenced the friars in philosophical disputes, served Frederick in various capacities. He cast the imperial horoscope, compounded sirups for the Emperor's table, and drafted his Arabic letters to the King of Tunis, to say nothing of his medical and literary activities. Apart from his doubtful relation with the romance *Sidrach,* Master Theodore's literary activity was confined to a treatise on hygiene, extracted for the Emperor's benefit from the *Secretum secretorum* of the Pseudo-Aristotle, and a Latin version of the work of Moamyn on the care of falcons and dogs. He had some knowledge of astrology and mathematics, as well as of Greek and Arabic.

Philosophy then included metaphysics, logic, natural science, ethics, astronomy, and alchemy. The most representative man of this composite science was Michael Scot. Born probably in Scotland towards the close of the twelfth century and educated at Paris and Toledo he came to the court of Frederick about 1227. Before this date he had written his version of Aristotle's *Historia animalium,* and had translated Al-Bitrogi *On the Sphere.* Once he settled in Sicily, his writing became identified with the interests of the Emperor. The *Abbreviatio Avicenne de animalibus,* written soon after 1232, and dedicated to the Emperor, was followed by a series of astrological treatises, the *Liber introductorius,* the *Liber particularis,* and the *Physionomia;* in all of these the Emperor's interests are plain; indeed the treatise on astrology attempts, in part, to answer the questions asked by Frederick. Whether or not Frederick's interest in alchemy dictated the writing of a treatise in the style of Scot, though reshaped by another hand, found in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, cannot be told with certainty. Notes appended to the Pisa and Cambridge copies of *De animalibus* indicate that he treated diseases, but no works on medicine can be definitely attributed to him.

Scot's title to fame in the Middle Ages rested on his astrological writings. In these, the *Liber introductorius* and the *Liber particularis,* he substitutes for the Averroistic doctrine of the universe his own conception of God, man, angels, and spirits, and adds a history of astrology from Zoroaster to Gerbert. The *Physionomia,* his most popular work, was intended to serve as a guide to the Emperor in his judgments of men. The

Liber particularis was intended as a beginner's text in the art of astrology and combines astrology, astronomy, meteorology, and music, in a more complete and more scientific study than had previously been made. Frederick's curiosity guided the experiments of the writer, who, here again, attempts to answer the Emperor's questions as to the nature of heaven and hell, the reason for the bitterness of sea-water, and the causes of volcanic eruptions. The answers, Haskins thinks, do not show so keen an intelligence as do the questions.

Connected with the court of Frederick II, while not actually living in it, was Leonard of Pisa, the most renowned mathematician of his day. In 1202 he first issued the *Abacus,* which, after a revision in 1228, he handed to Michael Scot. Frederick read the *Abacus* and listened to the discussion of questions on mathematics, the answers to which Leonard afterwards incorporated in the *Flos* and *Liber quadratorum.*

One other member of this group remains for our consideration. Frederick's son Manfred revised the *De arte venandi.* He, too, had translations made of Aristotle; he showed his interest in Arabic astrology by ordering a translation of a treatise entitled *Centiloquium Hermetis,* a set of astronomical and astrological tables. Like his father, he knew philosophy and mathematics and was interested in scholastic disputes; he strove, somewhat unsuccessfully, to continue that patronage of learning so successfully carried on by his father.

In addition to this court patronage of philosophers, mathematicians, and poets Frederick expressed his personal interest in the writings and experiments of others by means of correspondence. He maintained relations with students of law and literature in northern Italy. He encouraged the study of Greek, which he may have understood. According to the Vatican manuscripts, he had in his school at Salerno special professors for the Greeks, as he had for both Latins and Jews, and instruction was given each nationality in its own tongue. He even had learned Greeks and Jews teach Arabic to those Arabs born in Sicily, for he did not wish them to forget their own tongue.

As might be suspected, Frederick's patronage was not always disinterested. Sometimes he merely exchanged costly gifts with those who could send him some unusual addition to his menagerie, or some article of great scientific interest. The planetarium sent him in 1232 by the Sultan of Damascus was one of these rare objects; it had figures of the moon and the sun, which marked the hours, and was valued at twenty thousand marks. Frederick patronized the minnesingers and troubadours because their attacks upon the Church did more good than a dozen Latin treatises. He founded and regulated universities because he needed well-trained officials for his *Curia,* and he wanted them trained at home. He crushed the University of Bologna for political reasons.

Two schools received charters from Frederick II. The School of Saint Stephen's was chartered in 1237 and the University of Naples in 1224. The latter institution was the first university of Italy to be founded at a definite time, by a definite charter.

There seems to be no evidence that the universities received financial support from Frederick. He is said, however, to have given them translations of Arabic and Greek philosophers and to have sent some rare translations of Aristotle, in particular, to the masters of Bologna and Paris. The letter that accompanied the manuscripts to Bologna shows the spirit of the Emperor:

> "We have always loved knowledge from our youth; whatever time we can steal from state affairs we cheerfully dedicate to reading the many volumes stored in our library. We have stripped the works written by the Greek and Arabic philosophers of their old garb; we have had them translated by chosen men, maintaining faithfully the virginity of the words. We do not wish to keep them all to ourselves; you are the first to whom we send them, since you are the nurslings of philosophy, who skillfully draw new waters out of old cisterns. Do you make them public for the use of your students, to the glory of your Cæsar. We do not wish to keep them all for ourselves."

Consciously or unconsciously, Frederick the Magnificent, whose brilliant mind and all-embracing interests drew to himself the learning of the medieval world, thus happily phrased his relation to that learning. He gave, and gave generously, of his ideas and patronage for the promotion of scientific knowledge.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

Literary and linguistic change in early Middle Ages

The decline of the Roman Empire and the passing of ancient civilization was reflected not only in the impairment of government, economic decay, and the degradation of the former free class in Roman society, but also in a break-down of the Latin language — or at least its revolutionary modification from classical forms — and the partial eclipse of the ancient classical literature. There was a loss of the ancient sense of form, and the introduction of new forms. Although the strict classicist may deplore these changes, it would be an error to regard these processes as wholly evidences of decline. There were gains for the losses; there was compensation for the old in the new. The new literature of western Europe was part and parcel of the whole new body of institutions, the whole new civilization that was in process of becoming during these centuries.

New words

In the two hundred and fifty years between Tacitus and Augustine the alterations that took place in the Latin language were many and the decline grew precipitate. "As with falling bodies," Gaston Boissier has keenly observed, "the speed increased with the distance." Christianity not only introduced new words out of the Greek, it even compelled the invention of new words to express the new ideas, beliefs, rites. This change in the Latin language in the end was very great. It was made by the invasion from below of the speech of the common people (*sermo plebeius*), which brought in new words[1] and new constructions that would have

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[1] Examples of this intrusion are innumerable. The following tabulation will suffice for illustration.

CLASSICAL LATIN	MEDIEVAL LATIN	MODERN FRENCH
equus, horse	caballus	cheval
verberare, to whip	batuere	battre
pugna, battle	battalia	bataille
osculari, to kiss	basiare	baiser
iter, journey	viaticum	voyage
vertere, to turn	tornare	tourner
urbs, town	villa	ville
os, mouth	bucca	bouche
felis, cat	catus	chat
duplicare, to double	duplare	doubler
tentamen, attempt	exagium	essai
jus, law	directus (or drictus)	droit
edere, to eat	manducare	manger
ignis, fire	focus	feu
ludus, game	jocus	jeu
aula, hall	curtem	cour

horrified Cicero, altered the arrangement of words, and shifted the accent. The Christian author Tertullian (about 200), made much use of this "low" Latin. The rhetorical "period," with its stately stride, its harmony, its balance and proportion, passed out of vogue, and instead a new sentence structure developed in which the sequence of words followed the flow of thought. The verb no longer concluded the sentence, as in classical Latin, but was expressed where the thought and not style required it to be. Many words were employed in a sense that classical authors did not use, and possibly would not even have understood; classical grammar was frequently violated. By the third century a popular Latin existed much resembling that which was spoken three centuries later, minus the words that were introduced by the Germans.

Decline of ancient rhetoric

There is nothing remarkable in this existence of a popular Latin speech by the side of, or below, a more formal, literary Latin language. In all highly developed civilizations the speech of the common people has always been distinguished from the speech of the upper, cultivated classes. This, however, does not imply that the two languages were incomprehensible the one to the other. A cultured Roman understood the Latin of the peasant and the soldier, but whether the peasant and the soldier could fully understand the language of the upper classes is not so clear. This folk Latin, variously called *lingua rustica, lingua militaris, lingua vulgaris, lingua plebeia,* was the mother of all the Romance languages of Europe — French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian.

Origin of the romance languages

German language

But the German language, in addition to preserving its genius and dominance in all northern Europe, contributed many words to the Romance languages, through the prolonged Frankish occupation of Gaul, the Gothic occupation of Spain, the Lombard occupation of Italy. Many of these are military words. Philologists have agreed upon 930 such Romance words which are of Germanic origin: 450 in French, 140 in Italian, 50 in Spanish; 300 Germanic words are common to all the Romance languages.

Books and manuscripts

The degeneration of the handwriting in the production of manuscripts and the preparation of state documents further interestingly reflects the universal decadence of the period. In antiquity books were written upon rolls of papyrus called *volumina.* But from the first century of our era the substitution of *codices* became general. These were rectangularly cut leaves, *codices quadrati,* bound together between board covers like our books. Most manuscripts of the Merovingian and Gothic periods which have survived are *codices quadrati.* They are written on parchment, for papyrus was reserved for the chancelleries. The fabric was too fragile and friable for permanent preservation. Papyrus or wax tablets were used for making temporary records, but the final document was transcribed on leather. For hasty note-taking a species of shorthand derived from the Romans and called " tironian " was employed.

Writing

There were three kinds of handwriting: majuscule or capital letters; uncial, or small letters (printers today use the same forms); and minuscule, which was smaller still. Cursive was a running hand and was derived from uncial by linking the letters in each word together instead of inditing them separately. Abbreviations were employed to indicate fixed declensional or conjugational endings, as is more practicable with Latin than with English, and circumflex signs were used to signify familiar doublings of letters or diphthongs.

In process of time, owing to the growing illiteracy and the barbarism of the age, the handwriting deteriorated in legibility; and as every copyist made errors of his own in transcribing a manuscript, in addition to copying the errors of the manuscript he was using, in course of time the corruption of manuscripts became a very serious matter, especially in the case of the Vulgate Bible, which was the ultimate authority in all theological questions.

Vulgate Bible

The foundations of this new literature, in prose, were laid by St. Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible, the so-called Vulgate Bible, and by St. Augustine's theological writings, the *City of God* and his ever memorable *Confessions.* The Vulgate not only influenced the form of medieval literature for centuries; more, it affected the thought of those centuries. Theology, ecclesiology, institutions, history, were determined in large degree by these Latin Scriptures. Church institutions like the tithe were borrowed from Holy Writ; the theocratic conceptions attached to the ancient Jewish monarchy were applied to the barbarian kingships and to the Roman imperial tradition. St. Augustine in the *City of God* worked out the dominant political philosophy of the Middle Ages until the thirteenth century, which was that the Church was God-made and therefore had divine sanction for its claim to superiority over temporal powers; while the State, being man-made, was necessarily imperfect and could only escape being bad and abusive by recognition of and adherence to the superior authority of the Church. To St. Augustine the Christian Roman Empire of Theodosius was — not the ideal State, for the ideal State was the celestial City of God — but the nearest approach to such a polity. " It is hardly too much to say that the Holy Roman Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De civitate Dei.*" The *Confessions* is a book of quite different character, a spiritual autobiography, filled with mysticism and emotion, with a philosophy savoring of Neoplatonism. It is written with intense religious stress, but fortunately entirely devoid of theology. There are passages of rare beauty, both of form of expression and of thought. They are prose poetry, throbbing with the lyric cry.

Augustine's City of God *and* Confessions

Augustine's vision of eternity is not so much the philosopher's as the mystic's and the seer's. " Thy years fail not. Thy years are one today. How many of our and our fathers' years have flowed away through Thy today! . . . Smoke and wind are we, but Thou art from all eternity unto all eternity." Time and eternity intrigued Augustine's mind. " Where was I before I was born? . . . Happy is he who believes in God, though he know not the circles of the Great Bear, nor can measure the heavens and number the stars. . . . Men go abroad to admire the heights of mountains, the mighty billows of the sea, the broad tides of rivers, the compass of the ocean, and the circuits of the stars, and pass themselves by." The stress is ever on the inner life; the outward life is passing show. The things which are seen are temporal; the things which are unseen are eternal. No one can read this book without a deep sense of reverence and spiritual uplift. The pages that tell of his own conversion and of his last days with his mother, Monica, are among the most beautiful and poignant in all literature. Like a true African, St. Augustine loved light with a passion. It flashes and shines and radiates through all this wonderful little book. And his figures of speech startle. Writing of memory — and memory mystified him — and referring to evil thoughts, he says: " These I drive away with the hand of my heart from the face of my remembrance."

Mixture of pagan and Christian elements in literature

Paganism and Christianity, profane and sacred, the classical and the new, were commingled in this new literature, which has a great historical and cultural value, even if its thought and style are no longer classical. By the fourth century it had won its way. By the sixth century it had triumphed. It was composed of both prose and poetry. While most of the former was theological, in the lives of the saints we find a delightfully naïve body of literature. Both kinds made their appearance in the third century, and the stream grew broader and deeper in the succeeding years.

Lives of the Saints

Christian poetry

In poetry the sense of quantity gradually was lost and a new principle of verse construction became manifest. Ancient metre was supplanted by rhythm. Metre was a succession of long and short syllables in various combinations, and the " time " always fell upon the long syllable. Rhythm was a succession of strong and weak " beats " and existed independently of the words. This constituted a great advance upon the poetry of antiquity, for the rhythm could be applied to musical instruments. The root of church music is found in the important fact that the early hymns were rhythmic, not metrical, in verse structure. An added advantage of the new Christian poetry was that the tune could be easily carried by unlettered and ignorant people, and the tune in turn suggested the words. Consequently Christian hymns exercised a very great influence upon the spread of Christianity among the masses.

Not the smallest manifestation that coming events cast their shadows before and betokening the ultimate triumph of Christianity is the fact that from as early as the third century this new Christian literature showed

Vitality of early Christian literature

more vitality, more originality, than the pagan literature. In the fourth century it is by exception that a writer of eminence is a pagan. The last Latin historian of intellectual force who was a pagan was Ammianus Marcellinus. Rutilius Namatianus and Claudian were the only poets. Popular literary forms and literary substance were Christian.

St. Ambrose Prudentius

The first eminent name—one may almost say the inventor—of the new Christian poetry was Commodian, who lived in the middle of the third century. This Christian lyric poetry was continued by the hymns of St. Ambrose and the sacred poetry of Prudentius, a Spanish poet of the early fifth century. In this poetry we discern a spirit which throbs, which is humble and hopeful. It comes from the heart, and the passionate sincerity of it is apparent. In contrast with it, we feel the artificiality of the writings of the rhetoricians and of those who still clung to classical traditions and classical literary forms.

Paulinus of Nola

The loveliest of these early Christian poets was St. Paulinus of Nola, a native of Gaul, who spent his life as a humble priest of the Church of St. Felix at Nola in southern Italy. It is in him even more than in St. Augustine or St. Ambrose that that strange power of spiritual attraction which baffled the persecutors and wrought the conversion of the Roman Empire is manifested in its purest and most winning light. Paulinus of Nola is in shining contrast against the dark background of the Church of the late fourth and early fifth centuries as a whole, with its worldliness, its avarice, its temporizing. He had owned great estates in Gaul, but "wakened under the countenance of eternity as a man might waken sleeping out of doors at sunrise." He never became a monk, but lived much as one at Nola. His conversion stirred the whole Christian world, west and east, and created a sensation. In him the delicacy of paganism is mingled with the most beautiful in Christianity. He had been a pupil of Ausonius, and although the latter was superficially a Christian, Paulinus's conversion made an estrangement between them. No more sad yet exquisitely beautiful poem, redolent with love and regret, is to be found in literature than Paulinus's poem of passionate friendship addressed to his old master. The music in it has the voice of a violin in minor chords, and the sentiment is so deep and so sincere that it almost moves the reader to tears.[1] After this, in Hamlet's words, "the rest is silence."

Ausonius: persistence of classicism

Not all the poetry written by Christian poets was devoted to sacred themes. Numbers of the poets of the fifth and sixth centuries were "Christians by birth, pagans in imagination and tradition." It is significant that all of these were natives of Gaul, which, although under Frankish or West Gothic or Burgundian domination, preserved classical traditions with greater vitality than elsewhere in the Empire. Such was in the fourth century Ausonius, so slightly and so nominally a Christian that all he wrote savors of classicism and paganism. His *Mosella* is a long poem descriptive of nature and very beautiful. In the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris is no superficial Christian, but a sturdy bishop of Clermont, who in leisure hours wrote delightful letters to his friends, larded with classical allusions, and composed commemorative poems, which, while redolent of classical and pagan traditions, are nevertheless true Christian utterances. The same is true as late as Fortunatus, born at Trevisa, who lived all his life in Frankish Gaul, a poet of the Merovingian age, for he was court poet to Sigbert and Brunhildis of Austrasia. The tranquillity of life depicted in his poems is in marked contrast with the scenes of violence related by the historian Gregory of Tours and may be as exaggerated in one way as the work of Gregory is in the other. What makes the contrast more remarkable is the fact that they were close friends. "His influence is everywhere in the earlier middle ages." His *Epithalamion* on the marriage of Sigbert and Brunhildis is a fulsome panegyric. But his *Carmen* on the murder of Galeswintha is an elegy one cannot read without emotion.

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[1] For a translation of this poem see HELEN WADDELL, *The Wandering Scholars*, pp. 10–11. The quotation above is from this work, p. 2.

Sidonius Apollinaris

Fortunatus

Of Gallic prose-writers in the barbarian epoch the most eminent were Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours. The former was a lawyer who, while never wholly forsaking the world, became imbued with the monastic spirit. It was he who wrote the *Life of St. Martin of Tours,* whom he knew intimately, a book of immense influence in popularizing monasticism in the West and written in good, though not distinguished, Latin. In Gregory of Tours Frankish Gaul produced its most eminent writer, and the first one in whom the classical and pagan tradition is entirely lost. He is purely medieval in form of language and in spirit. The syntax and the style of his *History of the Kings of the Franks* exhibit all the characteristics of the decadence. It is written in the *lingua rustica,* the rustic Latin of the common people, and is a wonderful book, crammed with valuable information and shrewd observations. The cult of the saints by Gregory's time was widely diffused in Gaul and he contributed to their popularity by writing a series of lives of the martyrs — many of them more legendary than historical — which are yet valuable for the information they impart.

Gregory of Tours, historian

Unlike Gaul in the fifth century, Italy was singularly deficient in notable writers, whether Christian or pagan. Perhaps the turmoil in Italy in this century was destructive of all literary production. In the sixth century, however, when government was settled again under Theodoric, we find the light of learning once more beaming. In Boethius not only Italy but the Christian West had its most distinguished and most influential man of letters. In him the finest classical and refined pagan tradition was blended with a Platonized Christian idealism. As we have seen in a former chapter, Boethius was a man of state until he fell under the unjust

Boethius

condemnation of Theodoric and was put to death. He pertained to the ancient Roman Anicii family, whence Gregory the Great also sprang, and was married to a great-great-grand-daughter of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the cultured and courageous prætorian prefect, who had remonstrated against the removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate-house and was one of the last and noblest adherents of paganism. Boethius made the West his debtor for many centuries by his Latin translations of Aristotle's *Organon* and his own treatises on arithmetic, geometry, and music. But his supreme contribution to Western thought is his *Consolation of Philosophy,* which was written during his imprisonment. Like St. Augustine's *Confessions* this work is a spiritual autobiography and a Christian philosophy and abounds, like the *Confessions,* with lyric passages of piercing spiritual beauty. It has been described as "the book of most serene and kindly wisdom that the Middle Ages knew. Not Augustine himself breaks his mind upon eternity as Boethius did. . . . He is both mystic and stoic, but without the contempts of either; a lover of life and unafraid of death, but neither its shadow nor the light of the world to come has taken from the greenness of the grass . . . who defined eternity with an exulting plenitude that no man has approached before or since."[1]

Cassiodorus

Cassiodorus, Theodoric's great minister, was a man of a different mold. His *Letters,* like those of Sidonius Apollinaris in fifth-century Gaul, throw a flood of light upon the politics and culture of Ostrogothic Italy and abound with classical allusions. His *Variæ* are a collection of state papers. But he wrote nothing truly literary; he was neither philosopher nor poet. One regrets the loss of his *History of the Goths* as history, but not as literature. Yet it would have served us for Italian history in the sixth century as Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* serves us for Gaul in the same time. Nevertheless Cassiodorus's influence upon medieval literature was not slight; for in founding the monastery of Vivarium at Scyllace in his last years, in donating his library to it, and in setting an example of laborious writing and study Cassiodorus established a precedent for monastic preservation of the classics and the composition of new books of immense importance. Ostrogothic Italy had but one historian whose work has been preserved. This is Jordanes's *History of the Goths.* The author is interesting as the earliest barbarian writer, for at least he was half-barbarian in blood. The degradation of letters abundantly appears in this wretched compilation, chiefly cribbed from Cassiodorus's lost *History of the Goths.* The Latin is uncouth and the substance far inferior to that of Gregory of Tours. But he introduces for the first time Germanic myth and legend into literature.

Jordanes

At the beginning of the barbarian period, besides the poet Prudentius, Spain produced a writer of eccentric eminence, though of no originality,

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[1] Waddell, Helen, *op. cit.,* xxvii.

Orosius

in Orosius, a pupil of St. Augustine, who composed a work entitled *Seven Books of History against the Pagans,* in which he endeavors to demonstrate from history that the evils of humanity and the fall of empires is no new thing and that it is unjust to attribute the calamities of the time to the Christians and their religion. The work is pseudo-history, not history, the only valuable historical part being the last chapters, which deal with contemporary events. It closes with the year 417. Nevertheless Orosius's work had a great vogue in the Middle Ages; it was one of the Latin works translated by Alfred the Great into Anglo-Saxon.

Isidore of Seville

At the height of West Gothic power in Spain lived Isidore, Bishop of Seville (died 636), a prolific, dry, and erudite writer. His best work is the *Etymologiae,* a sort of museum of desiccated antiquities of the classical era, an encyclopedia not unlike Pliny's *Natural History* in the first century.

But the well grows drier and the water worse as we advance from the fourth to the sixth century, and by 600, as Gregory of Tours confessed, it was low tide in western Europe. Liberal culture has fled the Gallic cities; barbarism reigns; the seven arts are fallen on evil days. "Woe unto our days, for the love of literature has perished from among us." When Gregory of Tours was writing, that other Gregory, the Pope, was throwing all the weight of his personality and of his office in favor of homiletics, sermons, saints' lives, and theological treatises, and against the cultivation of the classics. He was hostile to the classical tradition, and it may be that if the Irish monks had not saved it, classical Latin literature would all but have disappeared in Europe. The eclipse definitely begins in 529, the year in which Justinian closed the ancient schools of Athens, and Benedict founded the monastery of Monte Cassino. After that the twilight rapidly deepens. "Fortunatus died in 600; Gregory the Great in 604; Isidore of Seville, leaving the Encyclopædia Britannica of the middle ages behind him as his monument, in 636, and for a while it seemed that they had taken Latin letters to their graves with them."[1]

Eclipse of ancient literature

Fortunately for European culture, Latin classical literature still found some votaries in this age in spite of the fact that almost everything in the period seemed indifferent or hostile to its preservation. Indubitably the Church could have utterly destroyed all classical literature, because it was of pagan origin, and some churchmen, like Gregory the Great, for example, would have been glad to do so. But the weight of tradition, the charm of antiquity, the sheer literary superiority of the classical literature, were too great. Moreover, its educational value could not be gainsaid and that not merely in the schools. We must not fail to appreciate the "desire of the educated classes to protect the national culture against the ignorance of the barbarians who poured into Italy [and Gaul] and threatened its civilization with extinction during the fifth and sixth centuries. This de-

Power of classical tradition

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[1] Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars,* pp. 27–8.

sire to save all that could be rescued from the wreck of the old order inspired pagan and Christian alike. . . . The importance of men like Cassiodorus and Isidore is that they represent a movement which has been happily termed a tacit concordat between the Church and profane letters."[1]

Carolingian renaissance

The Carolingian renaissance[2] rescued medieval Latin literature from the depth into which it had sunk by the seventh century and gave it an impulse whose influence carried on into the Saxon renaissance and the vigorous monastery schools of the ninth and tenth centuries. For the political decomposition of western Europe in the ninth century fortunately did not carry with it a decline of letters. Excluding theological and philosophical writings from the category of literature, and regarding as "literature" only that which is imaginative, such as history and poetry, the ninth and tenth century were not mean centuries intellectually.

Charlemagne gathered around himself at the court in Aachen all the distinguished scholars of the time, Alcuin from England, Paul the Lombard and Peter of Pisa, Theodulf of Orléans, Einhard, his secretary, Angilbert, and Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda. The ancient Latin classics were read and imitated. In the circle of his educated friends Alcuin was called Flaccus (Horatius), Angilbert was called Homer. Special diligence was now, as well as later in the Middle Ages, applied to Vergil's poems. Yet Alcuin, who had once been the poet's ardent admirer, later admonished his pupils not to "defile themselves with Vergil's rank eloquence."

Revival of historical writing

The Lombards had never had an historian and it was at Charlemagne's suggestion that Paul, a monk in Monte Cassino, composed his valuable *History of the Lombards*. The *Life of Charlemagne* written by Einhard, his secretary, though its style is slavishly modeled after Suetonius, is one of the most vivid biographies of the Middle Ages. Fifty years later in the *Gesta Karoli,* written by Notger of Saint-Gall for the Emperor Charles the Fat, we see how legend and romance have already begun to invest the history of Charlemagne. Between these two works we find two biographies of Louis the Pious, by Thegan, a deacon of Metz, and by an unknown author called the Astronomer from the fact that he makes mention of a comet.

In historical annals the Carolingian period gave birth to a new form of writing history destined to be continued until the end of the Middle Ages. These were not descriptive chronicles, but, as the name implies, narratives of events of each consecutive year, factual in nature and unadorned in expression. This type of historiography had originated in

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[1] Hall, *Introduction to the Study of Classical Texts,* pp. 68, 71.

[2] See chapter xxvi. This metaphor of a new birth was first associated with a revival of learning by an Englishman, Modoin of Autun, who hailed the revival under Charles the Great in a line that recalls the poets of Rome: "*Aurea Roma iterum renovata* renascitur *orbi.*"

Northumberland England, where the practice had grown up in the monasteries of entering important events upon the calendar of saints' days and festivals. Gradually these brief jottings were expanded until something like annals resulted. Probably Alcuin introduced this type to the continent; at any rate Charlemagne regarded it as so valuable that he enjoined the monasteries to keep regular annals. In small monasteries these annals are rarely of more than local interest, but the annals of the important abbeys form a large and very valuable body of historical literature. Examples are the *Annals of Lorsch,* the *Annals of Saint-Bertin,* and the *Chronicon* of Regino of Prüm, a monastery in Lorraine. Of unique interest in ninth-century history is the *History of the Civil Wars* by Nithard, partly because the author was a layman and not a cleric, and partly because it has preserved the double text of the Strassburg Oaths in the German and the Romance (or early French) vernacular speech.

Carolingian poetry

In poetry, both that of Christian spirit and that dealing with secular themes, the Carolingian age was blest with two writers, Walafrid Strabo, a monk of Reichenau, and Sedulius Scotus, an Irishman who settled in Liège. The former wrote epigrams, lyrics, poetical epistles, and a charming poem entitled *Hortulus,* describing the garden of Reichenau. The latter was the author of a cluster of remarkable songs (*carmina*), some of which are beautiful, as the *Debate between the Rose and the Lily,* and some boisterous drinking-songs. For your Irish monk was a jovial soul. Sedulius Scotus's most famous work, however, was the *Carmen Paschale,* a poetical version of the Bible in epic metre (Book I, the Old Testament; Books II–V, the New Testament). Parts of this are noble poetry and are used in church worship now.

Revival of classics

The intense interest in classical literature in the ninth century is shown by the fact that 337 manuscripts of classical authors have come down to us from this century, as against 115 for the tenth and only 56 for the eleventh. Theology, philosophy, and monastic reform in these two latter periods eclipsed the classical tradition until it was revived by the twelfth-century renaissance. The great exponent of the Latin classics was Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, near Sens, whose *Letters* throw a flood of light on this subject. But as the inspiration, so the continuance of interest in the classics was most largely due to the Irish scholars on the continent.

Old German songs

With so great a preponderance of ecclesiasticism and classicism, vernacular literature had for a long time slight chance to develop. Charlemagne, who was a thorough German in nature, had a collection of old German songs made, tried to compile a grammar of the German language, and gave the months and winds German names. The songs were ballads of love, of war, or of adventure, or folk-songs. But the Church frowned upon them as heathen expressions, and Louis the Pious burned the collection his father had formed, to the loss of medieval literature, philology, and linguistics. Only a fragment has survived, the *Hildebrandslied,* which is a stirring poem of battle. The Church did not suppress preaching in the German and Romance languages, but unfortunately no fragment of such sermons has been preserved.

Saxon renaissance

It will have been observed that all this literary revival of the Carolingian age was confined to Gaul and eastern Germany, the heart of the Frank Empire. In the tenth century, with the rise of Germany under the Saxon dynasty, the palm of literature passed to northern Germany and the monasteries there. Otto the Great endeavored not only to restore the polity and the empire of Charlemagne; he tried to maintain the Carolingian culture as well. The promoter of this intellectual movement was his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, whose *Life* throws interesting light upon the time. He was an eager student, even learning Greek from Irish monks in Germany. Widukind of Corvey was the ablest German historical writer, but he is supplemented by a considerable number of monastic annals. A singular classical note is sounded in the dramas of Hrotswitha, a nun of Gandersheim, whose plays, in spite of close imitation of Terence both in plot and in form, nevertheless are written in Latin so good that scholars of the Italian Renaissance in the fifteenth century doubted the authenticity of them. These plays, it should be explained, were purely literary productions and were not designed to be staged. The tenth century was yet very far from the miracle and mystery plays.

Italy in the tenth century

Italy, which was without a ninth-century writer of significance, unless we count Anastasius the Librarian, who was a pedant, had in the tenth century a remarkable one in Bishop Liutprand of Cremona. He was so good a Greek scholar that he was sent as an ambassador to Constantinople by Otto I, and in the *Legatio* has bequeathed to later generations an amusing and satirical description of Byzantine life and manners. He was also the author of the *Antapodosis,* a *mélange* of historical information, polemical discussion, satire, and jest. Liutprand was the most educated as well as the most attractive literary figure of the time. His pithy comments are famous, among them the saying that "the Italians have ever loved two masters, and they pretend to love the one because they hate the other."

France in the tenth century

Contrasted with the literary productivity of Germany and Italy in the tenth century, France was poor, having but two historians, Flodoard, an annalist of Reims (922–66), a dry but full and honest writer, and Richer, author of *Four Books of History,* who was a pupil of Gerbert in Reims and imbibed from him a fondness for the classics and science. His style reflects that of Sallust at long remove and he affectedly uses Latin technical military and administrative words to the confusion of one's understanding of what he means in the feudal period. Parts of the early portion of his history are based on ballad and song (*cantilenæ*), which makes Richer additionally interesting. He is *the* historian of the revolution of 987 and was a partisan of the Carolingian against the house of Paris. As to poetry the decay of Latin poetry in the tenth century sharply contrasts with the Carolingian age, and the decline of interest in the classics is no less marked.

Vitality and vigor of literary production in eleventh century

The eleventh century, in which the Cluny reform, the conflict over investiture, the growing monarchical policy of the papacy, the conquests of the Normans, pilgrimages, and church-building absorbed the interest and energies of Europe, was poor in literary productivity, prose or poetry, except history. The times were too energetic for neglect of that. Germany had three writers of eminence. Adam of Bremen was author of the *Deeds of the Archbishops of Hamburg,* really a rich and conscientious history of north Germany and especially valuable for the Slavs of the Elbe and the German conquest of their territory; Adam also wrote another book, *Descriptio insularum Aquilonis,* being an account of Scandinavia (still pagan), Iceland, and Greenland, and "a fundamental source for the early history, geography and ethnography of Northern Europe and of the Scandinavian colonies. It contains the earliest record of Vinland and a very valuable account of North European trade. It was largely based on oral information collected in Bremen and in Seeland (Denmark)."[1] This account of Greenland is the earliest that we have, for Adam of Bremen antedates the Icelandic sagas. Most interesting is a fragment of the text of a map that Adam incorporated into the narration. The reign of Henry IV produced the *History of the Rebellion of Saxony* by a monk named Bruno, a work of rugged honesty in spite of its intense partisanship, and the *Annales* of Lambert of Hersfeld, the best piece of Latin written in the eleventh century, reflecting Livy's influence, copious in information, but to be read with caution because of the author's bias. It was Lambert who was responsible for the canard of Henry IV's humiliation at Canossa. Eleventh-century Germany produced many biographies, chiefly of notable bishops, like the *Vita* of Meinwerk of Paderborn and that of Benno II of Osnabrück. There is one royal biography, that of the Emperor Conrad II by his chaplain, Wipo; it is panegyrical, but just. In a *Life of Matilda,* the Great Countess of Tuscany, and William of Apulia's historical poem on the Norman conquest of Lower Italy the peninsula had two notable historians.

Germany

Italy

France

In France a fantastically minded Cluniac monk named Rodolf Glaber (the Bald) wrote a work which only by courtesy may be called a history. It is a farrago of credulity, superstition, anecdote, and description, but is valuable for an understanding of the spirit of the age. The two most remarkable things in it are an account of the terrible famine of 1031–3, and a beautiful allusion to the passion of the time for building new and nobler churches. We have from France, too, a *Life of Robert the Pious,* a jejune work of edification written by Helgaud, the King's chaplain, and the *Chronicon* of Adhemar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Martial in Limoges, the best work in France of the century. The fractured political condition of France in this time reduced all historical writing to local dimension. This was the age when the provincial feudal houses were beginning to rise, but we know little of this history save that of the counts of Anjou — the *Gesta consulum Andegavensium* and William of Poitou's *Gesta* of William the Conqueror, which continues Dudo of Saint-Quentin's half-fabulous, half-historical *History of the Normans,* composed in wretched Latin late in the tenth century.

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[1] Beazley, C. R., *The Dawn of Modern Geography,* II, 9.

Influence of crusades on literature

The stirring events of the eleventh century, however, like the Norman conquest of Lower Italy and Sicily, the Norman conquest of England, the Spanish crusades, the war of investiture, the movement for ecclesiastical reform, the crusades, the awakening self-consciousness of the nations, the stir of new intellectual life in the schools, the groping of medieval scientific thought for more light — these events broke the crust of ancient tradition and stimulated new and more energetic thought, which found expression in a wider and deeper and more energetic historical literature. Especially the crusades, both because they were the first great international movement engendered by feudal Europe, and because of the potent and complex motives engaged in them, called forth a remarkable historiography. Perhaps the most notable of such works are Guibert de Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos* (*The Deeds of God wrought by the Franks*) and William of Tyre's *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.*

Great English historians

Norman England, however, also called into being a whole series of historical writers, whose works fill the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the fame of the Norman and Plantagenet sovereigns. The continuity of purpose and method which runs through the pages of these historians is very impressive. The greatest of these writers were: Florence of Worcester (died 1118), Simeon of Durham (died 1119), Ordericus Vitalis (about 1142), William of Malmesbury (died 1142), Geoffrey of Monmouth (died 1154), Henry of Huntingdon (*c.* 1155), William of Newburgh (died 1198), Benedict of Peterborough (died 1193), Roger of Hoveden (*c.* 1201), Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald of Barry, a Welshman (*c.* 1220), Gervaise of Canterbury (*c.* 1210), and Matthew Paris, the greatest of them (*c.* 1259), a monk of St. Albans, which was the primary center in England of historical studies.

Light reading of our ancestors

While, aside from theology, history represents the largest bulk of medieval Latin literature before the rise of vernacular literature, the medieval mind was too active not to produce other forms of literary expression. Although all of it was written by clerics, some of it was of a secular nature. The novel is a modern literary *genre.* The light reading of our ancestors was in the *Gesta Romanorum,* the *History of the Seven*

Sages, and similar legendary literature. Many of the plots and themes in these works harked back to Rome and Greece, and even to Arabic, Persian, and Hindu origins. The fifteen tales in the *Historia Septem Sapientum* belong to the oldest stock of all literature and can be traced back to Sanskrit sources, especially the *Panchatantra* out of India. Another type of medieval literature was *animal fables,* in which the lion, the ass, the wolf, and the fox were the chief personages.

Books of anecdotes were exceedingly popular. These usually pointed a moral as well as adorned a tale. Perhaps the most famous of these was the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Cæsarius of Heisterbach (died *c.* 1240), a Cistercian monk. It is a collection of anecdotes and stories to be employed as illustrations by preachers or read for purposes of edification, and is one of the richest storehouses of hundreds of stories and illuminates the mind and manners of the Middle Ages to a wonderful degree. Comparable to it is the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, a volume of sermon stories.

Latin poetry of Middle Ages

Medieval Latin poetry was more variegated than medieval Latin prose literature. The finest example of the Latin epic is the *Song of Walther,* written, it is supposed, by Ekkehard, a monk of Saint-Gall, in the tenth century. It is a stirring tale of the time of the invasions of the Huns, in which love, adventure, and hard fighting are all found. Another type is the poetical *Chronicle* of Godfrey of Viterbo (died 1196), which in spite of its title, is not history, but fiction. The seventeenth book is nothing but the legend of the wizard Merlin and King Uther Pendragon in Latin verse, ending with Merlin's prophecy of the birth of King Arthur.

But the two richest forms of medieval Latin poetry are hymns and lyrics. Although much medieval Christian poetry is turgid and excessively ornate in the drapery of language which surrounds the thought, the eternal grandeur of the drama of God and humanity as unveiled in the Old and the New Testament formed a majestic theme for the sonorous Latin of medieval hymnology. Even in English translation one feels this in the *Stabat Mater* and *Jerusalem the Golden*. Venantius Fortunatus's two great hymns to the cross are still sung around the earth every Easter, and he who has heard and understood that famous stanza of his *Pange lingua* in which the forest suddenly breaks into leaf in the gleam of the Holy Tree cannot have forgotten it.

Love of nature

The medieval mind was not indifferent to nature, as is often said; but it interpreted it symbolically and rarely accepted nature for nature's beauty only. Fortunatus swiftly passes from imitation of Ovid's "spring" to the spiritual spring of the resurrection. Even when we do come upon naïve outbursts of purely human joy in the spring, the flowers are but symbols of the flowers of paradise, and the green meadows but terrestrial representatives of the heavenly meads.

In one species of medieval Latin poetry, however, we find perfect expression of the emotions of the human heart, love for and exultation in the beauty of nature. The themes of these lyrics, for they are lyric poetry, are wholly secular in spirit, without a tincture of religion or ecclesiasticism in them, in spite of the fact that the authors were cloistered or secular clerics. This is what is known as the goliardic poetry. Some of it is tender and beautiful, breathing of love of women or love of nature; another part of it is satirical, scourging the follies and the foibles of the age, especially the worldly manners and morals of the high clergy. These songs, some of them love-lyrics, some of them ribald songs of ale-houses and drinking-bouts, were carried all over Europe by vagrom monks, vagabond pilgrims, wayward priests, wandering students. The widespread dissemination of these songs, their popularity, the common knowledge of them — both words and music — in spite of the frowns of the clergy, created a sort of fraternity spirit among these loose classes. A certain mysterious personage named Golias (by some believed to be a corruption of Goliath) was the reputed patron "saint" of this jovial crew, whose leadership passed down to an equally elusive "archipoeta," vaguely supposed to be the commander of the order of the Goliardi. This mock title was intended to convey the impression of the solidarity of this vagabond and reveling class and to be derisive of the pretensions of great abbots and knights commander of the military orders.

Goliardic lyric poetry

Until recently all the goliardic poetry that was known was supposed to be enclosed within the covers of a single manuscript book, apparently a compilation of these songs made in the thirteenth century and known as the *Carmina Burana*. Internal evidence shows that all the songs in this collection are of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But diligent research has discovered types of this literature going as far back as the ninth century, and there is no doubt that in the *Songs of Golias* we have a body of medieval love-lyrics, songs of nature, and satirical ballads which represent the accretion of Latin poetry. The oldest of these songs are of Irish monastic authorship and were written by wandering Irish monks upon the continent during the latter period of the Carolingian Empire. The naturalness and spontaneity of these goliardic poems, in spite of their Latin form, which are in such sharp contrast with the enormous body of theological and religious literature in the Middle Ages, prove that we must modify our old notions about the age of faith. Saints and theologians might spend their lives in contemplation of heaven and hell and the divine plan of salvation. But many others were interested in living their own lives in this world and took little thought of the hereafter. There would be time enough to compound with God and the Devil when death approached. Such people refused to walk, as it were, with one foot in the grave or to regard life as a vale of tears. They were too healthy, too normal human beings for that.

Irish influence

Twelfth-century renaissance

Amid all this literary activity humanistic studies were not neglected. The impulse given to the study of Latin classical literature in the Carolingian renaissance, although it declined in the tenth century, was reawakened in the eleventh, when, as we have seen, all western Europe awoke to a new and energetic life, and was expressed in many ways and forms. The interest moved forward steadily until in the ensuing century the study of the classics was contemporary with the new education, the new science, the new historiography, the new romantic literature, and the new art of the twelfth-century renaissance. Like the revival of scientific thought, the revival of the classical spirit in the feudal age is chiefly referable to Gerbert of Reims and passed from Reims to Chartres with his great pupil Bishop Fulbert of Chartres. Hildebert of Lavardin, Bishop of Tours, was so accomplished a Latin poet that the perfection of his language and the literary beauty of his expression deceived scholars of the Italian Renaissance into believing that his poems must be falsely attributed to him and really were examples of classical poetry which had been discovered in the eleventh century. John of Salisbury got his formal classical education at Chartres. If classical studies had flourished most in metropolitan Paris instead of in provincial Chartres, the history of both medieval philosophy and of classical literature in the Middle Ages might have been very different. Although now and then one finds some narrow-minded man still espousing Gregory the Great's attitude of condemnation of classical literature as "pagan" and "profane," in general the medieval mind of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was hospitable towards classical learning, but it interpreted the classics by the allegorical method, as it interpreted the Scriptures. The immense weight of the classical heritage, combined with that reverence for antiquity which the medieval mind cherished (the *Roman* Church, the Holy *Roman* Empire, *Roman* law, were the three greatest expressions of this attitude of mind), made the medieval scholar either frankly delight in Latin classical literature or, like Peter Damieni and Hugo of St. Victor, wistfully wish he might indulge in the reading of it.

The Benedictines, more than the new monastic orders, promoters of humanistic studies

The Benedictine monasteries, partly because they were older and preserved the direct Carolingian tradition, partly because, unlike the new monastic orders, they were less interested in active movements of church reform and the politics of the time, were the chief preservers of the classical tradition until the cathedral schools supplanted the monastery schools as places of live education. The Latinity of Abélard's *Letters,* of Hildebert of Lavardin's poetry, of John of Salisbury's voluminous writings, is remarkable. The *Metalogicus* of the last, which is a running treatise on education, was written to vindicate classical studies against the barrenness of scholasticism, with its hard logic, its subtle syllogisms, its hairsplitting dialectics. But John of Salisbury was the advocate of a losing cause. Humanistic studies could not hold their own against scholasticism. The greatest scholars of the thirteenth century were all scholastics; not one of them was a humanist. The classical flame was cherished by the few, not by the many. And Greek was studied only by a few solitary scholars.

Classical literature overshadowed by theology

The twelfth-century renaissance was "a wonderful deepening and broadening of the stream of human culture,"[1] "a rapid widening of the field of knowledge by the introduction of the science and philosophy of the ancient Greeks into western Europe,"[2] "a period of wonderful advance along very many different lines."[3] But revival of the classics was the least of its intellectual manifestations. Taken in the sense of meaning a classical revival, the term "twelfth-century renaissance" is misleading. It required the Revival of Learning in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries permanently to restore classical studies. By the thirteenth century humanistic and imaginative literature written in the Latin language was an extinct type. In this fertile century of learned doctors, profound philosophers, deep-browed scholastics, and ponderous encyclopedists, no author still fired with the classical flame, no poet, is to be found. Philosophy, theology, mere erudition, had eclipsed humanistic scholarship and Latin poetry.

Popular literary motifs

Yet medieval literature did not sink under the weight imposed upon it by scholasticism and the new science. If literature *in Latin* perished, spirit and imagination were preserved in the new, natural, and spontaneous vernacular literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Folk-literature

The common people of the Middle Ages knew only their own ancestral speech, whatever that may have been, which they had spoken for centuries — vulgar Latin, German, and what not — but the vernacular languages were incapable of becoming vehicles for the expression of literary thought before the eleventh century. This is not saying, however, that the common people did not have a literature; they did, but it was an oral, not a written, literature; it was composed of songs and stories and legends and folk-lore, which was handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and we can sometimes dimly discern the nature, less rarely the form, of this primitive, unwritten literature of medieval Europe from fragmentary survivals of it, or discover the earlier version of it behind and below the later version which has been preserved. For, however primitive a people may be, it has always possessed some form and degree of imaginative expression. The thought may seem to us, who are more sophisticated, crude or barbarous, and the form rude and uncouth. Yet there is power and sometimes a sort of primeval beauty in such unwritten literature. It is racy or homely, redolent of the soil, stark.

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[1] Rashdall, *Rise of the Universities,* I, 19.

[2] *American Hist. Review,* xxv, 603.

[3] *Report of Amer. Hist. Assoc.,* I (1896), p. 45.

Such traditions were handed down from mime to mime, from bard to bard, from gleeman to gleeman.

Although none has been preserved, we know that the comic songs of the Roman theater, the ribald ballads of the circus, the songs of the marching legionaries, with rhythm attuned to stride, which Mr. Kipling has so admirably represented in the lines:

> When I left Rome for Lalage's sake,
> On the legion's road to Rimini,

were handed down to later generations, when the Roman Empire had passed away and the Germans were established in the imperial provinces.

Sources of vernacular literature

An analysis of the sources of medieval vernacular literature will disclose six important founts from which it was derived: classical antiquity; the Bible; the Germanic race; the Celtic race in its three chief exponents, the Irish, the Welsh, and the Bretons; the Norse; the Arabs and other Oriental peoples. Although these separate streams of thought in course of time intermingled to a large degree, so that the themes and motifs of one class may be found in another class, nevertheless these distinctions are broadly clear. For great seminal ideas tend to preserve their integrity, to resist fusion with other competing ideas, and to retain their original nature and form from generation to generation. The variations that develop are variations of degree, not of primary quality. For example, medieval folk-lore seems to be an inextricable confusion of the folk-lore elements of all the peoples represented in this category — Greeks and Romans, Jews, Germans, Celts, Norse, Arabs, Persians, and Hindus — but nevertheless it is usually possible to distinguish the identity of the basic determinants and to perceive the source of the root idea.

Examples of popular medieval literature

Classical tales

The oldest fount of medieval popular literature was the literature of Greek and Latin antiquity, the heritage of classical legend, history, and tale. Although Greek was almost unknown in the West during the Middle Ages, it is a singular fact that, through the medium of Latin translations, Greek tales and themes were more popular among medieval romancers than those of ancient Rome. Examples are the wanderings of Æneas, the legends of Troy, the romance of Thebes, derived from Statius, the Roman poet, or the story of Hercules, and, above all, romances in prose and epic poetry based upon the legends associated with Alexander the Great, which constitute a whole cycle in themselves. Stories derived from Plutarch also had a great vogue, as the adventures of the dog Montargis, which are embroidered upon a tale derived from the *Life of Pyrrhus,* which St. Ambrose once borrowed for moralizing purposes. The story of Œdipus was popular in the Middle Ages, and his forlorn experiences are told and retold by many writers, from Gregory the Great to the *Gesta Romanorum.*

But a medieval aspect is thrown over and around all this literature. The ancient Greek heroes are clad in medieval armor; they talk in the language of feudal nobles; they deport themselves like the knights of chivalry. Troy is pictured as a medieval town.

> "The castle is Ilium, with its keep, its walls, its chapel, cloisters and vaulted chambers, and its great hall with the dais at the end. Troy is a feudal fortress; the ranks of society are feudal; its defenders and assailants breathe the feudal spirit, tempered on occasions by the ideas of chivalry. The heroes fight, not from chariots, but on horseback. . . . Homer was a marvellous clerk."[1]

But not all these themes, though most of them, were derived from Latin renditions of Greek mythology and history. Some themes were introduced from medieval Greece and were of Byzantine origin. Some were novels or poems of adventure, others were romances of love, like the story of *Cupid and Psyche* and that of *Pygmalion and Galatea.*

Bible tales

With the rise of Christianity and the spread of the Church everywhere, the Bible, including the Apocrypha, became a second source of medieval literary inspiration. Almost every striking incident in scripture was a theme for some sort of literary expression, prose tale, epic poem, miracle or mystery play. Some of this is religious narration, a mere paraphrase of scripture; some of it is heroic adventure, whether in prose or verse, like the conflict between David and Goliath, the stories of Esther and Daniel; some of it is based upon the life of the patriarchs or the life of Jesus. But in the crucible of the medieval mind all these themes were medievalized.

> "To the old Saxon poet, Christ is a king over His people, a warrior, a mighty ruler. . . . The Christ of the *Heliand* is a hero of the old Germanic type, an ideal of courage and loyalty, and His disciples are noble vassals from whom He demands unflinching loyalty in return. . . . The background of the events in the *Heliand* is the flat Saxon land with the fresh North Sea . . . 'Nâzarethburg,' 'Bethleêmburg,' 'Rûmuburg' [Rome], called up more vivid, if more homely, pictures than any description of Palestine or Rome; the marriage at Cana and Herod's birthday feast become drinking-bouts in the hall of a German prince."[2]

Teutonic literature

The ancient Germans had their thunderous war-songs and clashing chants commemorative of heroes and heroic achievements. Only one such *cantilena* has survived, the *Hildebrandslied,* in a ninth-century manuscript, but the matter pertains to pagan Germanic times. The ancient Germans, too, had folk-tales, which were a sort of oral prose literature of a primitive nature. The pages of Jordanes, of Gregory of Tours, of Paul Lombard, the first historians of the barbarian epoch, abound with evidence of the former existence of this kind of early Germanic literature. Indeed, all three of these authors were compelled to have resort to these ancient traditions when writing of the early history of their peoples, for the Germans had no other record of their history. Charlemagne, as we have seen, made a collection of these songs and ballads, which his narrow-minded son destroyed because of their pagan nature.

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[1] Lord Ernle, *The Light Reading of Our Ancestors,* p. 143.

[2] Robertson, *History of German Literature,* p. 20.

Eddas

Sagas

Practically every trace of the earliest Germanic literature has perished. But we know what its nature must have been from the literature of the Norse peoples, an ample quantity of which has come down to us. " What the Vedas are for India and the Homeric poems for the Greek world, that the *Edda* signifies for the Teutonic race." Within the last half-century we have learned to appreciate the great poetic and prose literature of Iceland and Norway. A people that could produce such poems was no mere nation of freebooters. In the sagas and the scaldic literature of the Norse the world possesses a literature unique in the history of culture, Homeric in its heroism, exalting the sturdy virtues of all strong men, appreciative of the softer sentiments of family life and of home, and pervaded with a deep love of nature, especially in her wilder moods and manifestations. In their present form the *Eddas* are not older than 700, and most of them are of later date, having been collected and set down by some unknown Icelander in the later half of the thirteenth century. In the *Eddas* we have the whole world of gods and men among the ancient Germanic peoples, the world of Woden and Thor, of Valkyries and godlike heroes and heroines, like Siegfried and Brunhilde, unveiled before our eyes. The destruction of Valhalla by fire is more than Troy Town burning — it is as if Olympus among the Greeks had been transformed into an active volcano. Wagner's greatest operas have made this literature familiar to thousands through his magical music. The *Eddas* are mythology; the Norse *sagas,* on the other hand, are legends, half history, half tales. Not only much political history, but much culture history, is embedded in this rich storehouse of the sagas.

Cantilenæ and ballads

It was formerly thought that the chansons were a product of slow literary accretion, that long before the emergence of the epic as we now have it, songs and ballads were popularly current about this or that hero, this or that episode, some of which may have harked back as far as the ninth or tenth century, and that in the time of the crusades unknown but gifted writers wove these various *cantilenæ* and ballads together into a connected sequence and gave unity, coherence, and continuity to the whole. But it is now recognized that no such process of literary integration ever was made, and that the chansons as we have them were molded by single minds. This fact is valuable evidence, not only of sensitive imagination, but also of the progress of literary art in the Middle Ages. It shows that by the twelfth century the vernacular language had become so ripe and rounded that it could express knowledge and feeling — love, passion, hate, fear, hope, despair — relate in vivid narrative, rise to exultation, or sink to pathos.

The body of epic poetry which emanated from medieval France is a large and rich and variegated one, and its value to the historian, the student of literature, and the student of linguistics is very great. It is a mirror in the astonishing reflection it gives of feudal society, of chivalry, of medieval religion, of the faith and works of men, of the medieval knight's love of heroic adventure combined with humility.

Chansons de geste

The earliest heroic figure of medieval epic and romance was Charlemagne, who first appears in medieval Latin prose literature and very soon graduates into greater magnificence in the vernacular *chansons de geste* upon the eve of the crusades. It was at this time that the legend of the pilgrimage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem first appeared in popular literature. The earliest poem recounting the legendary pilgrimage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem is anterior to the crusades, but contains, in the midst of invented details, a certain number of historic reminiscences of the protectorate established by Charlemagne and the institutions that he founded in the Holy Land. This alleged journey of Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers was nothing but a peaceful pilgrimage, analogous to those of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the *Chanson de Roland,* on the contrary, the idea of a holy war against Islam appears. This poem must at least be nearly contemporary with the First Crusade, to which it makes no allusion, but it contributes to it by manifesting the new ardor that actuated Christianity in its conflict with Islam. "The extreme warlike excitement which these Carolingian romances were calculated to produce cannot for an instant be doubted. Urban II and St. Bernard must have found them excellent coadjutors." Robert the Monk, one of the historians of the First Crusade, makes Urban II incite his hearers by reminding them of the deeds of Charlemagne. The Danube route, which most of the crusading armies followed, was popularly known in the twelfth century as the Road of Charlemagne.

Legends of Charlemagne

Song of Roland

He who reads the *Chanson de Roland* in translation will be blest; he who is able to read it in the vivid original medieval French language, of which it is the first great expression, will be twice blest. What Homer is to Greek and Vergil to Latin literature, that the *Chanson de Roland* is to medieval literature. Based upon a mere military episode of the history of Charlemagne, the overwhelming of the rear-guard of the Frank army in the pass of Roncesvalles in 778, by a singular freak of destiny this unforgotten mere incident fired the imagination of some nameless French poet on the eve of the First Crusade, and from a cloud no bigger than a man's hand expanded until it covered much of the literary sky of the Middle Ages. There is eloquent testimony as to the popularity of the *Song of Roland* in the story of the man found weeping in an Italian market-place because he had just heard from a balladmonger the news of Roland's death.

Pilgrimages: their influence on medieval literature

Spain, not the Holy Land, is the arena of the *Chanson de Roland,* a fact that points to the intense interest which Christian Europe took in the Spanish crusades. But it points to something else also — namely, that pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain was scarcely less popular than pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This gives us a clue as to the origin of many of these chansons. They were written to stimulate pilgrimages to holy places — Palestine, Rome, Compostella — and the authors of them were monks, or at least clerics of some sort. In a word, the chansons were an epic form of medieval religious propaganda. It has been discovered through attentive study that the routes by which these heroes of romance are made to travel coincide with the pilgrim roads. In many of them scenic description, the towns *en route,* the places of real or legendary religious or historic interest which are enumerated, enable us to pick out the road from end to end. Thus the chansons, besides being popular poetry and monastic propaganda, were also guide-books for pilgrims.

Lost folk-songs

There was, however, an immense body of widely scattered song and ballad in the vernacular which was of a local and episodic nature; which never developed beyond its primitive form; which passed only on the lips of song and was never reduced to writing; which has utterly perished. There are many traces of this popular balladry in the medieval chronicles, whose authors sometimes made use of them. Richer, the French historian, in the tenth century based his account of the wars between the Franks and the Bretons on this sort of stuff; the German historian Widukind in the tenth century, and Thietmar of Merseburg and Adam of Bremen in the eleventh, utilized old Germanic saga elements. In 1060, when a German army invaded Hungary and was badly defeated, the rear-guard of the host in retreat was defended so heroically by William, Margrave of Meissen, and a Bavarian knight named Poto that Germany for years rang with songs (*cantilenæ vulgares*) in commemoration of their exploit. Forty years after the event was recorded by the *Annals of Altenheim,* we find Ekkehard of Urach recording it again with exultation. Yet not a line has survived.

Jongleurs and minstrels

These popular songs were sung by wandering minstrels. Medieval Europe abounded in every century since the fall of the Roman Empire with wandering singers of many tongues, of many countries, and called by many different names, as *mimi, joculatores, jongleurs, histriones, minstrels, gleemen,* who sang the popular songs and ballads of the day in inns, castles, and even monasteries, in market-place and fair and along the roadsides, especially along the great pilgrimage routes. The type was very old and quite general and survives to this day in county fairs, dance-halls, and circuses. Some of them were dwarfs, or hunchbacks or *nains*. We find the Roman mime and mummeries at the court of the Merovingian kings. But folk-song is a universal expression, common to almost all peoples. The ancient Germans had their gleemen, the Irish their minstrels, the Welsh their bards, the Romance nations their jongleurs, and in every country of the Middle Ages and in every century thereof evidence of the presence of these amusement-makers abounds. They were a class that never was amalgamated with the rest of society, careless, foot-free, jovial, thieving, like gypsies. A ninth-century writer puts them at the very bottom of the social scale, and they were universally regarded as the dregs and scum of society. The Church, early and late, legislated against them and endeavored to suppress their songs because of their often ribald and obscene nature, but it never stamped them out. These amusement-makers were like the *goliardi,* but were not of them, for the goliards sang songs written in Latin, since many of them were vagrom monks, runaway priests, and wandering students — in a word, were clerics. The common people and even the upper classes were as fond then as now of topical songs, pantomime, slapstick, acrobatic performances, fancy dancing, rope-walking, jugglery, mountebank tricks. It was natural, when epic and other narrative poetry developed, that these singers should dispense these new literary wares to the populace. But only the best of the class could have graduated from low and vulgar comedy and been able to chant such heroic verse as the *Chanson de Roland* with feeling and effect.

Poetical legends of King Arthur

Equally full of adventure and high emprise with the *chansons de geste,* but more redolently romantic, more subjective in the psychological elements introduced into them in spite of the outward show of heroic warfare, more imbued with sentiment, are the numerous epic poems of the Arthurian cycle. All the poems of this group are emanations of Christian Celticism; and this source of origin explains almost everything in their nature. No nation of medieval Europe was so endowed with creative imagination, poetic fire, intense sentiment, and passionate emotion as the three peoples of the Celtic race — the Irish, the Welsh, the Bretons of Gaul. But the Irish contribution to medieval literature had spent its force in Carolingian times. The literature of the feudal age that is of Celtic origin was primarily the Breton and Welsh romantic themes transformed and refined by filtration through the mind of Norman and French poets. The themes are of Breton or Welsh origin, but the Breton and Welsh versions of the poems of the Arthurian cycle are inferior in imagination, beauty of thought, and literary expression to the French versions and were composed later than the French versions. For medieval France led all Europe in polite literature.

A perplexing problem in literary origins is here presented, the most difficult in medieval literature. How much of the matter of the Arthurian

A literary problem

poems is British and how much Breton, and which has priority, is a riddle. And who first caught these gleaming wisps of legend and wove them into verse? Marie de France? Robert de Boron? Walter Map? According to some scholars the contact between the Celtic legends of King Arthur and feudal culture was made in England when the Norman conquest brought the Norman French into relation with the Welsh, among whom the Arthurian legends had been preserved for centuries. According to other scholars the Arthurian tradition was not originally British, but was cherished and preserved in Brittany, whither many British had fled after the downfall of Roman civilization in Britain and during the invasions of the English and Saxon peoples from the continent. This was in the sixth and seventh centuries. Therefore the Bretons and not the British were the originators of the Arthurian legends, the medium through whom the tales of Arthur were transmitted. In support of this contention it is argued that the relations between Brittany and Normandy were early and intimate, so that it was easy for the legends of the Bretons to penetrate into Normandy and the rest of France. The fact — for it seems to be a fact — that Arthur is a Breton name, gives color to this contention. Other scholars are more radical and argue that the Arthurian legends were indigenous in Brittany and were carried across the Channel from Armorica — the medieval name for Brittany — after the conquest of England in 1066 by the Normans, who had got them from the Bretons. Again, some English scholars contend that the first French versions of the Arthurian legend were of Norman-French, not French authorship. The *lais* or lays of Marie de France, who in spite of her name was an Anglo-Norman poetess who lived in England about 1170 — she was abbess of Shaftsbury and a daughter of King Henry I — are said by English scholars to be the earliest of such compilations. On the other hand French scholars attribute the honor of introducing the Arthurian legends into French literature to Chrétien de Troyes (died 1191), who wrote at the court of Marie de Champagne, Countess of Champagne. It was Chrétien, apparently, who gave to the still unstable French poetry its definitive rules and its fixed form.

Marie de France

Chrétien de Troyes

This literary problem is not resolved, and cannot be resolved until the problem that lies behind it is settled. That is the question of the authenticity and authorship of the *History of the Kings of Britain* by Geoffrey of Monmouth (died 1154), which is the original fount of all this Arthurian literature. Geoffrey was half a Welshman in blood, was archdeacon of Monmouth, and later became bishop of St. Asaph; he gave his work to the world in 1136. Few books have ever had so great an influence on literature. A total of 183 practically complete manuscripts of this work are extant in European libraries, of which forty-six are of the twelfth century, distributed among twenty-two libraries in six different countries. In

Geoffrey of Monmouth

the preface Geoffrey alleges that his book is nothing but a translation into Latin of a work " in the British tongue," the manuscript of which was given to him by Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford. Is this statement true, or was Geoffrey resorting to a literary artifice? Most scholars are agreed that no such work ever existed and that Geoffrey compiled his tales out of Welsh historical legend and folk-lore and supplemented this matter by invention. The book has been described as " an elaborate tissue of Celtic myths, legends, and traditions, scraps of classical and scriptural learning, and fantastic inventions of the author's own fertile brain, all dexterously thrown into a pseudo-historical shape."[1]

Nevertheless, somewhere amid this intricate mass of legend, myth, and fiction there would seem to be at least one shining grain of reality: to wit, that Arthur is an historical character. The earliest reference to Arthur is found in the *History of the Britons* attributed to Nennius. The last date in this work is 796, which is at least over two hundred years posterior to any possible Arthur. There are two allusions to Arthur in the work, the first in the *Historia* proper, the second in the *Mirabilia* appended to the main work, which would seem to be a later composition, made by another writer. In the earlier, Arthur is described actually and factually as the leader of the British resistance to the Saxons, who won twelve victories. There is little or nothing in the narrative to suggest that Arthur was any but a real historical character. In the passage in the *Mirabilia* the atmosphere is different; myth and legend are beginning to crystallize around Arthur.

This literature a mirror of feudal manners

But we are not yet done with the endless and fascinating theme of the Arthurian romances. The *Chanson de Roland* and similar epics are representations of feudal civilization as it actually was — stark, warlike, brutal. In this sense they are historical documents. But the Arthurian romances of a century later (about 1200) represent a feudal world refined by chivalry, pervaded by a deep sense of feudal loyalty and fealty, and throbbing with religious emotionalism. Feudalism is idealized and history is romanticized. It is the dream of poets and visionaries of what they wished feudal civilization might become. The transition from knighthood in the actual feudal world to knighthood in legend and romance was an easy one when literature arose. Three types or groups may be distinguished: the *chansons de geste,* the *romans d'aventure,* and the Arthurian-Grail romances. The first are epic narratives of deeds (*gesta*), of which the *Roland* is the earliest and best example; the second are tales of romantic adventure, told in verse and ranging from imagined courts to fairyland; the third partake of the nature of the other two; they are romanticized feudalism and chivalry; in them " King Arthur becomes less of a Celtic superman and more of an international ideal of kingship."

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[1] NORGATE, K., *England under the Angevin Kings,* appendix on sources.

Introduction of spiritual symbolism

But before long we find new themes and new characters introduced into the legend. Instead of an Iliad of real war, as in the *Chanson de Roland,* we have an Iliad of the soul. The trilogy of the Grail romances reflects the teachings and practices of the Church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Knighthood is transformed by religion out of feudalism; it is become a consecrated office, purged of its dross by the knight's long watch at the altar on the night before his initiation; the knight receives a ritual bath and the whole ceremony of initiation is ritualistic and savors of the liturgy; service for Our Lady becomes the knight's supreme devotion. The original tales of Arthur become the source for a whole library of romances. Fatal and tragic passion like that of Tristan and Isolt is contrasted with courtly and chivalrous service; the treason of Ganelon, the traitor in the *Chanson de Roland,* is less infamous than that of Lancelot, "the perfect knight," who finally joined the quest for the Holy Grail in atonement for his sins. The drama is often one of conscience, not of heroic action; the tragedy that of the Christian soul. Wonder and miracle, magical potions, and fairy machinery invest these pages of the Arthurian romances, phenomena that are wholly absent from earlier epics.

Grail romances

These epic themes, these romances of chivalry, passed into every country of Europe in course of time and were circulated by a host of continuators and imitators, so that we find German, Scandinavian, Spanish versions of them. Perhaps the most successful imitators were the German minnesingers Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walther von der Vogelweide in the thirteenth century.

The Italians, however, until the thirteenth century must be eliminated from the category of a creative literary people. For in them was absence of the legendary and myth-making faculty. They "shared with other nations the common stock of medieval literature — chronicles, encyclopaedias, epitomes, moralizations, histories in verse, rhetorical summaries and prose abstracts of universal history — the meagre débris and detritus of the huge moraines carried down by extinct classic glaciers." [1] But the Italians created no epic of their own, gave birth to no saga. They did not even pay the homage of imitation to French literature. Symonds finds the explanation of this singular lacuna in the fact that "the force of the Italian people was concentrated upon two great political struggles, the contest of the Church with the Empire and the war of Lombard independence. In the prosecution of these quarrels the Italians lost sight of letters, art, theology. Their greatest divines and metaphysicians wandered northward to France and England. . . . Legal studies and political activity occupied the attention of their greatest men." [2]

Versified history, written without any pretension to literary embellish-

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[1] Symonds, J. A., *Italian Literature,* p. 10.

[2] Symonds, J. A., *op. cit.,* p. 6.

Versified history

ment, was also a popular kind of literature in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The Norman poet Wace's *Roman de Rou* (about 1175) is a history in verse of the dukes of Normandy, especially Rollo (Rou). His *Brut* is a paraphrase in French verse of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain,* which appears to have had no influence upon the French romances. Benoît de St. More paraphrased the *History* of William of Jumièges and, when that failed, used Ordericus Vitalis's *Norman History* in its stead. More prolific than Benoît even were Guillaume de Lorris and his continuator, Jean de Meun, authors of the *Roman de la rose,* written in the middle of the thirteenth century. This is not an historical poem, but a long allegorical poem on romantic love, replete with symbolism.

Roman de la rose: *allegory*

Prose history of thirteenth century

Straight prose history written in the vernacular made its first appearance in Villehardouin's famous *History of the Conquest of Constantinople* (1204), a masterpiece of sinewy language and picturesque narrative. Totally different from it, but a classic, is the Sieur de Joinville's *Life of St. Louis,* the most charming biography that the Middle Ages has bequeathed to us.

Medieval novels

Much of the poetic literature in the vernacular also circulated in prose form, but as a whole the prose renditions are far inferior to the poetic versions. Sometimes, however, the reverse is true and we find examples of popular prose literature of which there is no anterior poetic example. These are true medieval novels. The finest specimen of this class of literature is the exquisite vernacular French novelette, written by an unknown author in the thirteenth century, entitled *Aucassin et Nicolette.* A modern reader hardened by the perusal of " realistic " novels might find this romance too " romantic " and too full of cloying sweetness; but there is no gainsaying the fact that the story is in matter and manner a delightful tale, abounding in delicious and inimitable touches, and a graceful monument of medieval French literary genius. It is written in the Picard dialect.

The careful reader who has read thus far in this chapter must have perceived that all the literature we have so far described, whether in medieval Latin or in some vernacular language, sprang from the minds of the peoples of northern Europe. The literature of the southern peoples has not yet been mentioned; moreover, except for the Latin goliardic poetry and the *lais* of Marie de France, no mention has been made of lyric poetry in all this literature. Even the *lais* of Marie de France were not true lyrics, but virtually short ballads, pivoted upon a single incident.

The true medieval lyric, both in form and in substance, and possessed of the " lyric cry," was a product of southern France; it was of Provençal origin. While doubtless the Provençal lyric owed something to medieval Latin poetry, it owed far more to contemporary environment than to

Troubadours and trouvères of Provence

tradition. The peculiar blend of historical cultures in Provence, Greek, Roman, German, Arabic, and Syrian, the balanced proportion of these ingredients, the harmonious fusion of them, combined with a glorious earth and sky and sea and an enlightened government, had created in this favored region of the Midi a unique and varied literary and artistic culture, which had spread as far as Aquitaine and Poitou by the eleventh century. In William IX of Aquitaine-Poitou (1087–1127) we have the earliest *trobador* (the Provençal form of *trouvère*) or poet, whose court was a *foyer* of light-hearted revelry and gayety, who charmed men and women with his manners and lively conversation, who could troll a song and finger a lute, who had the portrait of his mistress painted upon his shield and founded a nunnery whose members were prostitutes and whose mother superior was a famous courtesan. The clergy was scandalized, but the fashionable society of the South laughed over their debonair duke and his winning ways.

Courts of love

This William was the grandfather of Louis VII's gay queen, the famous Eleanor, who was the mother — by such a dour and religious father — of Marie de Champagne, wife of the Count of Champagne, whose court was filled with a galaxy of poets as gay and light-hearted as herself. Marie was the patroness of Chrétien de Troyes (about 1155–88), who emancipated Ovid from long imprisonment in monastic libraries and set this " sweet " poet of Augustan Rome, whom the Emperor exiled to the Crimea for his loose morals, upon a pedestal in the medieval courts of love. For Chrétien de Troyes was the translator of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* or *Art of Love,* which became the Bible of troubadour and trouvère and was even allegorized for the benefit of nuns. Unfortunately this version is lost; but early in the thirteenth century Chrétien was imitated by André, chaplain of the French court, whose similar work profoundly influenced Guillaume de Lorris, the author of the first part of the *Roman de la rose*. This troubadour lyric poetry spread all over Europe, like the *chansons de geste* and the Arthurian romances, and affected the new conception of knighthood even as the Arthurian romances did. Indeed, the two *genres* acted and reacted upon one another; one cannot say which was of greater influence in transforming the old-fashioned rough and ready knight of the *chansons de geste* into a " gentleman." This complex literary transformation in turn transformed the attitude of the noble classes towards the lower classes. Social cleavages tended to widen, social classes to harden into castes, in the mind of the aristocracy of Europe. This accounts for the one-sided nature of so much of the literature of the feudal epoch. The lower classes had not yet become vocal in literature, although here and there one finds evidence of social protest, as in the poetry of Rutebeuf.

All this vernacular literature represents the escape from theology and scholasticism; the religious element in it, though deep and widespread, is the religion of the laity, not that of the clergy. There is additional evidence of this fact that it was distinctly a lay literature in the patronage of the writers of it by the great feudal princes of the twelfth century, notably Henry II of England, Henry the Lion of Saxony and the counts of Champagne, whose courts were thronged with poets, troubadours, historians; even lesser nobles, like the Count of Ardres and Guisnes had his circle of them. If other evidence failed us on this point, the dedications of these many works in prose and poetry to great princes of the time would prove it. This literary patronage was a new condition for literature, and one which lasted well down into the eighteenth century.

Rise of literary patronage in twelfth century

In the thirteenth century the most eminent patron of literature — as of science also — was the Emperor Frederick II, whose court at Palermo was the most refined and brilliant in Europe. Frederick himself was an author on scientific subjects and a poet. Natural history with him was a study, but poetry was a pastime. At his court French and Provençal, German, Italian, and Arabic cultures were impartially cultivated, if not wholly blended. Americ de Pegulhan, the Provençal poet, sang his praises in a *canzone*. Manfred had a German minstrel band at his court, and it is probable that Frederick had a similar one. One of the greatest of the minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide, received substantial gifts of money from Frederick. Provençal troubadours were present at Frederick's coronation at Rome in 1220, and one, Guilhem Figueira, was with the Emperor at Foggio in 1240. Two or three authors of Provençal verse are known to have paid brief political visits to the court of Frederick, while several addressed poems to him.

Frederick II as a poet and patron of literature

Before Dante was born, before his genius bent the Tuscan dialect to music and made it the vehicle for the expression of the noblest poem of the Middle Ages, the trilogy of the *Divine Comedy,* the Italian language was made fit for the expression of exquisite poetry in Lower Italy and Sicily. Frederick II favored the young Italian language. A group of poets, some thirty in number, was attached to his court. This group of thirty has two titles to fame: its members were the first persons to write in Italian, and the first to use the sonnet form. Twenty-five sonnets are attributed to their leader, Giacome da Lentino, and six others to other members of the group. Giacome da Lentino was probably the inventor of the sonnet; twenty-five of the thirty-one sonnets are attributed to him, and five of the remaining six appear in *tenzoni* in which he participated; he was the literary leader of the group, and by far the most prolific writer. He was interested in metrical experiment, and each of the twenty-five *canzoni* is unique in scheme.

Richness and originality of early Italian poetry

The sonnet was an artistic rather than a popular invention, but this does not mean that the sonnet may not have had popular sources. The octave of the sonnet may have originated in the eight-line *strambotto,* a popular Sicilian form with which Giacome da Lentino was doubtless familiar, as he was Sicilian by birth. The rhyme scheme is the same in both forms. The distich, which forms the musical unit of the *strambotto,* was taken over by the sonnet. Indeed, the sestet of the sonnet may have been a sporadic abbreviation of the *strambotto.*

The subject-matter of the sonnets is the conventional chivalrous love theme of the troubadours. The lover, on bended knee, prays the grace of the lady, who does not deign a reply. He obeys and serves her without hope of favor. In Provence these ideas had origin in actual though artificial traditions; but in Sicily, where the feudal nobility was kept in subjection, and where lawyers of civilian descent took precedence over feudal lords, the sentiments of the troubadour songs were superficial imitation. The homage paid to fair ladies was mere pretense in a court where Oriental customs prevailed and beautiful women were kept in the strictest seclusion.

The imagery of the Sicilian sonnet is as conventional as the theme. Love is fire, and the lover is purified in love like gold in a furnace. The lover is a ship on a stormy sea, or he is as restless as the waves. He will be as faithful to his mistress as the assassin who goes blindly to his death at the command of the Old Man of the Mountain. More characteristic still are the comparisons of the lovers to legendary animals — the lover lives in the fire without being burned, like the salamander; the lady slays the lover with her look, like the basilisk; the poet, tormented to death by love, sings like the swan before expiring.

The best of these poems, among them one of Frederick's, are what might be called " farewell poems." These show more warmth and genuine feeling and less artificiality than the others. Frederick's poem presents a parting scene in the animated form of dialogue; the lady ceases to be the cold and cruel object of chivalric devotions and expresses her emotions in phrases of natural grace, while the short and rapid verse and extremely simple construction of the stanza suggest the popular poetry of the day.

But northern Italy in this thirteenth century also felt the lift and lilt of a new and popular song, and one without the affectation of that of Provence and Sicily. This was the spontaneous, exultant outpouring of the heart of St. Francis, in Umbria. Love of God and adoration of the Virgin are commingled in these spiritual effusions with a deep love of nature, of birds and flowers, the blue Italian sky, the sun in his heaven — witness the *Canticle of the Sun.* The poetry of St. Francis is a far cry, in both form and spirit, from either the songs of the troubadours or the studied Latin sequences of Adam of St. Victor a century earlier.

The popular short stories of the Middle Ages were called *fabliaux*. They were brief, humorous tales, without pretense of literary distinction, written in the current speech, ordinarily in rhyming octosyllables, though some are in prose. The type flourished from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The wide diffusion of similar *fabliaux* has given rise to conflicting theories as to their origin. Early nineteenth-century scholars regarded them as the remains of ancient Aryan mythology. Anthropologists regard them as vestigial survivals of prehistoric origin. According to orientalists, they are all derived from ancient Hindu sources within historic times.

Popular short stories

The *fabliaux,* whatever their origin, are certainly an authentic manifestation of one type of the medieval mind. They were popular with the bourgeoisie — "vulgar," not *courtois* literature, which was the epic and the love-lyric. They abound in comic, not heroic, scenes, and their humor is sometimes very broad. In the earliest, and one of the best, the town prostitute succeeds in persuading a noble, a burgher, a priest, and divers villeins that each is the father of her child, and hence each contributes to its support and education. The *fabliaux* were the literature of the market-place, as the *chansons de geste* were the literature of the castle.

We have seen in the preceding pages that all medieval literature written in the Latin language was of clerical authorship, even when, as history, it was not of an ecclesiastical nature; but that in the late eleventh century, with the growing power of the popular languages of Europe, a rich and varied secular literature appeared. One form of medieval literature (exclusive, of course, of that which was theological and philosophic), however, which originated within the Church was strictly confined within its precincts until very late in the Middle Ages, even after important concessions were made in it to the vulgar language and popularization. This was medieval dramatic literature — the miracle or mystery plays.[1]

Mystery and miracle plays

The Christian drama of the Middle Ages, which is more or less the ancestor of the modern theater, was born in the Church and of the Church. Stage, subject, scene, performance, the language employed, were all derived from the services of the Church. The liturgy was the primary source; the drama was liturgical and the actors were priests and clerks. The only lay element was the audience.

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[1] The two terms, though different words and of different origin, are practically identical in application. The word *mystère* was first used at Rouen in 1374 and gradually displaced the older term *miracle*. The derivation of the former word goes back through Latin *mysterium* to an almost similar Greek word *mysterion,* signifying a secret religious service or rite. This is the sense in which St. Paul used it when he wrote: "Behold, I show you a mystery." But in medieval times the Low Latin word *ministerium,* meaning "office" or "performance," was contaminated with it. Except for the morality play, which was dramatized allegory, the word *mystery* covered all forms and sorts of medieval drama, sacred and secular.

There is no satisfactory evidence of liturgical drama before the tenth century — though we have two interesting allusions, one of the sixth, the other of the ninth century, to masques or puppet-plays being played in monasteries. Some historians have found it hard to believe, in spite of the evidence, that there was no mystery play in medieval Europe before the eleventh century. But the explanation is forthcoming and the delay accounted for when it is perceived that the mystery was a slow development out of a previous form. The so-called Easter Play of Saint-Gall, which originated about 900, " under the influence of a general movement towards liturgical embellishment," as an introduction to the introit of the mass of Easter, and which has often been regarded as the earliest example of a medieval mystery, was not a true play. For none of these earliest representations, so far as we know, was presented through actual *impersonation* of the Marys and the angels. It was merely the introduction of dialogue. True drama did not make its appearance until provision was made that those who spoke the dialogue should also *impersonate* the characters concerned. When this momentous change was made, the medieval drama was born.

The " mysteries " sprang from modification of the introit of the liturgy through the introduction of tropes — extensions and embellishments of the formal language of the liturgy — by inserting new words. No violence was done to the significance or dignity of the service, but the intercalated words actually made the introit more impressive. In this transition the antiphons played an important part. Technically an antiphon is a verse or verses, generally from the Psalms, sung like a refrain by alternating choirs, and it was not a far step from antiphonary to dialogue, and from that to representation in dramatic expression. The effect of these changes was to give color and life to the service and to humanize some of its austerity. Once introduced, mimetic representation grew apace, and by relatively rapid stages of transition the medieval drama sprang into being.

The earliest example of liturgical drama known is one on the *Adoration of the Magi* in the eleventh century. About the same time we have record of a *Speculum puerorum* given at the abbey of Fleury. The name of the monk author is given. The play must have been a sort of Christmas pageant in which the actors were the novices in the monastery. More formal is an Easter or resurrection mystery composed, both words and music, in Germany by Wipo, the chaplain of the Emperor Conrad II (1024–39), which was inserted after the third responsory of matins, before the *Te Deum*. The boy actors representing the three Marys, the apostles, and angels, appeared before the Holy Sepulchre on Easter morn and sang dialogues descriptive of the resurrection. The earliest mention of a miracle play in England is in 1097. It is preserved in the *Lives* of the abbots of St. Albans, and is described as " a play about St. Katharine which we vulgarly call a ' miracle.' " Nearly a century later William Fitz-Stephen in his famous description of the city of London contrasts the coarse and boisterous farces and slapstick performances long familiar. " London," he writes, " has plays of a holier character (*sanctiores*), representations of miracles performed by confessors, or of the sufferings in which martyrs have displayed their constancy."

The earliest mysteries were one-act representations. But it was easy to provide new scenes antecedent and sequent to the original mystery, and so the early simple mystery developed the *mise en scène.* For example, the adoration of the Magi was preceded by the country of the magi, Herod's palace, the adoration of the shepherds. In time these single scenes were expanded into whole acts. The period when these medieval dramas were presented corresponded to the great festivals of the Church, as Christmas and Easter. Like the epics, we find that, as the number and variety of the mysteries increased, they fall into cycles of plays. These medieval mystery plays, and not secular stage productions, were the true forerunners of the drama. For their subjects had a certain unity, they possessed plot, they portrayed ambition, hate, fear, love, conflict of wills, contrast of personalities. While most of those which have come down to us seem crude and undeveloped, on the other hand some of them display literary artistry and power of composition. Hilarius, a pupil of Abelard, and perhaps an Englishman, was the author of a short and simple miracle play on *St. Nicholas,* and an elaborate and astonishing play of *Daniel.*

In the ninth century, in the Romance countries of Europe, Latin could still be understood. But in each country the deviation of the vernaculars from their Latin origin, resulting in the formation of the Italian, French, Provençal, and Spanish languages, was so rapid that the first concession the mystery made was the introduction into the Latin text of a few words in the vulgar tongue; this innovation was followed by the insertion of whole lines in the vernacular between the Latin lines; again, sometimes a verse was made to begin in Latin and terminate in the vernacular. This concession in time was followed by the insertion of certain lay roles, the parts for which were written in the vernacular. Then whole acts were so written, and finally the entire play. The last step of evolution was the abandonment of religious themes and the adoption of secular themes and plots instead. Then the drama was divorced from the Church and became secularized.

Gild plays

An important link in promoting this development was the gilds, which in the fifteenth century instituted the custom of giving an annual Scripture Cycle, in which the actors were members of the gild, and not clerics. These great scripture cycles, however, were not dramatic, but panoramic spectacles and are to be sharply distinguished from the mysteries. These gild plays rapidly corrupted the mysteries by introducing comic elements, particularly the devil, who is the butt of ridicule and is derided, not feared. This indicates an important change of spirit in medieval psychology towards the end of the Middle Ages. An illustration of this ludicrous element is a German mystery in which God is represented as visiting the earth after the Flood. The descendants of Cain do not take off their hats to the august visitor, and God boxes their ears for their rudeness; while the progeny of Abel doff their hats and recite the lessons in the catechism well. But the devil prompts the children of Cain to make faces and to recite the Lord's Prayer backwards.

Byzantine literature

Byzantine literary history, like that of the West, displays fluctuations between prosperity and decline, or rather between activity and torpidity. Naturally it was best in the periods of greater political activity, as in the ninth century. Byzantine historians are fuller of information and more exact than those of the West. But in the literature of the imagination Western literature is immeasurably superior to Byzantine; for the latter is characterized by a monotonous uniformity of expression and repetition, a dry-as-dust erudition, an excessive pedantry. Byzantine literature is abundant in volume, but lacks the variety and vivacity of Western medieval literature. "Byzantium has not bequeathed a single original work of genius to posterity." Her greatest contribution to literature is that she preserved ancient Greek literature, which if it had not been safeguarded in the libraries of Constantinople, probably would have perished.

Similarly, Byzantine education exercised little influence upon the universities in the West.

Higher education in the Byzantine Empire declined after Justinian suppressed the ancient schools, but it was revived by the inconoclastic emperors, and philosophy, grammar, geometry, and astronomy were diligently taught. Under Constantine VII the schools of Constantinople enjoyed high prestige, and the professors were distinguished personages. The peak of distinction was reached in the eleventh century, in the time of Constantine Monomachos, when the most celebrated of all Byzantine scholars, Michael Psellos, taught philosophy and his friend Xiphilinos gave instruction in the law. Even Arabic students then attended the University of Constantinople. But the Greek Church became alarmed and compelled the closure of the school; and Psellos retired into a convent.

Arabic literature

On the other hand, Arabic medieval literature is one of the great glories of Islam and vies with Arabic science as an intellectual achievement. Its variety, in both form and content, is almost bewildering — there are tales, fables, poetical and prose romances, epic and lyric poetry, in which Greek, Persian, and Hindu themes and motifs are even more abundant than those of purely Arabic origin. Naturally most of this literature circulated among the upper classes, but tales such as the *Arabian Nights,* like the *fabliaux* in the West, were popular among the masses also.

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CHAPTER XXIX

MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE, ART AND MUSIC

In an absolute sense as distinguished from nature, art includes everything created by the brain and hand of man. The Greek word *techné,* the Latin *ars,* the German *Kunst* (from the verb *können,* meaning "to be able, to have power," whence the English *can*), all mean the same thing. Thus we may speak of the art of the surgeon, of the glass-blower, or of the poet and musician. But in a more specific sense the word art is applied to those higher products of mankind the creation of which requires creative imagination and high technical skill, as architecture, painting, sculpture. The history of such subjects is the history of real art, or the fine arts as differentiated from the mechanical arts.

Art is a natural, spontaneous expression. Even the savage, when beyond the lowest brute stage, possesses artistic impulses. The art of some prehistoric peoples shows imagination and an astonishing degree of technical skill, and in proportion as a people has risen in the scale of intellectual and material achievement its æsthetic development has also proceeded.

It is unnecessary here to enter into a consideration of the theory, origin, and purpose of art. But since art is the conversion of idea into outward, visible form, "the unity of reality and appearance," some prefatory words concerning the interpretation of art are in point in order that we may understand the nature and spirit of medieval art; for all art is a unity.

Ancient Oriental art

The art of the peoples of the ancient Orient was prevailingly of a symbolical nature; that is to say, it stood for something else and served either to represent or to remind of one or more qualities of the original; it sought to express innate or attributed qualities in outward form and to let one supreme quality stand for the whole. Thus the portraits of the Pharaohs and the Assyrian emperors chiefly portray power, pride, majesty.

Classical art

On the other hand, the classical art of the ancient Greeks endeavored to give simultaneous and full expression to all the attributes of the subject, but to idealize them. Thus Greek art is notable for balance, proportion, composition, and beauty. Form and spirit coexist in perfect harmony. While there is a limit to beauty of form, there is no limit to spiritual interpretation and expression. Thought is deeper than speech, but feeling is deeper than thought. The heart of medieval art was spiritual expression; symbolism, beauty, idealism were means to that end.

Medieval art

Thus medieval art was more subjective than classical or ancient Oriental art. In being so medieval art reflected the age, for in the Middle Ages spirit was the supreme thing and far more than matter and form. In a word, medieval art reflected Christian belief and the age of faith.

The history of the evolution and development of the fine arts shows that architecture may be regarded as the mother of the arts. The caverns of primitive man, like those found in Spain and France, were the earliest temples, whose walls were adorned with those colored drawings which still astonish and delight us. The temples of the oldest peoples of antiquity were the earliest ambitious expressions of their art. The mural decoration of these structures gave birth to painting and sculpture, but it was only in relatively late Greek art that these two arts were differentiated and emancipated from architecture. Sculpture seems to have been a derivative of painting and we can see the evolution of it in ancient mural remains. First the figure outlined with pencil was graven into the flat surface of the wall; then it was made more rounded, but still remained an integral portion of the wall; even when detached from the wall, the statue continued to be a part of the edifice, as the pillar statues of Karnak and the caryatids of the Erechtheum, which served as columns, show; finally the separate and distinct figure was emancipated from architecture, and the statue emerged. In like manner painting was gradually detached from the wall and its bondage to mural decoration and became the independent picture.

Three universal influences

Certain other fundamental observations upon art are necessary as preliminary to understanding medieval art. History shows that all art is conditioned in greater or less degree by three influences: racial inheritance and tradition; environment, or, to use the expressive French term, *milieu;* and time. In a sense this last condition is a product of the other two and is measured by the degree of fusion of the other two qualities. The point of happiest combination of tradition and *milieu* determines the time when any art will be expressed with maximum power, beauty, and technical skill.

These generalizations have now cleared the field for a consideration of the subject of medieval art, in whose history we shall find exemplification and illustration of them all.

Medieval art a reflection of Christianity

Medieval art was almost wholly an expression of medieval Christianity; it was an adjunct of the Church. Ancient Greek and Roman art, the art of the barbarian peoples when they were Christianized, was subordinated to and modified by Christianity. Although we speak of Byzantine art, Romanesque art, Irish art, the art of the Germanic and Scandinavian nations, each of these was a particular expression of Christian art in the Middle Ages. The only medieval art independent of Christianity was Mohammedan art.

Remains of primitive Christian art are preserved in the graves and

Early symbols

burial tombs of the early Christians found in the catacombs. This art was symbolistic and reflected the Oriental origin of early Christianity. The motifs were derived from the Greek New Testament. Among these symbols, besides the cross, the figure of the fish was a favorite, for the reason that the five letters of the word *ichthus*[1] were made to stand initially for the sacred term "Jesus Christus, of God the Son, Savior." Other popular symbols were the lamb, the dove, the palm, water (of life), etc.

Before the time of Constantine there were few Christian churches and hence little room for the expression of Christian art. Early Christian art was sepulchral and represented in crude and repetitious designs upon the walls of the galleries of the catacombs. Christianity had to create a new art as it created a new literature. This art was the achievement of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The oldest basilicas preserved, as in Rome, Ravenna, and Constantinople, still contain mural mosaics of this age, although the mural paintings have perished.

The earliest churches

When Constantine legally recognized Christianity, the Church either was given or purchased ancient public buildings as places of worship, or it built new structures. Early Christian architecture was not inventive; it adopted forms already existing. The early churches may be classified according to their ground-plan into two sorts: those with concentric ground-plan, and those with rectangular ground-plan, or basilicas. This mode of division corresponds both to tradition and *milieu,* for churches of the former type were Greco-Oriental, the latter Western and Roman. This distinction, of course, is not invariably true, since Syria possessed some remarkable basilicas, and Ravenna, in Italy, still possesses a very old church of concentric form. But it is broadly true.

The difference between the East and the West, so far as ecclesiastical architecture is concerned, during the early Middle Ages, was the rigid adherence of the East to the concentric form, whereas the West was partial to the basilica. This observation, however, must not be taken absolutely. For in Roman imperial times the penetration of Oriental influences into the West was very great, so that we find examples of circular or polygonal edifices in Rome like the Pantheon, the Temple of Vesta, the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and the Temple of Jupiter at Spalato. But Roman architects made a remarkable diversion in respect to these Oriental structures in imposing the dome, or perfect vault, upon them. When these pagan temples were appropriated for churches, the circular and vaulted church began to compete with the rectangular basilica. Nevertheless, the basilica remained the prevailing and popular type of church everywhere in the West. The concentric church, with or without a dome, passed down into Byzantine architecture, as the basilica passed down into

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[1] As spelled in Greek letters, not in English: I, Ch, Th, U, S.

Western cathedral architecture. Even when the ground-plan of a Byzantine church was modified by transverse aisles, forming a Greek cross, the interior structure was not fundamentally altered and the exterior was left unchanged. Concentricity remained the dominant feature, which was often accentuated by the impression made by the cupola, which also contributed to the loftiness and dignity of the edifice.

Origin of the basilica

The origin of the basilica is a disputed matter. The name was probably adopted from the Roman *basilica forensis,* or public hall, frequently a law-court; but there are those who would rather find its origin in the Roman private house. In the *atrium, alæ,* and *tablinum* (forecourt, wings, and terrace) of the Roman house, perhaps we have the ground-plan of the Christian basilica foreshadowed. For early Christian worship was most often in private houses. The distinction is not important, for structural modification and adaptation of a private house would naturally result in a basilical form. The most remarkable departure, but one not invariably made, was the addition of the apse. This recess, which originated in the East, might be within the main edifice or affixed to the exterior and made to connect with the interior of the church. The long dimensions, the galleries above the aisles, and the semicircular form of the apse were also deviations from the original plan.

Nave

Aisles

Transept

The basilica was of rectangular shape and elongated proportions; its length far exceeded its width or height. The "pathos of distance" was a striking characteristic. The place of the altar in the apse was naturally the focus of all architectural lines and lines of vision. The ground-plan thus resembled a T, or a T with three posts ($\overline{|\,|\,|}$). The nave (from *navis,* a ship) or central aisle (for the true aisles are always side aisles) was a long and impressive approach to the holy of holies. This point, especially when further distinguished by another aisle transverse to the nave (transept), so making the ground-plan in the form of a cross, gave the interior of a basilica a refreshing effect, strikingly in contrast with the uniformity of a concentric church. The predominance of the middle nave created in the interior an open and lofty room, with light from windows in the upper reach of the walls. Compared with the high nave, whose ceiling was frequently coffered, the aisles seemed low and dark, since little light fell in them. The transept was of equal height with the nave. The apse, since it was semicircular, was the only vaulted portion of the structure. The need of an open space between the aisles and the nave caused the walls of the nave to be supported by columns connected either by arches or by an architrave, a heavy cross-beam, while the transept had only walls. Sometimes piers were used in place of columns. In the East the aisles had two stories and the gallery was reserved for women.

In accordance with ancient ecclesiastical precedent, the atrium was a waiting-place for pilgrims, catechumens, excommunicants, and others.

The nave, which corresponded to the main house in a Roman dwelling, was for the congregation. The aisles were side approaches, which left the central nave open for the impressive vista and for processions. The transept helped to accommodate a large crowd and gave space for the officiating clergy. In the feudal age the wings of the transept were reserved for the aristocracy.

Decoration

From the structure of early ecclesiastical architecture we pass to decoration. In the concentric church the form itself was decorative and its harmonious and symmetrical proportions readily lent themselves to embellishment. In consequence Byzantine decoration in the early Middle Ages was superior to that of the West until the rise of Romanesque architecture. In Byzantine art, form was always subordinated to color. The lavish use of gold, blue, and red, either in mural painting or in mosaic, is a striking characteristic of Byzantine art. The columns as well as the walls were decorated unless they happened to be beautiful in themselves, as they would be with beautifully rondured and colored marble columns taken from ancient pagan temples. In contrast with such gorgeous interiors, in Byzantine churches the exterior was left of rough masonry, unadorned. The only concession was made in favor of pilaster strips and friezes under the edge of the roof.

Color in Byzantine architecture

Form in Byzantine art

In saying, however, that Byzantine art subordinated form to color one is not saying that the Byzantine artist was indifferent to form. This is often so thought by the superficial observer who is unable to perceive the symbolism expressed in the figures, to whom the heavy faces with oval eyes and passive features seem ugly, and the unnatural length of the torso and limbs, extending to long, narrow hands and tapering fingers, seem grotesque. But when it is remembered that Byzantine law, government, and civilization were essentially conservative and static, not dynamic; passive, not active; suppressive, not expressive; retardative, not given to invention or change — then the picture begins to give up its secret and even to possess an indefinable charm. Byzantine art was symbolical of Byzantine civilization and the Byzantine attitude towards life. It had no delight in nature, no striving for vitality, none of the naturalism of Greek or Renaissance art. The very fact that Byzantine art hardly changed in spirit or technique for a thousand years and was the same in the thirteenth century as it was in the time of Justinian is evidence of this conservatism. Byzantine painting, sculpture, and carved ivories manifest identical motifs. Neither Slav nor Arab seriously influenced the inflexible canons of Byzantine art. All medieval Russian art is slavishly imitative of Byzantine art. The earliest example of Russian panel-painting, the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir, the date of which can with probability be fixed as of the year 1131, and which served as a model for the subsequent efforts of Russian artists, is proof of this statement.

Conservatism

Secular art, as distinguished from ecclesiastical art, was more flourishing in the Byzantine Empire than in western Europe, partly owing to the firmer continuity of antique tradition and partly owing to the iconoclastic movement of the eighth century, which, though it retarded and even suppressed ecclesiastical art, liberated Byzantine art from undue ecclesiastical influence and secularized it as it never was in the West until the Renaissance.

> "In the East Roman Empire there were present . . . a survival of fine traditions, a strong influx of new theory and practice, rulers eager to encourage, artists and corporations of craftsmen to be encouraged, the intelligent use of wealth, and, above all, the internal tranquillity maintained by a civilized state."[1]

If we feel the defects of Byzantine art, we must admit its merits. Western or Romanesque art, in contrast with Byzantine art, in the Middle Ages was fluid, diversified, although its technique was inferior to that of Byzantium, at least until the eleventh century. This difference was partly due to the different Western spirit, partly due to the contact with and assimilation of other artistic motifs derived from the Germans, the Irish, the Norse.

Architecture, painting, and sculpture all suffered decadence in common with all other culture during the decline of the Roman Empire and the period of barbarian occupation. But they did not perish, and as the Germans settled into the groove of Christo-Roman civilization, art awoke, as it were, from its condition of suspended animation.

Oriental influence

At the same time new art influences appeared, hitherto unknown in the West. The West Goths and the East Goths had each spent years within the Eastern Roman Empire before their final settlement in Spain and Italy, and contact with Byzantine civilization was not without its effect upon them. Moreover, even when the Goths were in Russia, they had come in contact with Sarmatian art, and it is now believed that Sarmatian craftsmen accompanied them in their wanderings. The Sarmatians, whose importance in the history of art is of recent discovery, were a people kindred to the ancient Scythians, the first nomads who made a great impression on the mind of Europe in ancient Greek times, and had supplanted them in southern Russia in the third century B.C. They had a much more settled civilization and were less nomadic than the Scythians. The chief feature of Scythian and Sarmatian art is that it was almost wholly concerned with animal figures. But instead of representing imaginary animals, like the winged and bearded bulls, winged lions, and griffins of Assyrian art, Sarmatian animals are real beasts. At the same time the Sarmatians imbibed from ancient Persia love of color and elaborate surface decoration. The

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[1] GREGORY *of* TOURS, *History of the Franks,* ed. O. M. DALTON. I, 424–5.

Goths during their long residence in Russia absorbed much of this Sarmatian art and were the bearers of it to the West. In addition, in Gaul and Spain the Goths found the numerous colonies of Oriental merchants, chiefly Syrians, established in Marseilles, Lyons, Orléans, Bordeaux, Barcelona, whose art profoundly influenced them and the Romanized population commingled with them. The crucifix, for example, is of Syrian origin, as is much else in early Christian art. The fusion of these various art traditions resulted in the manifestation in the West of an art in the sixth and seventh centuries — a new art — which broke to some degree with the Greek and Christo-Roman traditions of the past. The expression, however, of this new art was confined to mural decoration and metal-work. Architecture was more conservative.

Biblical themes

The matrix of all Western medieval art in the Middle Ages was the basilica and the arts that it fostered and encouraged. But we know little of the decoration of churches in the West before the time of Charlemagne (A.D. 800). Our most valuable source is the ninth and tenth poems (IX, verses 511 fl.; X, verses 584 ff.) of St. Paulinus of Nola, which describe the erection and decoration of the Church of St. Felix. The subjects of these mural paintings were biblical and they were intended to edify as well as adorn; for, as a medieval writer profoundly observed, "What writing supplieth to him who can read, that doth a picture supply to him who is unlearned and can only look." The English historian Bede, in his *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth,* relates that Benedict Biscop on each of his trips to Rome — this was in the seventh century — returned with books and pictures destined for the church at Yarrow. Some of these pictures were illustrative of the Virgin, of the twelve apostles, of the visions of the Apocalypse. It is even related how the pictures were affixed to the walls. Some of these motifs and models were of Eastern origin.

Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* abounds in allusions to the making of mural paintings and other decorative work in the churches of Frankish Gaul. Most interesting is the story of the wife of Bishop Namatius, who built the Church of St. Stephen outside the walls of Clermont and supervised the decoration of it herself. "As she wished it to be adorned with paintings," writes Gregory, "she used to hold a book open upon her knees in which she read the tales of deeds done of old, and instructed the painters what scenes should be represented." Apparently these were not Bible subjects that were pictured, but incidents selected from the lives of the martyrs and the saints. The poet Fortunatus, who flourished in the high Merovingian era and was a friend of Gregory of Tours, also in various poems casts light upon the art of the time. In one poem he describes seven scenes that Gregory caused to be painted upon the walls of the church of Orléans, which he restored, but about which the good Bishop was too modest to say much. One of his poems describes the frescoes in the Church of St. Martin of Tours illustrative of the life of the saint, and when Duke Eberulf was in sanctuary there, he used to find recreation in studying these paintings. Elsewhere Fortunatus extols the mural paintings and decorated ceiling of the church of Saintes. This ceiling, like the turret of the church at Nantes, was decorated with animal forms, and in a third poem is mention of a wall-painting of birds eating grapes. Such things show that early Frankish art could be independent of ecclesiastical tradition and points to the persistence of Sarmatian tradition.

Influence of Carolingian renaissance

The renaissance of learning initiated by Charlemagne and Alcuin naturally stimulated the art of the time. Charlemagne was a great builder and restorer of churches, and at the same time was lavish in making improvements in and adorning his favorite palaces (*palatia*), notably those at Aachen, Nijmegen, and Ingelheim. The poet Ermoldus Nigellus has described the wall-paintings in the last. Einhard adorned the walls of Seligenstadt Abbey with frescoes. Just as English and Irish thought in this time influenced Carolingian learning and literature, so English and Irish art influenced Carolingian art. English and Irish artists, as well as English and Irish scholars, were to be found at the court and in the monasteries. The former introduced pictorial or book art into the Frank Empire; the Irish brought a characteristic style of decorative art, chiefly manuscript decoration and illumination, with them. But English pictorial art was not entirely native Anglo-Saxon or mixed English and Irish in its nature. The art centers of Charlemagne's reign were Aachen and Treves, as Tours was the center of manuscript-production. But there was a difference between these two schools. The palace school adhered to classical tradition; its pictures of Evangelists were classical in feeling; they were not accompanied by the traditional emblems; decorative ornament was not favored. On the other hand, the school at Treves drew on Syrian tradition for its designs and also accepted Irish plait-ornament, combining it with motives from classical architecture. Lesser Carolingian art-schools were at Fulda, Reichenau, and Saint-Gall, which late in the ninth century supplanted Treves as a center of art.

Introduction of Anglo-Saxon and Irish art to the continent

Lombard and Byzantine influence

The Frank conquest of Italy by Charlemagne is of great importance for the history of art. Europe north of the Alps now began to draw upon Italian treasures of art and more skilled craftsmen and artists than the Frank land possessed, among whom Lombard masons from Como were especially distinguished. Moreover, through Lombardy and Venice the Frank Empire was brought into closer connection with Byzantine civilization and with the Orient. Byzantine and Oriental motifs began to penetrate in the West, along with Byzantine artists.

"The foreign influences appear in the decoration of the Burgundian buckles, where old Germanic motives appear together with the plant and animal worlds of the Orient, griffins and lions, classically intertwined acanthus foliage. . . . We see how the influence from the East more and more gains the upper hand over the old Germanic, which finally succumbs and dies away. This development, which is in full swing at the beginning of the seventh century, is the prelude to the Carolingian renaissance, and is the result of the Lombard invasion of Italy."[1]

Charlemagne as a patron of art

For the imperial palace in Aachen Charlemagne caused marble columns from the very old Church of San Apollinare in Ravenna to be transported over the Alps and would have removed the equestrian statue of Theodoric, still standing there, if he could have found an engineer able to perform the feat. The bronze doors of the cathedral were designed by Italian artists. He was much attracted by the polygonal tomb of the Ostrogothic King in Ravenna, and a replica of it, which still remains, though the palace has gone, was erected as a chapel to his palace at Nijmegen. A Carolingian poet compared Charlemagne to Mæcenas for his patronage of art. The Emperor's chief architect was the rich and cultured Ansegis, Abbot of Saint-Wandrille, and his superintendent of works was Einhard, his secretary and biographer. The walls of Aachen Cathedral and of the palace there were decorated with beautiful frescoes and the ceilings ornamented.

The Carolingian artistic renaissance was no vulgar display of wealth and pomp, but was a genuine æsthetic appreciation. It was Romanesque in spirit and wholly un-Germanic, with a touch of Byzantine and Oriental influence in it. The revived interest in classical Latin literature also had an effect upon it. This comes out in a remarkable letter written by Einhard to his son, who had come upon a passage in Vergil's *Georgics,* book iii, which he could not understand, in which the poet describes a scenograph or picture running around the outside of a rare ancient vase. In reply Einhard refers his son to a passage in Vitruvius's treatise *On Architecture* in which the Vergilian scene is explained; then Einhard adds: "I think you will find the solution of most of the difficulties by the aid of the coffer which Master E. has made, which is fabricated with ivory columns cut in imitation of the ancient monuments." As Keats derived his inspiration for the *Ode to a Grecian Urn* from a modern imitation of a classical urn standing in a friend's garden and may have remembered Vergil's passage in the *Georgics* at the time, so an unknown Carolingian ivory-carver got his inspiration from Vergil's lines for the picture that he graved upon an ivory box for Charlemagne.

Most buildings of the Carolingian era, even churches, monasteries, and the Emperor's palaces, were built of wood, usually oak. Only the greatest were constructed of stone. Brick-making was yet unknown, but tiles or lead sheets were used for roofing. Glass was rare, though not unknown. The richer monasteries were decorated with frescoes like the great churches. The *Gesta* of the abbots of Saint-Wandrille describe the frescoes which Ansegis caused to be painted on the walls of that abbey, and Abbot Immo of Saint-Gall at the end of the same century had the walls of the abbey adorned with pictures illustrative of the life of that great Irish apostle. Later a "Last Judgment" was painted on the wall "in good colors." The wall-paintings of Reichenau are praised by a contemporary writer.

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[1] Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England during the early centuries after the invasion* (Upsala, 1928), pp. 6–7, quoted in *Speculum,* January 1928, p. 80.

The æsthetic labors of architects, stone-cutters, painters, ivory-carvers, and glass-makers were supplemented by the metal-worker. The Germans had been from antiquity skillful sword and buckler makers and hammered copper and brass work was familiar to the Merovingians. But skilled, artistic bell-manufacturing was a development of the Carolingian period. The monk of Saint-Gall, author of that fascinating half-historical, half-legendary *Life of Charlemagne* which he wrote for Charles the Fat about 884, relates how Tancho, a monk of Saint-Gall, cast an astonishing bell for the great Emperor. Charlemagne was so pleased that the artist exclaimed: "Give me a hundred pounds of copper, and silver instead of tin, and I will pour you a bell which will make this one seem dumb in comparison." There is ground for the belief that bell-making as a fine art is of Irish origin. It is not without significance that Saint-Gall was an Irish foundation and that many Irish monks were abroad upon the continent in the ninth century. Saint-Gall in the ninth century would seem to have been the center of art in the Frank Empire. Besides Tancho, the bell-founder, there was another monk there in the ninth century, named Tuotilo, who was a painter, a sculptor, a metal-worker, and an ivory-carver.

Art in the ninth and tenth centuries was more intensely cultivated north of the Alps than in Italy, in spite of the fact that Italy always has been the mother of the arts in the West. The popes were great builders of churches in the ninth century, especially Leo III, but the execution of great designs was impossible. The materials for these edifices were procured from the numerous ancient Roman structures still to be found in Rome, which were destroyed, to the loss of ancient history and art. New Rome was built, not merely on, but out of, the ruins of old Rome. Presumably these new churches were adorned, like those in the North, but only one Roman chronicler mentions wall-paintings in them.

Revival of art in Saxon renaissance

The disasters of the ninth century, civil wars and new barbarian invasions, destroyed much of the creations of the Carolingian renaissance everywhere in Europe. France suffered the most, Italy less, and Germany least. In consequence we must look to Saxon Germany for the preservation of the fine arts in the tenth century. An epoch of great political power and expansion is usually also characterized by the expansion of art. Saxon

Germany is no exception. The history of German art is inseparable from the history of the Saxon revival of learning. The source of inspiration was Italy, the mother and home of the fine arts ever since Roman times. The accumulation of art treasures, pagan and Christian, in Italy was so immense that it supplied the rest of Europe for centuries with books, paintings, statuary, metal-work, engraved gems, ornaments; moreover, Italy more than any other country of the West, partly because of long traditional attachment to the fine arts, partly owing to its intimate relation with Greece and the Orient, possessed far more artists and skilled craftsmen than any other country. Liutprand of Cremona informs us that the walls of the palace of the Saxon kings at Merseburg were adorned with pictures commemorative of the great battle of Merseburg in 933. Were they executed by Italian artists?

Italian inspiration

Upon this reservoir of works and men the Saxon kings and bishops drew for the embellishment of Germany. Court and clergy were joined in generous rivalry. The Empress Adelaide, queen of Otto I, and the Empress Theophano, the Greek princess who married Otto II, were both patrons of the arts; the Greek revival in both literature and art in the tenth century was largely prompted by Theophano, under whom Byzantine cultural influences flowed almost in a torrent into medieval Germany. The *Vita* of Pope Gregory V shows that a Greek architect built Burtscheidt, near Aachen; the *Lives* of St. Godehard, Bishop of Hildesheim, and of Meinwerk, Bishop of Paderborn, reveal the presence of Greek artists in those cathedrals; Otto I transported six marble columns from Ravenna to Magdeburg; Bernward of Hildesheim got some columns of Trajan's Forum for his church and imported Italian bronze-founders to mold and cast the exquisite bronze doors of his cathedral, the most precious example of Saxon art in Germany. Bernward's biographer relates that "he went through the shops in which the metals were melted and molded and worked, inspecting every process and the work of every individual. There was no art in which he had not applied himself. Painting and sculpture, goldsmithing, engraving of gems, indeed every craft in which beauty lurked, was familiar to him."

Italian marbles, pictures, carved gems, illuminated manuscripts, masons, and artists poured over the Alps into France also after the extension of Cluny's influence into Italy, for Cluny had a passion for works of art. The spread of the Cluny reform is intimately related to the history of art in the eleventh century. William, Abbot of Saint-Bénigne in Burgundy, Italian by birth, French by adoption, before beginning the erection of the church he contemplated, made an extended tour through Italy, picking up ideas and gathering materials. He visited Bergamo, Ravenna, Subiaco, Monte Cassino, and Rome and returned to Dijon followed by Italian craftsmen and cart-loads of pictures, statuary, manuscripts, etc.

In the use of exultet rolls, pictures, and music were combined in the service on Easter eve at the blessing of the paschal candle. A magnificent example is the Exultet Roll produced at Monte Cassino, the finest known of some twenty like it. This roll is a series of biblical pictures illustrating Israel in Egypt, the exodus, the pillar of fire in the desert of Sinai, the crossing of the Red Sea, the nativity, the life of Jesus, the crucifixion and resurrection. These pictures were painted upside down in relation to the words of the service, which were chanted by the deacon, so that the people could look at them as they were slowly unwound while the deacon went on chanting.

Birth of Romanesque architecture in eleventh century

No one can understand the history of architecture, least of all the Romanesque, unless he has an understanding of the history of the period; for architecture is always a link between art and social life.

It has been pointed out in another chapter that the eleventh century was a remarkable epoch in the unfolding of the human spirit, evidences of which are a revival of learning, monastic reform, the birth of new monastic orders, religious revivalism, the interest in pilgrimages, the Spanish crusades, the appearance of the first great heresies, the conflict over the right of investiture between the emperors and the popes, the Truce of God, etc. This same century is of no less importance and interest for the history of medieval art. A wave of enthusiasm which actuated all classes of society for building new and better churches swept over the West. Some of the chroniclers of the age bear astonishing testimony to it. The old wooden churches passed away except in a few instances, and edifices of masonry instead of timber superseded them, having thick walls, square pillars, or round columns, innocent of adornment or decoration, and flat-timbered ceilings, but sometimes somewhat clumsy vaulting, which the coming of the Gothic enormously developed and improved.

Spread of Romanesque architecture

Romanesque arose in the eleventh century, but its period of duration varied for different countries. In Italy it began to disappear at the beginning of the thirteenth century; in Germany it lasted until the end of that century; in France it began to become obsolete as early as the middle of the twelfth; in England it was introduced by the Normans and continued till supplanted by Gothic in the thirteenth century; it was carried into Spain by French crusaders and French monks in the twelfth century and superseded in the peninsula in the thirteenth by the invasion of French Gothic; the Scandinavian countries reflect conditions in Germany.

Stone instead of wood

Stone began to succeed wood as a structural medium. The churches were larger and the formerly dark interiors made open to more light by increase of the number and dimension of the windows. Every country partook of the spirit, but France especially. Contemplating these clean, white, new churches to be found in every French province, an eleventh-century writer who had the soul of a poet beautifully exclaimed that it seemed as if God had snowed churches down upon France. "Without exaggeration the countryside may be said to have clothed itself with a white garment of churches." This was true of Lombardy, of France, of Germany.

Technical features

Romanesque architecture was neither a debased Roman nor yet an undeveloped Gothic, but a genuine and independent style, of which Italy was the mother and of which Germany preserves the most beautiful examples. This is not saying, however, that it was not indebted to precedent Roman architecture for much that is in it. Every style of architecture in one sense is an evolution out of a preceding style, and marks a transition to another, which in time will succeed it. Roman architecture was a transitional style between Greek architecture, the architecture of the entablature, and Romanesque, the architecture of the round arch; and in the same way Gothic architecture, by the development of the rounded arch into the pointed arch, came into being. The Romans were the first builders who effectively employed the arch, but its admission gave rise to the problem of counteracting the side thrusts exercised by it. Instead of using external abutments the Romans relied upon the sheer inertia of the mass of the heavy wall. The principle of external abutment as a distinct functional device — that is to say, the buttress — was first employed by Romanesque architects. In the beginning these abutments were pilasters placed against the internal divisions of the structure, but in course of time these pilasters were enlarged into true buttresses.

Round arch characteristic

Buttress

Passing of Romanesque

Thus came into being those examples of Romanesque architecture, a century before the Gothic, which we yet may see and enjoy, like the Duomo at Pisa, and the cathedrals of Speyer and Bamberg. But not many pure Romanesque churches are to be found in Europe. There are fashions in architecture as in other things. Every new movement tends to supplant and to destroy a similar previous one, and art is no exception. The Gothic movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made Romanesque architecture obsolete and out of fashion and even destroyed much of it.

Description of Romanesque style

It is not easy to give an impression of the Romanesque style for the reason that it, more than any other style of medieval architecture, reflected provincial preferences and variations. There are a few fundamental traits, however, which are representative of the type, although to be thoroughly understood Romanesque architecture must be studied separately in every land. To begin with, the type consisted in a less spacious, less lofty structure than the early Christian basilica; the height was more impressive, although it was not so high as formerly, because it appeared more dignified and refined. The old division into three aisles was preserved, but the side aisles were always proportionally narrower than the nave, or middle aisle. In the matter of space the new Romanesque churches, both

Difference from ancient basilica

internally and externally, presented an appearance of symmetry and proportion of refreshing æsthetic effect.

Ground plan and elevation

Romanesque churches may be classified according to ground-plan or according to elevation. The greater number that survive show cruciform construction, but there is a small but beautiful group of Romanesque churches having a concentric plan. An old example is Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen. In point of elevation, buildings of basilical type compose the greater number of monuments, but there is a select class of Romanesque churches of non-basilical type. In construction, wood, concrete, brick, and stone were all used, but the great majority were of stone. The stone age of church-building began in the eleventh century. The walls were made of courses of masonry with pebble or mortar filling, or — especially in parts of Italy, Belgium, and north Germany, where there was much clay, but little stone — of brick. The vaulting was constructed of irregular stone set in a mortar bedding.

Introduction of cruciform ground-plan

Choir

Transept

Towers

The ground-plan of both the basilical and the concentric type was inherited from the previous period; but Romanesque architecture modified the former type very considerably, by converting the former T-form into the Latin cross (†), isolated examples of which go back as far as the Carolingian period. The practical fact that influenced this change was the necessity of making more room for the clergy in large churches.[1] This change soon led to another — namely, the establishment of a real choir by providing extra space in front of the apse. Further modification was the adoption of the transept as an organic part of the edifice. The cruciform Romanesque church, too, sometimes was curiously made to approximate the concentric church by the installation of double choirs and double transepts, owing to the fact that a church might have more than one patron saint, which required a corresponding doubling of altars. Sometimes, again, the aisles were extended beyond the transept so as to form subsidiary choirs, and even continued around the apse. This variation appears as early as 830 at Saint-Gall. The atrium of the old basilica further gave way, in Romanesque architecture, to a vestibule of the same breadth as the nave, with flanking towers on either side. The towers, therefore, which had long been separate structures adjacent to the basilica, were thus made integral parts of the Romanesque church. Moreover, the shape of the tower was changed from round to square, the better to fit into the edifice.

Peaked roof, and buttresses to reinforce the walls

In regard to Romanesque elevations, the superior height of the nave was a pronounced feature, which admitted light independently of that which penetrated through the windows along the side aisles. Nearly flat roofs laid no specially heavy weight upon the walls; but a peaked roof imposed a serious thrust upon the walls, the buckling of which was overcome by pilasters, which rapidly developed into buttresses and were assisted in their work by the sloping roof of the aisles.

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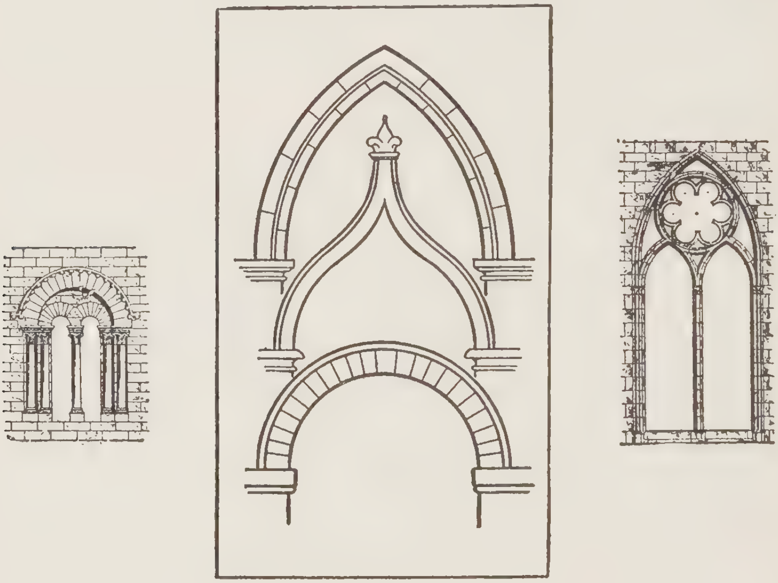
[1] Gothic architecture later achieved the same purpose by side chapels off the aisles, and even the transepts.

Importance of the vault

The problem of vaulting was the most difficult problem that faced a medieval architect. An understanding of the function and treatment of the arch — and the vault, which is composed of arches — is the key to understanding Romanesque and Gothic architecture.[1] The original intention of the arch was not beauty, beautiful as the arch's effect is, but utility. The best, indeed the only thoroughly effective form of roofing was the vault. The flat wooden ceiling was subject to damp and fire. Before the rise of Romanesque architecture the ravages of fire were terrible among the old churches, even when the walls were of stone, for they had flat wooden roofs until vaulting made possible the stone or lead roof. Angers was burned in 1000 and again in 1032; Auxerre in 1025 and 1065; Beauvais in 923 and 1018; Cambrai in 1027; Châlons-sur-Marne in 931 and 963; Chartres in 962, 1019, and 1194; Le Mans in 1099; Poitiers in 1018; Rouen in 1019; Strassburg in 1002; Tours in 1027. Verdun was burned three times. The vaulting of the nave was the end most sought for, but long presented insuperable difficulties; when achieved, it changed the whole character



Romanesque and Gothic Arches

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[1] The *tunnel* or *barrel* vault might be either semicircular or pointed; when used in a transverse position it was called a *bridge* vault. The *groin* or *cross-vault* — the groins crossing diagonally — was constructed upon the principle of two intersecting tunnel vaults, the edges where they met being termed " groins."

of church-building and made medieval architecture both a science and an art; it was the triumph of reason and mathematical calculation over centrifugalism and the force of gravitation.

Best examples of Romanesque

Romanesque architecture, therefore, wrought a structural revolution in the old basilica and really created a new type of church, which widely displaced the older form. Germany is the land of the most perfect Romanesque churches, just as France is the land of the most perfect Gothic churches. The best examples are Bamberg Cathedral, erected by the Emperor Henry II (1002–24), and Speyer Cathedral, which Henry IV built in the days of his prosperity (1093–1105). The latter's architect was Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück, whose *Vita* gives a vivid account of the erection of the cathedral. Both as engineer and as artist Benno was a remarkable man. He designed the plan, superintended the construction, and even designed the windows.

Æsthetic effects of Romanesque architecture

The æsthetic effects of the structural revolution wrought by the rise and spread of Romanesque architecture were important. The heightening of the nave, with its arched roof and the elevation of the roof over the aisles, gave a sense of uplift denied to the flat-roof effect. More wall space was also made available for frescoes. Above all, much more light poured in, for the windows on the sides were longer, even if not much wider than formerly. In addition, two great round windows at either end of the nave were now possible, owing to the increased height, through which light from east or west poured along the length of the nave, a phenomenon not seen before. This introduction of more light enhanced the color effect of the paintings on the walls, but more important was the use of the windows for decorative and artistic effect. In essence this change was merely the translation of wall pictures to windows, yet it was a change of really revolutionary nature. We are not, however, to imagine that these window pictures were so early made of stained glass, for they were not; the drawings of figures and emblems were outlined in the lead which held the glass in its place. The effect was much that of a black and white design. Stained-glass windows were an achievement of Gothic, not of Romanesque, architecture. The Romanesque interior nevertheless was brilliant with colors. For in addition to frescoes there were mosaics, painted moldings, and painted statuary, on which red, gold, blue, and green were spread with a lavish hand. In fact the interior effect was a polychrome one. The twentieth century, which sees these old Romanesque churches "bleached by the curious ideas of good taste prevalent in the Barocco centuries, and restored according to the still more curious conceptions of our own time, can form but little idea of the æsthetic effect which these buildings must have produced before they were disfigured by unintelligent alterations."[1]

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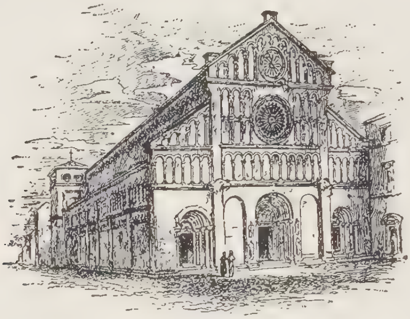
[1] Porter, A. K., *Romanesque Architecture,* I, 312.

Before quitting this subject of Romanesque architecture it is well to advert also to the fact that secular themes were intruded among these pictures. Subjects for fresco paintings or windows were found in legend and romance, in the chansons, even in the bestiaries. Arthur and his paladins exist in sculpture in Modena Cathedral. "Chickens in stately procession are seen carrying a dead fox on a bier" in an Italian church. Elephants and camels are frequently portrayed. The spread of novel ideas by pilgrims, vagrom monks, wandering traders, the traffic in relics, the importation of foreign wares, explains the appearance of new motifs and new themes in architecture just as it does in literature.



Romanesque Church

Secular art

This allusion to the introduction of secular themes suggests a word upon the secular art of this age. Naturally, since all medieval writers were churchmen and the most imposing and beautiful edifices were churches, we know very little about this matter. But there is no reason to suppose, if Charlemagne had the walls of his palaces decorated with pictures, that the great princes of the early feudal age did not have their *palatia* decorated, too. Yet the information on this head is slight. The German biographer of the Emperor Conrad II relates that the imperial palace in Pavia, which was destroyed by the fury of the populace in 1024, "was formerly ornamented with wonderful work by King Theodoric, and afterwards greatly adorned by Otto III," and a Spanish chronicler tells that when Alfonso II the Great established his capital at Oviedo, "he decorated the palace with divers pictures." But of the interior decoration of the palaces of the French and English kings before the twelfth century we know nothing.

When we reach the thirteenth century, the case is different, Frederick II took keen delight in architecture, sculpture, and painting. He caused beautiful castles to be built in Sicily and Italy, not only for himself, but for his vicars and captains; but few of them remain standing. The Castel del Monte, near Andria, the most beautiful remaining in Italy, was completed shortly after 1240, having been built on the site of an older fortress of the Normans. Its thick walls are pierced with loop-holes and flanked with eight towers, each standing in an angle. Eight grand vaulted halls still stand, decked with marbles of different colors and with the remains of mosaics. The windows are finely sculptured. Frederick personally supervised the building of his castles and issued orders about tiles, roofs, and staircases. He demanded an exact account of the breadth and strength of each erection. It is known that he designed the towers of Capua. The majority of his castles were in Apulia, for northern Italy did not take kindly to his style of architecture.

These castles were frequently decorated with paintings and frescoes. In front of the fortress at Capua were two towers adorned with statues, bas-reliefs, marbles, and alabaster. Frederick II was a persistent collector of rare works of art. He seized the prized gems of the churches and convents of the kingdom. He took stones from the old Roman shrines and theaters to build a stronghold at Brindisi. The Greek temples in Apulia and Sicily were despoiled to build Norman churches and castles.

Architects

The architects of the Middle Ages until at least the thirteenth century, if not later, were usually if not always clerics, and frequently they were the engineers and builders of the edifice as well. The heavy rough labor was done by serfs. But what of the skilled workmen — stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, glass- and metal-workers? Were these also of servile condition? Or were such skilled craftsmen of superior and different social status? The whole subject of medieval building trades is so obscure that no answer can be made to this question. One thing, however, is certain. *If* skilled craftsmen once were serfs, they were the earliest to gain emancipation. For by the time Romanesque architecture arose, the building crafts were seemingly composed of freemen. From very early times Lombard stone-cutters and masons had a great reputation, so much so that many of them were imported across the Alps into France and Germany by the great building bishops and abbots. One of the most remarkable relations of early medieval building operations is the account the Norman historian Dudo gives of the erection of the abbey church of Fécamp in 990 by Duke Richard the Fearless. The terms used in the text are so technical that it is evident that by that time the mason's craft was held in high regard. The Duke searched the duchy for a competent architect, who when found carefully surveyed the country around Fécamp and would not undertake the task until he discovered quarries of gypsum and limestone in the vicinity.

Rise of Gothic architecture

The vitality and versatility of the Western artistic genius, when contrasted, for example, with the monotonous adherence to traditional type afforded by Byzantine art, is nowhere more strikingly manifested than in the supplanting of Romanesque architecture by the Gothic in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (about 1150–1300). Gothic architecture developed out of a " divine discontent " with Romanesque. Its emergence is another evidence of the twelfth-century renaissance, one of the many manifestations of that deep sentiment for religion which pervaded all classes of society in that age. The enormous growth of episcopal power in this century ministered to the ambition of many bishops to possess more stately cathedral churches, while at the same time the civic pride of the bourgeoisie of the rising or newly risen towns was stirred to possess greater and grander structures. Moreover, under the influence of increasing commerce and industry, art by this time was fast becoming emancipated from the monasteries and rapidly becoming established in the enfranchised towns, where gild formation of workers was growing. The relation of these town folk and the gilds to the development of the new architecture must not be underrated. Kings granted privileges, nobles munificently contributed, but, after all, it was the towns, in co-operation with the local bishop, that put through the Gothic revolution. The very nature of Gothic architecture reflects the popular element in its creation.

Historical influences

Gothic architecture of French origin

As Romanesque was of Italian origin, the Gothic style was wholly a French creation. But its origin and nature cannot be understood without reference to its predecessor; for Gothic arose out of the effort to remedy the limitations or defects of Romanesque. The thickness of the walls, the unyielding character of the Romanesque arch, the imperfect vaulting, the heaviness of the interior pillars, were the chief objects of criticism. This discontent found expression in one supreme wish — the wish for more light within the church. Gothic architecture strove to abolish the deep-embrasured windows, to thin the walls, to make larger windows, to make the interior more lofty, and to strip it of the heavy pillars which marred the vista, by throwing almost all support outside the building, an accomplishment vividly expressed in the array of buttresses and flying buttresses which is one of the most striking characteristics of Gothic. In achieving these results Gothic architecture competes with the Greeks in practical sense and æsthetic feeling, and although a Gothic cathedral is far different from a Greek temple, in comparison with the Greek it perhaps presents more subtle thought, greater spiritual exaltation, and intenser striving after beauty.

Motives and purposes of its origination

Magic of stone in Gothic

Although stone was the medium of expression in both Greek and Gothic architecture, the form of expression and the purpose of the builder were wholly different. It has been excellently said that " all expression to which Greek architecture attained was attained *through* the stone, *by means of* the stone; all expression to which Gothic architecture attained was attained — and this is the full significance of the contrast — *in spite of* the stone."[1] In Greek and Romanesque architecture the walls are massive and thick and the window spaces narrow. In Gothic the walls are thin and the window spaces large. The different systems expressed different possibilities of the stone — the Romanesque its dead weight, the Gothic its latent energy, its "inter-particled vibration," as a poet has called it. The different usage of the stone was in obedience to the different purpose of the architects. The Romanesque architect strove for massiveness of effect with beauty. The Gothic architect strove for lightness of structural effect together with light itself. The fully developed Gothic cathedral has been characterized as "a building with a roof of stone and walls of glass." The two systems of architecture were two different systems

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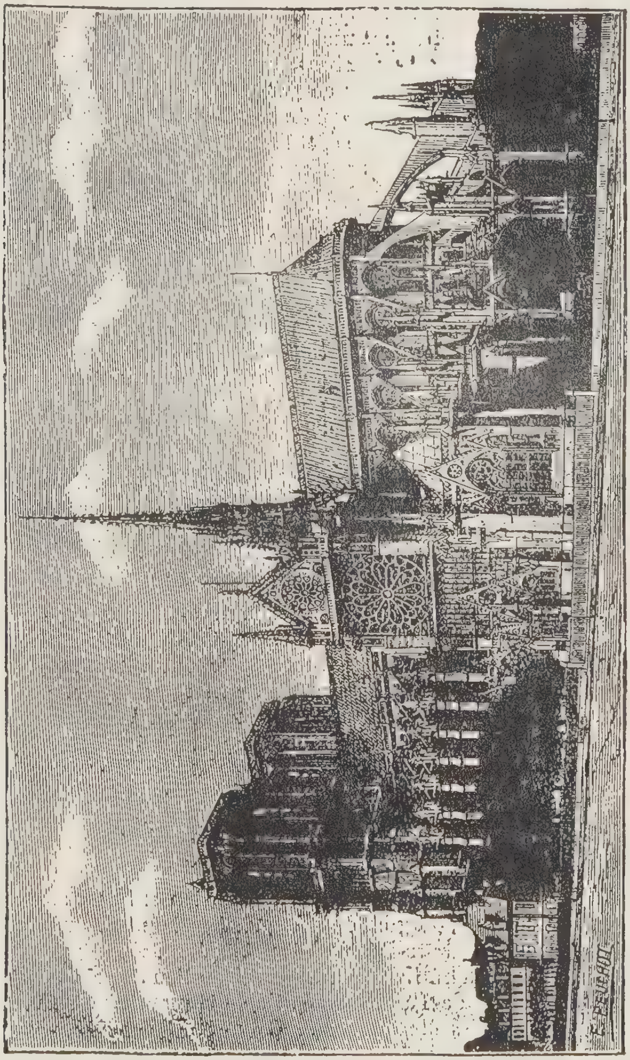
[1] Worringer, W., *Form in Gothic.*



Notre-Dame de Paris

This view admirably shows the buttresses, flying buttresses and great rose window, so characteristic of Gothic architecture of purpose and expression. Gothic architecture was in the highest degree a system in which every minutest detail was worked out and had its place and function. It exhibits in material guise the relation, the balance, the proportion which the feudal system was ideally supposed to present, and in so doing, Gothic architecture must be regarded as one of the highest expressions of feudal culture. It is *the* architecture of the age of chivalry.

Technique of Gothic

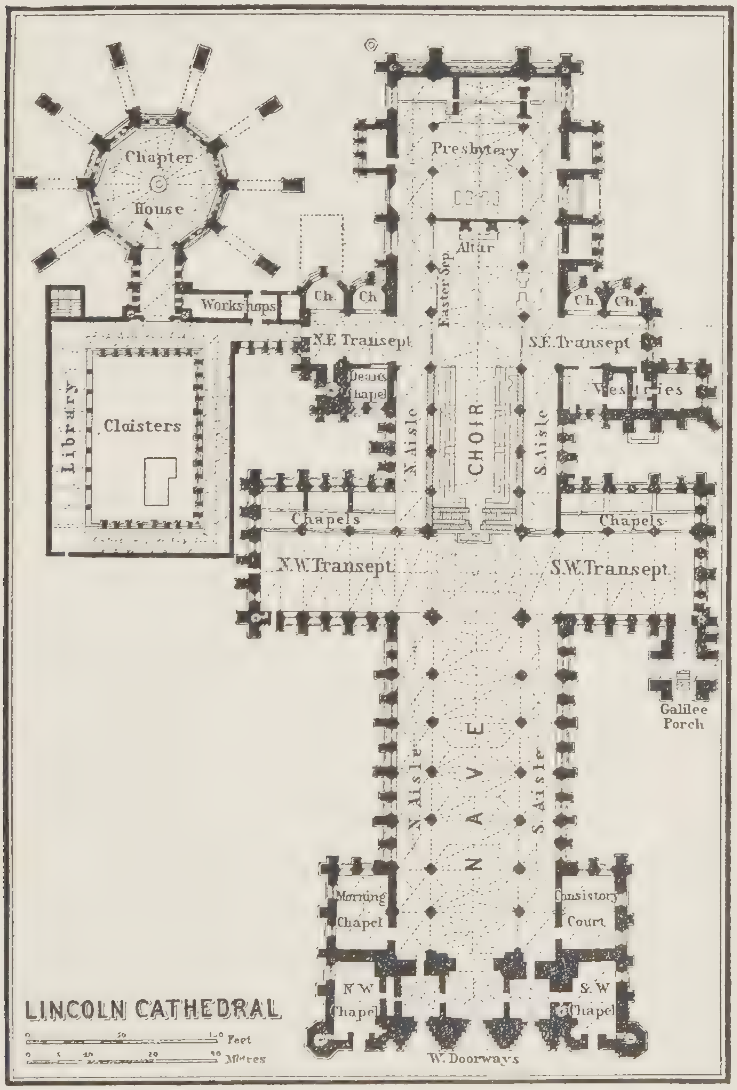
In point of engineering and technique Gothic was almost immeasurably an advance upon Romanesque. Architecture became a profession. The whole development of Gothic architecture depended upon flexible employment of its most conspicuous feature, the pointed arch, an understanding of the use of which is the key to an understanding of Gothic.

Pointed arch and groined vault

The pointed arch has the virtue, compared with the semicircular arch, that its surface nowhere presents horizontal lines where the arch may prove incapable of carrying a heavy load and accordingly collapse. The builder's maxim that the side thrust of a structure increases in proportion to its height offered a difficulty which the tunnel vault could not solve, but which the pointed arch and the groined vault were able to do. At the same time the problem of securing more light was settled too, for a high arched roof admitted of longer windows than a low flat roof did. Once this was adopted, the different call upon the stone followed automatically. If this had not been so, if, for example, greater and more flexible use of the semicircular arch had been made by Romanesque, the result might have been different, and Gothic might never have been born; Romanesque might have culminated in an architecture more germane to the races whose spiritual product it was than the renaissance which actually took place. But instead Gothic threw the whole development of medieval architecture in a new direction, supplanted Romanesque, and invented an entirely different creation. But even when we admire the beauty of the Gothic, we cannot but mourn over the passing of the Romanesque. For Romanesque architecture, as a style, possessed not only great beauty, but material merit as well.

The radical change effected by Gothic was the ability to vault any space of any height by means of the pointed arch, a solution which eliminated the use of heavy pillars or columns in the interior and at the same time enabled making the walls thin by supporting them with external buttresses, instead of the walls holding their own by their own massiveness and weight. In the principle of independent ribs carrying vaulting reduced to a minimum of weight lay not only a new element of architecture, but also a new method of building which did not hamper or restrict the creative imagination of the architect. This principle permitted him to shape his edifice in extent as well as in height; it allowed larger freedom for expression because of the larger possibilities inherent in such construction. In this power of expression, united with improved constructive knowledge, Gothic architecture is more akin to modern architecture than to Romanesque.

In Gothic the ground-plan remained only slightly altered. The scheme of the Latin cross and of a three-aisled edifice, as in Romanesque, remained the typical form. The specific Gothic character is more marked in the elevation than in the ground-plan. The nave is much higher than the aisles — indeed, higher than any nave of the previous basilical


LINCOLN CATHEDRAL
Chapter
House
Workshops
Ch.
Ch
Presbytery
Altar
Easter Sep.
Ch.
Ch.
N.E. Transept
S.E. Transept
Dean's
Chapel
Vestries
Library
Cloisters
N. Aisle
CHOIR
S. Aisle
Chapels
Chapels
N.W. Transept
S.W. Transept
Galilee
Porch
N. Aisle
NAVE
S. Aisle
Morning
Chapel
Consistory
Court
N.W.
Chapel
S.W.
Chapel
W. Doorways
0 50 100 Feet
0 5 10 20 30 Metres

Elevation

structure — and of far more slender proportions. The pointed arch gave a Gothic church a singular lightness of aspect, which was repeated in the pointed arch windows, through which the light poured and on which — and no longer upon the walls — the chief wealth of decoration was lavished. Externally, the buttresses and flying buttresses and the ridge of the very high nave are the most conspicuous features of Gothic architecture.

Windows

In Romanesque architecture the windows were employed for light, and the walls were the place of decoration. In the Gothic period this wall decoration was transferred to the windows instead, and the effect was immensely improved by the lucent rays pouring through them. It was this change that gave rise to the use of stained glass. The medium of the decoration was different, but the intention was the same, and the themes of the pictures were as before. The earliest positive information that we have concerning the introduction of stained glass is from about 1150 in connection with the erection of the abbey church of Saint-Denis by the great abbot Suger, whose long and technical account of the building of this structure is a famous source of our information. The glass-workers were brought from Italy, but before long French workers in stained glass excelled all others.

Stained glass

Medieval religious thought was intensely emotional, intensely given to symbolical and allegorical interpretations; and without these two keys its art may not be understood. Moreover, it had the not unsound belief that art had its place along with works in man's restoration. "I am indignant," said St. Anselm, "when I see our Lord depicted in mis-shapen form." The student of Gothic architecture cannot fail to be impressed with the prodigality of figures and themes presented to the eye, especially in the porches and along the façades. Christian history and Christian lore are commingled with what seem profane subjects and secular figures. The flora and fauna of the medieval world were drawn upon for representation, and these sources were supplemented by devices of the imagination like unicorns, dragons, and grotesque monsters. To the superficial observer these manifestations seem incongruous. But there was no sense of incongruity in the medieval mind. The Gothic cathedral was intended to be a reflection of the whole world of created and imagined things. Hence not only the Bible, the lives of the saints, and Christian legend were sources of suggestion, but also the bestiaries and vernacular literature. The carvings in Chartres and Bourges cathedrals are illustrations in stone of the *Speculum majus,* or great encyclopedia, of Vincent of Beauvais. Another popular source of suggestion to the medieval stone-cutter was the *Physiologus,* a sort of natural history written in Alexandria and very early current in a Latin translation.

Richness of decoration

The medieval teacher however subordinated this information — often of an absurd and credulous character — to homiletical purposes, so that it became a mere treatise on theology, interspersed with pious exhortation. Scenes from the beast-epos were carved in wood, cut in stone, painted in fresco, represented in stained glass. But this excessive allegorization, which at last ran riot over windows, portals, arches, pinnacles, choir-stalls, did not prevail without provoking opposition, especially from the austere Cistercians. St. Bernard in 1125 wrote a sharp letter of rebuke to the Abbot of Saint-Thierry censuring what he regarded as profanation of sacred edifices. "What business," exclaimed he, "have those ridiculous monstrosities, those creatures of wonderfully deformed beauty like salamanders and griffins, before the eyes of studious monks in the courts of the cloisters? What mean those filthy apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half-men, those spotted tigers, those fighting soldiers and horn-blowing hunters? . . . One reads with more pleasure what is carved in stones than what is written in books and would rather gaze all day upon these singular creations than to meditate on the divine word. Oh God, if one is not ashamed of these puerilities, why does one not at least spare the expense."

By the side of these ideals and unrealities the artist also represented life's realities. The homely nature of some representations gave a touch of humanness to the great church without detracting from its beauty or its imposing grandeur. This sentiment explains stained-glass windows depicting the interior of a bake-shop or a draper's store, like the window in Chartres presented by the bakers' gild.

Illuminated manuscripts

There is no evidence in early Christian history of the illumination of manuscripts. When the practice appears, we find two widely separated centers of its cultivation — the East and Ireland. Latin and German Europe was indebted to these two places of inspiration. Byzantine and Greco-Syrian illumination seems originally to have sprung from the endeavor to represent in miniature upon the vellum pages the scenes and decorative devices found in the churches. But Irish illumination had no such suggestion. Irish ecclesiastical architecture was primitive and crude in form, so that Irish illumination was a unique and highly original expression of Irish art. This is further shown in the nature of the devices represented, which are all elaborate symbols and highly wrought and intricate forms.

Anglo-Saxon England and Frankish Gaul learned the art of illumination from the East and from Ireland. "The book out of which the wife of Bishop Namatius instructed the decorators of his church may have been some sort of painter's manual like those used in the East; or a Life of the Saints, or an illuminated manuscript."[1] The English learned their first pictorial art from examples in books imported by Theodore of Tarsus and Benedict Biscop, and soon afterwards the Irish missionaries introduced their characteristic decorative art. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

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[1] Dalton, O. M., *op. cit.*, I, p. 327, note 1.

Influence of Carolingian renaissance

illustrate these two different forms of the art of illumination abundantly. From England illumination passed over to the continent with the English missionaries Willibald and Boniface; and the monastic scriptoria of Gaul and Germany soon excelled in the art of illumination. This is another expression of the Carolingian renaissance, in which ancient classicism, Syrian and Irish art were commingled.

Ivory-carving

Ivory-carving was distinctly an Oriental art which reached the West through Byzantium. It was diligently practiced during the Carolingian and Ottonian renaissance, and German ivories are the most beautiful examples of the art we possess. The motifs and devices are close reflections of those found in the miniature paintings on the margins of manuscripts. The difference lies in the medium and the technique employed. In Romanesque architecture ivory culture powerfully influenced sculpture in stone.

Miniatures

Influence of Mohammedan art

It was remarked at the beginning of this chapter that the only medieval architecture and art independent of Christianity was Mohammedan art. It may be said of the Mohammedan mosque as aptly as of the Christian cathedral that it harmonizes with the austerity and dignity of Islam and is as adapted to the ritual and forms of Mohammedan worship as the cathedral to Christian. Islam as a religion dominates life among its votaries far more than does Christianity, and the architecture of the mosque is a close reflection of that singular combination of simplicity and intricacy which characterizes Islamic civilization. The prohibition in the Koran, based on Semitic horror of idolatry, of representation of any human or animal figure gave room for greater expression in the form of figurative devices in carving and in painting — what are called "arabesques." The Mohammedan artist found comfort in expressing himself in color as much as the Byzantine artist, or more, because he was forbidden to picture human and animal forms. He concentrated on decoration and color because he was denied free use of form and picture.

Medieval Persian art

But it proved impossible wholly to enforce the prohibition of pictures among the Arabs after the conquest of Persia. The Persians were not Semites, and, moreover, behind and below Persian civilization lay the long and ancient traditions of Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Parthian art, in all of which portrayal of men and animals in painting and statuary was practiced. Hence it is not surprising that the Mohammedan view of art was not accepted by the Persians, if not in the mosques, at least in private palaces, the walls of which were apparently exempt from the ban on pictures. Ancient art in the Orient was not destroyed by the Arabic conquest. On the contrary the Arab simply imposed an overstratum of his own art upon the previous art of the countries he conquered — Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Seleucid, Parthian, Sassanian.

Just as ancient Roman art profoundly influenced Christian art, so

Persian art profoundly influenced Mohammedan art. Fundamentally Mohammedan art is Persian, not Islamic or Arabic. This is exemplified much more in Mohammedan painting than in Mohammedan architecture. If one would understand this painting, one must have read medieval Arabo-Persian literature, its poetry and its fiction. For unlike Western art, which was so remarkably influenced by the Bible and medieval theology, Mohammedan art reflects neither the Koran nor Islamic theology or philosophy. "Persian painting . . . with its golden skies and mauve landscapes, its close realism in details, with a consistent ignoring of deep emotion, of light and shade, with its decorative delicacy and its gorgeous coloring, its pervading gay and romantic sentiment . . . represents, like the poetry, a deliberate escape into an imaginary world, resembling, but wonderfully unlike, the arid world of common experience."[1]

None of this art, however, as has been said above, adorned the mosques or ministered to the æsthetic sense of the people at large as the art of the West did. For Islamic orthodoxy excluded all this manifestation from the precincts of the mosques. Mohammedan art was rigidly confined to the courts and never escaped into the open; it was never a folk-art, but exclusively a court and class art. The peculiar merits, like the peculiar defects, of Mohammedan art probably arose from this restraint more than from anything else. The common people in Mohammedan lands had no such opportunity as the people of western lands had to see and to enjoy this art, which was shut up in palaces and rich private homes. The Alhambra was not open to the masses, as a cathedral was. Owing to this limitation the artistic sensibility of the common people in Mohammedan countries was compelled to find its expression in the industrial arts and crafts, like rug-weaving, pottery-making, and metal-working.

Origin and nature of plain-chant

During the Middle Ages the most important body of music was that of the medieval Church known as plain-chant.[2] From the fourth century on, its forms dominated the music of the Western Church and seem even to have left their mark on the secular music of the period. Made obligatory by church councils and royal decrees, it was a powerful cohesive force in the Church; for its melodies were heard alike in Rome and Metz, in Milan and Cologne. Even to this day, when heard in its traditional form, its majesty is impressive, and for many it is still the perfect means of expressing sacred thought and feeling.

What is plain-chant? In a word, it is speech-song. The melody is held in strict subordination to the sacred words it accompanies. The words are paramount. It is this fact that gives plain-chant its unique character.

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[1] London *Times, Literary Supplement,* December 13, 1928.

[2] For the following matter upon medieval music I am greatly indebted to the musical knowledge of Mrs. Helen Robbins Bittermann.

For the words originally used in the liturgy were not poetry, but prose, verses of the psalms and canticles, which had in translation lost their original Hebrew verse forms. And thus, dominated by words in prose, the music flows on in unmeasured rhythms.

This oratorical rhythm distinguishes plain-chant from the music of most other Mediterranean cultures in so far as we may judge, a fact of great importance to the historian of music. For the majority of historians have professed to find in plain-chant a mere continuation of the music of the ancient world. Hebrew, Greco-Roman, Phœnician, Egyptian, even Gnostic music has been brought forward as the progenitor of plain-chant. These theories are interesting, but for the most part fantastic. We know practically nothing of Mediterranean music except that of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans. Even there our knowledge is extremely tenuous, too much so to countenance so flat an assertion as that without a doubt plain-chant rests on Jewish melody, or the equally categorical statement that Greco-Roman music is responsible for the music of the medieval Church. So far as Hebrew origins of plain-chant are concerned, there is doubtless a similarity in the way psalms are intoned in Hebrew synagogues and Christian churches. But this does not necessarily imply a common origin. The recitative form is not confined alone to Hebrew music or to plain-chant. It is found wherever prose speech is carried into song. Indeed, the story is told that when Catholic missionaries first came to Tibet, they found to their amazement a form of chant so nearly identical with Roman plain-chant that at first they believed someone had preceded them.

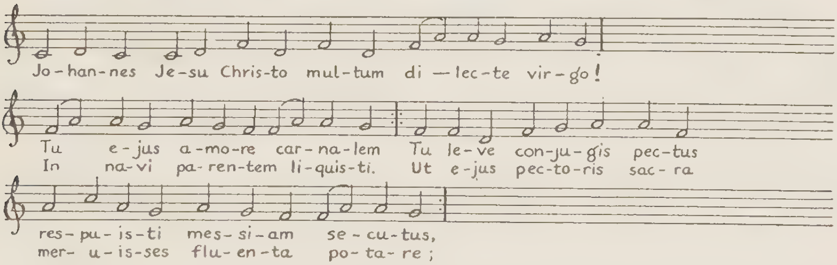
Must we, therefore, be forced to assume a common origin, not only for Hebrew and Christian chant, but for that of Tibet as well? Or may we not realize that similarity of form does not postulate an identical origin? This would seem to be so where the question of Hebrew origins of plain-chant is concerned, particularly since it is known that when the Bible was translated from the Hebrew into Greek (the Septuagint), no one could be found who could decipher the notations of the temple music found in it. But what of the theory of Greco-Roman origins? This, too, is untenable. From what we know of Greek music, it was almost the opposite of plain-chant. Greek music seems to have been decidedly metric in structure, the duration of the notes varying with the meter of the poetry sung to it; plain-chant moves in irregular prose rhythms, each syllable of equal duration. Greek music was characterized by wide melodic leaps and a considerable use of the augmented fourth and the tritone; plain-chant moves by conjunct motion and avoids the tritone as the *diabolus in musica,* largely because of its frequent use in " pagan " music.

In other words, plain-chant is essentially different from everything that preceded it. Whatever it shares in common with other musical traditions is superficial. One might well consider plain-chant, as Gray has, as an amalgam "like Corinthian brass, not only of Greek and Hebraic but probably of many other elements also, fused together in the conflagration of the old civilization,"[1] but becoming something new in the process. The crucible in which this alchemy took place was Byzantium. There is nothing strange in this, for Byzantium cradled Christianity. There were held the great councils that determined Christian dogma. It was at Alexandria and Antioch that the great heresies arose, in Egypt and Syria that monasticism first developed. And it is not without significance that Constantinople, the center of it all, was a new city, without tradition. There the artists of East and West met on common ground. There Christian architecture first blossomed, and there Christian liturgy developed. It was owing to his long sojourn in Constantinople that Gregory the Great established his Schola Cantorum or singing-school in Rome.

Pope Gregory I (590–604)

Examples of plain-chant

So much, then, for the origins of plain-chant. Now, what did it sound like and when was it used? We have said that it moved by conjunct motion, in irregular, unmeasured, prose rhythms; and that all the syllables were likely to be of equal duration. It was also sung in unison. Yet words are frequently meaningless without concrete illustration. So here is part of a melody composed about A.D. 790 by one Romanus. Its words are attributed to Notker Balbulus, a monk of Saint-Gall who died A.D. 912.[2]


Jo-han-nes Je-su Chris-to mul-tum di — lec-te vir-go!
Tu e-jus a-mo-re car-na-lem Tu le-ve con-ju-gis pec-tus
In na-vi pa-ren-tem li-quis-ti. Ut e-jus pec-to-ris sac-ra
res-pu-is-ti mes-si-am se-cu-tus,
mer-u-is-ses flu-en-ta po-ta-re;

Probably its most important use was in the liturgy of the mass. Wherever the purposes of religion were served, plain-chant was found, be it in the mass, in the canonical hours chanted in the monasteries, or in religious processions. However, we are most accustomed to consider plain-chant in connection with the mass; and therefore this discussion will be confined to that aspect. There were several ways in which the chant was executed. Sometimes the melody was sung as a solo. The cantor might be a senior member of the *schola cantorum,* as at Rome; or a boy, as at

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[1] Not alone this quotation, but the preceding and this paragraph are indebted to Cecil Gray's *History of Music* in the History of Civilization Series (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928). For this quotation see page 16.

[2] Cod. S. Gall. 546. See P. A. Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zwölften Jahrhundert* (Einsieeln and New York, 1858), example No. 2, p. 3.

Paris. In the Gallican churches he was a deacon, although after the time of Gregory the Great only those in minor orders chanted. This form of plain-song was used for the gradual, up to the twelfth century; for the tract, which was sung on days of mourning or penitence, and which followed the gradual; and for the offertory, which was sung while the entire congregation brought offerings of bread and wine up to the altar, a practice that seems to have died out in the eleventh century. Another method was to have the soloist intone a verse from one of the psalms, the choir, composed of men and boys, responding with a refrain. Or the two choirs might alternate. This antiphonal chanting was used for the introit, the *Alleluia,* and the Communion. With the exception of the tract, the chants mentioned above are the essential chants of the mass and are the oldest. They are called the *proprium*. The verses sung to them varied from day to day as the occasion demanded, and they were found in all masses during the Middle Ages. For that matter, they are still so used. Another group of chants was called the *ordinarium*. These were sung by the choir. Their texts never varied, and the words were not verses of psalms. These were the Kyrie eleison, the Gloria, the Creed, the Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei. These need not have been sung invariably, the Gloria or the Creed being sometimes omitted.

The increasing attention given to the liturgy, which, strictly speaking, is the rite of the mass, greatly developed music. The liturgy mothered music, and music mothered the liturgy. Superb beauty and dignity were given to the services by the varieties of plain-chant, the midnight hymn of the *Invitatorium — Venite exultemur Domino* — the services of the night vigils, the melody of the responses, with monotonic recitation, the daily invitation of the introit, the musical cry for mercy in the Kyrie eleison, the antiphonal choruses in the gradual, the jubilant chorus of the Sanctus.

Hymns

Such were the chants used in the mass of the Middle Ages as they were prescribed by Gregory the Great. They were based for the most part on biblical verses, being mainly selections from the Psalms. Other texts were also used, however. As early as the second century, non-biblical poetry had taken root and enjoyed much favor — not an unmixed blessing. Its very popularity gave heretics the opportunity of placing their doctrines before the people by means of hymns. Thus, Tertullian speaks of the heretical psalms spread by Marcion and the gnostic Valentinian. Two centuries later St. Ephraim and St. Athanasius attributed the number of Arius's followers to the musical beauty of the songs written by him. Thus it was that the Council of Laodicea (between 361 and 381) in its fifty-ninth canon forbade the singing of anything in the liturgy which was not contained in the Scriptures. This opposition persisted until late; the councils of Braga (563) and Toledo (633) legislated concerning the use of hymns. Hymns by their very contrast with the oratorical rhythm of plain-chant, produced a tremendous effect on the congregations that sang them. St. Augustine bears witness to the perturbation he felt on hearing the hymns of St. Ambrose. For, contrary to the teachings of the Church, his mind was carried away from the words and was lifted up into an ecstasy by the music instead. Such an influence was felt to be dangerous, not only by Augustine, but by church councils well into the Middle Ages. The composition of hymns was forbidden, and the use of no words except those to be found in the Bible was enjoined upon the Church by council after council. These decisions were later modified. But it is significant that the rhythm and swing of these early hymns was felt to be a seductive influence, which turned men's minds away from God; and that plain-chant, which had no marked rhythm, was considered the fitting song by which to worship God.

But opinion was divided, the councils of Agde (506) and Tours (567) favoring them. The exact period when non-biblical songs and hymns were introduced into the inner circle of liturgy cannot be determined. We know from Amalarius that in the first half of the ninth century the Roman office admitted no hymns. But Walafrid Strabo, his contemporary, speaks of the use of hymns in low masses, and Rhabanus Maurus, who lived in the first half of the ninth century, declared hymns to have been in use in all the churches in the West. In any case, hymns were gradually introduced into the liturgy, many of which are retained today.

There were many hymn-writers besides St. Ambrose, such as Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (died 367), who introduced the Syrian forms of hymnody into the Latin Church; the Spaniard Prudentius (died 405); Claudius Mamertus (died 475), to whom the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis* is attributed; Venantius Fortunatus (died 521), whose *Vexilla regis prodeunt* is sung during Passion week; and Pope Gregory I (died 604), to whom the Advent hymn *Conditor alme siderum* is now ascribed.

Hymns are notable in the history of music because they are presumed to have been folk-melodies taken over in order to make the hymns more popular. The reason for this assumption is that they resemble folk-song very closely in their form. In the first place, they were written in a definite rhythmical form, sometimes in iambic trimeter or tetrameter, sometimes in other meters. Take for example that used by Ambrose:

Ætérne rérum cóndItór,
Noctem diemque qui regis,
Et temporum das tempora
Ut alleves fastidium.

This is a distinct departure from the prose forms of the chants used in the mass. In the second place, each syllable generally was sung to one note only of the melody, a practice which, although never absolute, persisted to the fourteenth century, according to the testimony of Ralph of Tongres. Thus it follows that the hymns were not plain-song, but possessed a rhythmical, measured melody. Almost all of the office hymns of the Middle Ages were written in metrical form. But there were exceptions, notably the *Gloria Patri* when attached to the verse of a psalm and the *Te decet laus* of the Benedictine office. These followed the outlines of the older plain-chant. And, thirdly, the melody was repeated for each stanza, a form generally conceded to be popular. We cannot be certain that the hymn-tunes were folk-songs adapted to that purpose; but we do know that the melodies were simple and appealing to the multitudes that sang them.

Tropes

There were other non-biblical forms introduced into the liturgy during the Middle Ages which were applied particularly to the mass and which served to elaborate the service considerably. The technical term for such forms is "trope"; it is used to designate interpolations of non-liturgical material in liturgical forms. Take, for example, this tenth-century trope on the Kyrie eleison. The original words are these: "*Kyrie eleison; Christe eleison; Kyrie eleison* (O Lord, have mercy; Christ, have mercy; O Lord, have mercy)." Here is the trope, with the original words in italics:

Omnipotens genitor lumenque et lucis origo,
de nihilo iussu verbi qui cuncta creasti,
humano generi, peccati pondere presso,
Kyrie eleison.

Ad cænum terræ missus genitoris ab arce
indueras carnem, casta de virgine natus,
et mundi culpam mundasti sanguine fuso:
Christe eleison.

Æqualis patri seu nato, spiritus almus,
trinus personis, deus, in deitate sed unus,
Kyrie eleison.

Not only the *Kyrie* was provided with tropes; there were tropes for the introit, tropes for the *gloria*—in short, tropes for all the chants of the mass. The trope of the gradual became specially known as the sequence. After the sixteenth century only the sequence was retained, and of the hundreds of those that existed, only five or six are now used. The tropes are of great interest to historians of poetry and drama; but musically they are no novelty, since they were sung in plain-song.

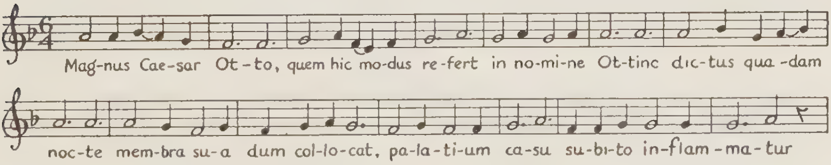
Thus, we find both metrical and unmetrical music sung in the medieval Church. The metrical hymns had a popular tone and were used for congregational singing, such as during the office in monastic establishments or in informal gatherings of the faithful. But plain-song was predominant, sung in unison and in irregular, oratorical rhythms. It was plain-song that was used throughout the mass, whether by the deacon when he intoned the Gospel or by the choir when a set piece was executed. It was plain-song that interpreted the moments of greatest solemnity and majesty, and that alone was recognized as the artistic form of music during the Middle Ages.

Folk-music

Of popular, secular music — what the Church denominated " profane " music in its repugnance towards jongleurs, bards, minstrels, and other " idle singers of an empty day " — we know far less than we do of church music. Ausonius tells of peasants in the Moselle valley " singing their country ditties." We know from historical writers that the Germans, the Celts, the Norse had each a body of folk-song and ballad. But " it is probable that notwithstanding all the disturbance and oppression of a troubled age, people of all classes found still time and courage to dance and sing."[1]

Hildegaire, Bishop of Meaux, in the ninth century, gives us a Latin translation of a popular song occasioned by the victory of Chlotaire over the Saxons, to which the women danced, clapping their hands as they sang. There are fragments of soldiers' marching songs whose rhythms carry the swing and thud of their marching. There are echoes of boating songs and reaping couplets. But though we have the words that were sung, little of the music has remained. There are a few melodies from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and possibly a few hundred from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, which have come down to us. From these it is possible to draw the following distinctions between popular song and plain-chant: (1) the popular music of the Middle Ages, just like that of every other age, was characterized by measure and rhythm; and (2) the tonality of medieval popular song was closer to that of our music of the present day than it was to plain-chant. This may be illustrated by the following two melodies. The first dates from the tenth century and was a favorite of Otto III. The second is a *reverdie* of the thirteenth century.

Modus Ottinc[2]


Mag-nus Cae-sar Ot-to, quem hic mo-dus re-fert in no-mi-ne Ot-tinc dic-tus qua-dam
noc-te mem-bra su-a dum col-lo-cat, pa-la-ti-um ca-su su-bi-to in-flam-ma-tur

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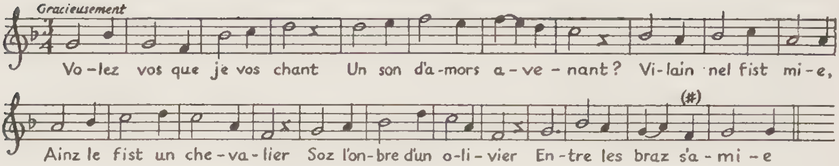
[1] Dalton, O. M., *Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks,* Vol. I, p. 439.

[2] See E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris: 1852), *" Monuments,"* p. x.

Reverdie[1]

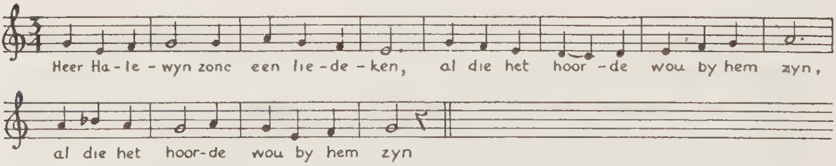

Gracieusement
Vo-lez vos que je vos chant Un son d'a-mors a-ve-nant? Vi-lain nel fist mi-e,
(#)
Ainz le fist un che-va-lier Soz l'on-bre d'un o-li-vier En-tre les braz s'a-mi-e

In other words, the popular song of the Middle Ages was the antithesis of plain-song. Nor should this surprise us; for in the period when plain-chant was being developed, a definite attempt was made to avoid the least suggestion of sensuality or worldliness. To this end, instruments were practically excluded from the early liturgical assemblies, and only such music was performed as would accord with the seriousness of the Christian ideal, which shunned sensual pleasures. In this respect these words of Clement of Alexandria, written in the second century, are classic: "Only modest and discreet harmonies are to be admitted, while, on the other hand, weak and enervating ones are to be avoided. For with their impure and artificial intervals they lead men on to an over-refined and effeminate course of life; on the other hand, sober modulations tending to self-restraint do not encourage intoxication and dissoluteness. Chromatic and frivolous scales, such as are the fashion in immodest drinking-bouts . . . must always be avoided."

Popular words set to church melodies

Yet, despite all efforts to the contrary, a certain amount of interaction between the two types of music was inevitable. We have seen how popular airs were adapted as hymn-tunes. Another instance of this practice is the sequence beginning *Inclito celorum laus sit digna deo.* The air to which this was sung is entitled *Modus Qui et Carelmanninc,* which obviously was a popular song glorifying some act of Karlmann's. And in the same way church melodies were taken over by the people, popular words set to them, and their entire character changed by the infusion of rhythm into them. The following is an old Flemish folk-song which was built on the melodic theme of a Credo:[2]

Herr Halewyn


Heer Ha-le-wyn zonc een lie-de-ken, al die het hoor-de wou by hem zyn,
al die het hoor-de wou by hem zyn

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a new music was developed which shared with plain-chant the distinction of being an art form, that of the troubadours and trouvères. We have long appreciated the literary value of the poetry they sang; but the musical side of their art has been underestimated because of the confused, haphazard system of notation they employed. Now, thanks to the efforts of scholars such as Pierre Aubry, with the exception of some minor problems of rhythm, it is possible to place upon their music the emphasis it justly deserves.

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[1] Pierre Aubry, *La Rhythmique Musicale des troubadours et des trouvères,* (Paris: Champion, 1907), p. 25.

[2] Coussemaker, *op. cit.*, p. xliv.

Music of troubadours

The troubadours and trouvères were the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who wrote poetry, either in French or Provençal, and then composed the melodies to which the verses were to be sung. The troubadour himself rarely performed his compositions. That was the affair of the jongleur, who traveled from castle to castle, his viol on his back, and in his wallet a sheaf of manuscripts whereby to refresh his memory. Should a lord shut the door in his face, he sang in the public square. But in any case his song began with an instrumental flourish, which indicated both key and rhythm to be used. Then the jongleur sang the first stanza, accompanying himself with sustained notes played on his viol. The stanza finished, he repeated the instrumental flourish and then sang the second stanza.

These songs were the lineal descendants of the popular music of the earlier Middle Ages and, like it, possessed a metrical rhythm and a melodic *allure* so closely akin to our own music that it is difficult to believe them to have been written eight hundred years ago. In addition, they were written in the vernacular and were harmonized. This does not mean, of course, that either songs in the vernacular or polyphony were unknown before the twelfth century. There is no conceivable reason why they should have been, unless, as Gray suggests, it was "out of a touching regard for the prejudices and preconceived notions of musical historians who were to come after them." There is reason to believe that formal songs were composed in the vernacular as early as the ninth century, the Latin versions being simply translations. This is probably so with the song in honor of Chlotaire's victory and the *Modus Ottinc* cited above.

Development of musical notation

The case for a polyphonic system prior to the twelfth century is more difficult to establish, since there is little or no evidence one way or the other. In the first place, there was no system of notation prior to that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which can be transcribed with accuracy. Before that time the notes consisted of a series of more or less complicated pen strokes known as *neumes* whose relation to one another can hardly be established with certainty. Not until the eleventh century did a staff made up of four lines and three spaces begin to make its appearance. In the second place, until the twelfth century only the music of the Church was conscientiously preserved. Up to that time the transcription of melodies was left to the tender mercies of the monks. For this reason we have no great body of secular music antedating 1100. And, thirdly, even when secular music began to be transcribed, like the songs of the troubadours, only the melodies were set down, the accompaniments being improvised.

Yet in the face of such obstacles we may still assert that polyphonic writing was not unknown in the early Middle Ages. As early as the eighth century, so the Monk of Angoulême tells us, musicians dallied with *organum,* a form wherein one or more parts were written over a melodic theme taken from the liturgical repertoire. It never found favor with the Church for the obvious reason that plain-chant is entirely melodic in character. Indeed, it seems to have disappeared during the reign of St. Louis, as did another form of polyphonic writing, known as *conductus.* This was an original, secular composition based on a poem. It was written in from one to four parts, the different stanzas being all alike or quite dissimilar, as the composer wished. But, quite apart from the existence of polyphonic forms in the early Middle Ages, we know that the viol, on which Celtic scop and *gleómon* had played from time immemorial, and on which troubadour and trouvère accompanied their songs, possessed a flat bridge. From this it follows that it must have been impossible not to sound two or more notes at one time. So that, although the evidence is tenuous, there is still reason to believe that harmony, as well as measured rhythm and the use of the vernacular tongue in song, did not originate with the music of the troubadours and trouvères, but is a continuation of a more ancient secular music, lost to us through the inadequacy of a system of notation and the prejudices of the medieval Church.

Variety of popular songs

Now a word about the songs themselves. Aubry has divided them into three main groups with subdivisions; and one can scarcely do better than reproduce his classification:

A. *La chanson à personnages:* this main group deals for the most part with set conventions and themes of an imaginary order.
  1. *Chansons d'histoire:* based on the theme of an unhappy romance.
  2. *Chansons dramatiques:* the theme of the unhappy marriage, with ridicule heaped upon the husband and the institution of marriage in particular.
  3. *Chansons de danse:* what the name implies, dance songs.
  4. *Reverdies:* spring songs.
  5. *Pastourelles:* the familiar situation of the young shepherdess and the gallant knight who makes love to her.
  6. *Chansons d'aube:* a dialogue between one of two lovers, who are together, and the watchman who warns of the approach of day.

B. *La chanson courtoise:*
  1. *Chansons courtoises:* personal address of the troubadour to his mistress.

2. *Jeux-partis:* a debate between two persons, which may treat any subject from the most abstruse to the most simple.

C. *La chanson religieuse:* built for the most part about the Virgin Mary.

It is obvious that illustrations of each type cannot be included in a chapter of this scope.

The importance of the troubadour airs cannot be overestimated. Carried on the lips of jongleurs, they passed from castle to hovel, into gildhall, tavern, and monastery. They lightened the weary road of the pilgrim and embroidered the gayety of every feast. Statesmen bowed before their power and, in order to add to their popularity, paid minstrels to go the length and breadth of the land singing their praises. Even St. Francis of Assisi thought to make use of their fascination by sending abroad groups of friars — *joculatores Domini* — to praise the Lord in song. They mirror the daily life of medieval Europe in their melodies, as plain-chant reflects the majesty of the medieval Church. Thus through these two forms of music we may glimpse completely the color and movement of those other times eight hundred years ago.

Instruction

Instruction in music, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was a branch of the quadrivium, taught in every medieval school. The teaching of singing was invariable, for the primary purpose of such instruction was to train up choir-boys. But in the better schools instruction in instrumental music was given also. A pictorial representation of musical instruments in use in the ninth century is found in Notker's *Psalmbook*, still preserved in the library of Saint-Gall. Here David is pictured sitting on his throne playing a seven-stringed lyre, while in the corners of the page are other figures with violin, zither, dulcimer, and harp. It is evident that these instruments have been copied from actual originals.

Musical instruments

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CHAPTER XXX

FRANCE UNDER THE LAST CAPETIANS (1285–1328). CONFLICT OF PHILIP IV AND BONIFACE VIII. FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY. PRELIMINARIES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

Revolutionary events in Europe in last half of thirteenth century

Few periods in history have had more or more important events crowded within them than the second half of the thirteenth century — or, to be more exact, the fifty-three years between 1250 and 1303. The fall of the medieval Empire in 1250 was followed in 1303 by that of the medieval papacy, and between these two extremes a crowd of other events happened, every one of which was of high significance and importance. It may be well to recapitulate them in their sequence: the Mongol conquest of Baghdad (1258); fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1261); first English parliament (1265); Angevin conquest of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily (1268); death of St. Louis of France (1270); end of the inter-regnum and rise of the house of Habsburg (1273); massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282); accession of Philip IV of France (1285); fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1291); league of the Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden (1291); beginning of the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1293); beginning of the conflict between Philip IV and Boniface VIII (1296); first States-General of France (1302); fall of the medieval papacy (1303). Let it not be omitted also that in this eventful half-century Dante, the poet, and Duns Scotus, last of the schoolmen, were born (1265); the *Opus majus* of Roger Bacon was published (1266); the Mongol conquest of China was completed (1280); Prussia was conquered by the Teutonic Knights (1283); Marco Polo returned from the Far East (1295).

But events are of less historical importance than movements and changes in history; for events are but the outward, visible sign of the operation of forces that may have been at work for years, slowly yet potently, the process of which reaches culmination in the event. Even the birth of a great man is not independent of these "controls," for genius is dependent upon opportunity as well as upon natural endowment. The time when a great man is born, the place where he is born, the spirit of the age — these factors shape and color his life.

The end of the thirteenth century was the epilogue of medieval history and the prologue of modern history. It was the term of one era and

Great political, economic, social changes about 1300

the beginning of another. The fall of the medieval Empire in central Europe, the rise of strong national monarchies in western Europe, like those of France, England, and Castile, the failure of the crusades, the passing of feudalism, the development of commerce and industry, the decay of serfdom, the rise of cities, the formation of the burgher class, the increasing preponderance of secular interests and activities over religious and ecclesiastical, the loss of faith in and respect for the Church, even loss of faith itself, the growing predominance of vernacular and lay literature over Latin and ecclesiastical literature, the development of civil art and architecture — all these changes characterized Europe in the latter part of the thirteenth century. Europe in 1300 had more kinship with modern Europe than with medieval Europe.

Formation of modern states

The sum of all these changes and effects was cogently expressed in the modern idea of the State. As far back as the twelfth century nominalist thinkers had asserted the freedom of knowledge, the right to discuss and to question the nature of every institution, the validity of every form of authority. Even the Church was not exempted from this inquiry. The evolution of society had singularly favored the development of this philosophy. Strong kings like Henry II of England, Philip Augustus, even Louis IX, to say nothing of the Emperor Frederick II, had dared to question and to defy the papal claims of supremacy in temporal matters. The nations of England, France, and Spain were rounding into form and becoming politically and morally more self-conscious and more confident. The popular governments in Italy, the towns and gilds everywhere, reposed upon no theory of right, but upon practical necessity. They were justified *ipso facto,* by their very existence.

New political theory

Of no institution was this new principle truer than of the State, the argument for whose rights was based upon a fusion of nominalist and Aristotelian political philosophy. In this new political philosophy the State was a natural human organism growing out of the family, and all organs of administration for the government of society, all classes of society, were subject to its regulation. The Church as an institution, the clergy as a priesthood, were limited in sphere of authority and in function. The Church and the clergy were subject to civil law. The State has a right to control the Church, not the Church the State. To this new age the *form* and *structure* of the Church, under the papal monarchy, was of human invention. Men dared to assert that even in spiritual matters the Church was not sovereign, for popes and councils had erred and their judgments been reversed in times past. Ultimate authority in all things rests upon society, the organized form of which is the State.

National sentiment

This idea of nationality and the national monarchical state was, of course, a denial of the papal theory of universal dominion. Though the theory persisted, it was obviously outworn. The European nations no longer regarded themselves as mere parts of an indivisible whole, nor recognized the claims of a super-state, whether the now almost fictitious Holy Roman Empire or the papacy. The medieval ideal of a single monarchy for all Christendom was repudiated. The kings claimed their authority as direct from God and not as a delegation from an intermediate prince, even the pope. Churches were national churches and the priesthood, including the pope, existed only to teach religion and to administer the sacraments.

Conception of monarchy

France — awakened, secularized, nationalized France — under Philip IV (1285–1314) was the clearest exponent of this new political philosophy. While Philip IV was a hard and absolutistic ruler of his people, he achieved many of his ends by relying on the support of the nation. The king took his subjects largely into his confidence. Four times he summoned the States-General (1302, 1303, 1308, 1314) to advise them of his plans. Moreover, he was an expert publicist, who presented the issues of his reign in pamphlets, which were widely distributed. The king realized the value and the force of public opinion. He was not above it; he did not go against it; he made it identical with his own will or went with it. His controversy with Boniface VIII was a war of manifestoes. To some degree Philip IV was the champion of Gallican church liberties, but even more he contended for royal control of the national Church. He took almost as high ground as Henry VIII of England two hundred years later.

France the most modern state in 1300

Philip IV (1285–1314)

In this new Europe of 1300 the Pope, Benedetto Caetani, Boniface VIII (1294–1303) was a hostile figure, cherishing obsolete ideas of papal pretension. The current of ideas was not with him, as it had been with Gregory VII and his successors, but against him. Born in 1217, the year after the death of Innocent III, he had been educated and his character formed in the very greatest days of the medieval papacy, so that he had a closed mind to all the changes that had taken place in Europe since 1250. An eminent legist, he deduced from canon law the ultimate conclusions of Gregory VII's maxims. He was an old man when he assumed the tiara, and proved the proudest, most arrogant, testiest pontiff of history. While claiming papal supremacy in things spiritual and temporal like his predecessors, Boniface VIII almost shamelessly utilized his spiritual prerogatives as means to aggrandize his temporal power.

Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303)

> "Greater and better popes have not struck the imagination of men like this turbulent, passionately despotic lawyer, greedy of wealth, greedy of power, rough and vindictive, convinced to the verge of insanity of his own omnicompetence, and in his deepest heart moved by an extreme of family pride and of devotion to family interests. . . . Able he was beyond question. He was a true codifier and legislator in the canon law. . . . To keep unruffled peace and order in unruly Rome during the famous year of Jubilee (1300); to

provision and house in that barren land the swarms of pilgrims, was a triumph of organization in the Middle Ages. . . . Even his diplomacy, misguided in its aims and assumptions as it was, showed a brutal adroitness. . . . But the hatred he aroused was enormous. The insolent, masterful face of his statue does not belie him. Furious rages at opposition, fierce abusive sarcasms, uncurbed arrogance, hardness of heart defaced the really great qualities."[1]

Italian policy of the Pope

Boniface VIII was deeply involved in political turmoil in Italy long before the feud with France. His ambition was to make his house, the Caetani family of Anagni, which first appears in authentic history in 1159, the greatest house, not only of the Campagna, but of central Italy. His nepotism was shameless. He married his nephews and grandnephews, or annulled their marriages, in order to secure them church preferments according to circumstance. By these practices, supplemented by Peter's pence and other papal revenues, which were used to make advantageous purchases of territory, he formed two huge endowments for his house, one around Naples, the other a Roman group of lands. To acquire the latter estates he spent over four hundred thousand florins, representing an actual value of at least a million dollars, and far more in modern currency. All told, the acquisitions formed a gigantic family patrimony, stretching for fifty miles along the coast from Torre Astura to the Garigliano River. It was a private patrimony, but a princely principality. Not content with these estates, the Pope extended his long arm into Tuscany and the Campagna, in each of which he labored by hook and by crook to build up two other groups. Boniface VIII's intervention in the former territory revived the old and bitter feud between Guelfs and Ghibellines and led to Dante's exile from Florence. Scarcely any person in the *Divine Comedy* is held up to such fierce reproach as this Pope.

Hostility of the Colonna family

It was Boniface VIII's acquisitions in the Campagna, however, that proved his undoing. For his ambition and his policy drew down upon him the powerful and fierce enmity of the Colonna family of Rome, one of the oldest, richest, and haughtiest of houses, against whom the Pope actually proclaimed a "crusade." The Colonna lands were overrun by papal troops and confiscated. Palestrina, their citadel town, was leveled, its walls and buildings, and the site sowed with salt. But Sçiarra Colonna, fiercest of the name, escaped. It was in Colonna and other dispossessed Roman barons that Philip IV's military agent found support for French intervention.

Conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV

This brings us to the origin of the controversy between the French King and Boniface VIII, the issue of which was so fateful to the papacy. Philip IV had reigned for nine years when Boniface VIII became pope. He was at that time involved in war with Edward I of England (the causes and events of this war will be considered in another place), and the king demanded an extraordinary subsidy from the French clergy. The action raised at once the principle of state sovereignty over the Church in France. Hitherto in theory all ecclesiastical persons and property were immune from secular taxation, although from time to time the popes had allowed temporal rulers to levy taxes upon them provided such revenues were employed for promotion of things in which the Church had an interest. Thus, for example, the Saladin tithe to finance the Third Crusade, the assessment to prosecute Innocent IV's war with Frederick II, the assessment to carry on the Albigensian Crusade, had been approved by the pope, but collected by secular means.

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[1] Previté-Orton, in the *Edinburgh Review*, October 1928, pp. 297–8.

Bull Clericis laicos *(1296)*

But Philip IV — and the same may be said of Edward I — taxed the clergy without permission of the pope, thereby raising the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church. Most of the French clergy complied without demur to the demand. But the monks of the Cistercian order appealed to Rome. Boniface VIII, in alarm and wrath, replied on February 24, 1296 in the papal bull known as *Clericis laicos,* so named, as indeed all papal bulls are, from the opening words of the document. After complaining that history shows that kings are prone to violate the rights of the Church, he forbade all princes and other rulers anywhere and everywhere to tax the clergy either in person or in property under pain of the double penalty of excommunication and interdict. Neither Philip IV nor Edward I was named in the bull; but underneath the general terms it was manifest that these two kings were intended, and they so understood. The reply of the two monarchs was typical of their adroitness. The English King immediately issued a royal proclamation withdrawing the protection of the government from clerical persons and property, with the result that widespread spoliation of them began, which the sheriffs and other police officers made no effort to restrain, so that ultimately the English clergy made a virtue of necessity and gave the King a " present " of money in order to avoid censure for paying taxes to the crown. As for Philip IV, he issued two ordinances, one forbidding foreigners to enter France, which hit the papal legate and papal fiscal agents; the other forbidding the exportation of money or jewels or precious metal from France, which cut off the pope's revenue in the form of Peter's pence and other sources. Remonstrances and recriminations from both principals followed for some time between Paris and the Lateran.

The jubilee of 1300 marks the high water of Boniface VIII's influence. From that time it rapidly declined till his final humiliation and death. Sicily persisted in rebellion; England repudiated papal interference in Scotland; new fuel was added to the flames by a French attack on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Boniface censured the King for subjecting clerks to lay courts and even asserted that Philip held France of the Holy See.

In 1302 the papal policy came to a head. Rejecting the petition of the clergy of the ecclesiastical province of Reims praying him not to involve the French clergy in conflict with the King, Boniface VIII summoned the French bishops to a council to be held in Rome to advise concerning measures to compel the king to yield. But the French clergy were too imbued with Gallicanism, and perhaps too afraid of the king, to comply with this command. Meantime Philip IV, as a means of testing the opinion of his subjects upon the issue, summoned the States-General on April 10, 1302. The harangue of the French chancellor, which amounted to a speech from the throne, was a strong indictment of papal abuses and ambition. The clergy in the assembly reiterated their former protest. The nobles in their resolution declared that "neither we, nor the universities, nor the people of the realm of France recognize or require any other authority in this issue save that of the king of France, our ruler." The response of the third estate, the burgesses, has not been preserved, but from a later petition made to the king we may surmise that it was to the effect that "the king of France acknowledges no sovereignty above his own except God."

States-General of 1302

Boniface VIII fought against his antagonist with both physical and spiritual weapons. His wily diplomacy was in part responsible for the rebellion in Flanders, in the attempt to subjugate which the French army met the disastrous and humiliating defeat at Courtrai (1302). On November 1 of the same year the council in Rome to which the French bishops had been summoned convened. Some of the French bishops braved the wrath of the King and attended, with the result that Philip IV seized their property. In this council the famous bull *Unam Sanctam* was framed and promulgated.

Bull Unam Sanctam *(1302)*

In this pronunciamento Boniface VIII out-Gregoried Gregory VII, out-Innocented Innocent III and Innocent IV. No such remarkable utterance ever has issued from the lips of man. This bull is the high watermark of medieval papal claims and papal pretensions. It is the classic medieval formulation of the papal claims to universal temporal sovereignty and a remarkable illustration of medieval reasoning. After long and labored argumentation the bull concludes with this lightning-flash and thunder-peal: "We declare, assert, and affirm that submission on the part of everyone to the bishop of Rome *is altogether necessary for salvation.*" In other words Boniface VIII made submission of every temporal power to the papacy an article of faith! So stupendous a claim, so preposterous an utterance, astonished even the Europe of that time, and for centuries baffled historical scholars to understand. It was charged at that time and was long believed by some scholars that the bull was a clever forgery of the Colonnas or of French invention. Other scholars have thought that the Pope was insane, and there is something in his violent fits of temper and the excesses of his conduct to justify such an inference. But careful scholarly examination of the bull has demonstrated that in it Boniface VIII, who was an expert canonist, carried to their logical and ultimate conclusion teachings that originally emanated from Hugo of St. Victor, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Moreover, we now know that *Unam Sanctam* is a genuine document, for in 1883, when Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives to historians, the original was found.

On the same day that *Unam Sanctam* was issued, another bull threatened with excommunication anyone, whether king or emperor, who presumed to arrest persons going to or returning from Rome or who detained their goods. The pope in his over-confidence believed that the king would yield at last. But Philip IV, who inherited the patience and the craft of his ancestors, preserved silence, kept his temper, and awaited the next move of the pope, seemingly confident that Boniface VIII would ruin his own game by his excesses. He was not disappointed. On February 13, 1303 the pope excommunicated the king, together with all clergy who dared to administer the sacrament or to celebrate mass in his presence. At the same time he summoned to Rome the king's confessor, to whom he imputed the king's resistance.

So far Philip IV had acted on the defensive. Now he took the offensive. His counselor in this policy was William de Nogaret, professor of law in the University of Toulouse, who in March, in an assembly of the noblesse, submitted a memoir to the king in which, after arguing that Boniface VIII was not lawfully pope because he had not been legally elected, seeing that his predecessor Celestine V had been compelled to abdicate, he went on to accuse the pope of heresy, simony, and shameless private life, finally terminating with a petition that the king summon the States-General, itself to be preliminary to a church council to be convoked in order to try and to depose Boniface VIII. This last provision is important because it is the earliest expression of the "conciliar theory" that the sovereignty of the Church rested in a general council and not in the papacy, and that if a Pope is illegally elected or heretical, a council may assemble of its own motion.

On June 13, 1303 the States-General convened in the Louvre. Twenty-nine articles of indictment were passed against Boniface VIII. The deputies of the noblesse, the universities, and the commons were strongly royalistic. The clergy was more restrained, but no cleric raised his voice in defense of the pope. The king declared that he would convoke a church council. Papal prerogative was fast slipping. But Philip IV was still cautious. He sent circulars to every influential body in the realm — all the bishops, all the monastic orders, the universities, the gilds. He felt the pulse of his people. Absolute as Philip IV was in many ways, he was yet the people's king, even if never popular. Public opinion, in Philip's eyes, was something to be taken into consideration.

Violent language of the Pope

Boniface VIII, like the Bourbon kings of France later, neither learned nor forgot. He neither could nor would understand the new Europe around him, but still continued to act as he had always done. He deprived the French universities of the right to confer degrees, and the ecclesiastical corporations of the right to appoint professors; he opposed the election of Albert of Habsburg as emperor, accusing him of the murder of Adolph of Nassau; he even excommunicated him. When Albert yielded, he resolved to depose Philip IV and make the German Emperor king of France! "As the Father gave the Son power, not in time, but in eternity," declared the pope, "so Christ has given the vicar of Christ power in time that he may have the right of appointing the emperor and of transferring the Empire." In his own hand, in his own style, he wrote a decree (*Super Petri solio*) in which, after recapitulating the enormities of Philip IV, he renewed the excommunication formerly pronounced against him, declared the king incapable of conferring church benefices or of exercising any authority or jurisdiction either in person or through others, and every act he might perform illegal; his subjects and his vassals were declared free of allegiance to him; all treaties made by him or which might be made in future were annulled. This document is so remarkable a combination of pretension, effrontery, subtlety, and senility that it almost convinces one that the pope was insane.

Affair of Anagni (1303)

In sublime confidence Boniface VIII, the papal treasure with him, was quietly passing the summer (1303) at Anagni, his native place, his own baronial territory, oblivious of the fact that Nogaret had come into Italy and made common cause with the Colonna faction and other dispossessed barons of the Campagna. "At Ferentino near by gathered his foes: Sciarra Colonna, fiercest of the name, Rinaldo da Supino, whose sister had been divorced from Francis Caetani (the pope's nephew) and defamed to make him a cardinal, and many other barons, kinsmen of the Colonna. Giffredo Bussa, the marshal of the pope's guard, whose relatives had sold much to the Caetani, and cardinal Napoleon Orsini, protector of Margherita Aldobrandesca, were in the plot."[1] Anagni was taken by storm, the pope's ancestral palace besieged. The pope fell into the hands of Nogaret's mercenaries and Colonna's ruffian barons. The townspeople of Anagni, more in defense of their lives and property against these brigand-like troops, one may believe, than for the pope, rose in fury. But the retreating soldiery carried Boniface VIII with them back to Rome, more as prisoner than as pope, where within a few days

[1] *Op. cit.*, 301.

he died. His body, which was embalmed, was examined in the seventeenth century and refuted the charges that he bit his flesh and beat his head against the wall. His face in death manifested an imperturbable calm denied it in life.

It was the misfortune of Philip IV that while his principles were usually right, the practices and policies by which he achieved his ends were abominable. Nothing can justify or palliate the violent and humiliating treatment of Boniface VIII. However much the pope had abused his office, that office nevertheless was a great and high one, venerable with age, hoary with tradition, and reverenced by millions of mankind. Boniface VIII could have been deprived of his overweening power without the humiliation and abuse to which he was subjected. It is an unavailing excuse to put the blame upon the pope's enemies at home, the Colonna and their partisans.

For years after the fall of the pope Rome, the Campagna — indeed, all central Italy — was a scene of lawless brigandage and carnage. King Robert the Wise of Naples and Henry VII of Luxemburg, the German King, endeavored to fish in the troubled waters, each to his own advantage. When the latter reached Rome in 1312, he tried in vain to force his way across the bridge of St. Angelo and into St. Peter's to be crowned emperor. The Orsini, rivals of the Colonna, aided by Neapolitan troops, guarded the passage, and perforce the German King had to be crowned in St. John Lateran instead, after which futile achievement he retreated northward to die in Pisa.

Beginning of papal "captivity" at Avignon

Boniface VIII's successor in these circumstances was the puppet of fortune. When he died after eight months of empty rule, an interim of nine months ensued. Then, after violent conflict in the college of cardinals, Clement V, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected and the Holy See transferred to Avignon, which became a patrimony of the papacy beyond the Alps, but practically French territory (1307), where for the next sixty-nine years the popes, all of whom were French, dwelt morally as vassals of the French crown. The great period (1073–1303) in which the popes had been the arbiters of Europe was ended. A new Europe had come into being.

Avarice of Philip IV

Philip IV's worst fault was avarice. Not content with the revenues which he derived from taxation, he coveted the wealth of the Jews and the Lombard bankers in France. The Jews had in their hands not a little of the commerce of the country, and in the matter of finance, since the taking of interest was forbidden to Christians, they often made large profits on the loaning of money. But the Jews enjoyed no guaranty of legal protection. They were not citizens, but chattels of the lords proprietor in whose territory they lived, who could distrain them or expel them if they wished. But Philip IV — and this is a marked instance of the extension of royal prerogative — maintained that all the Jews of the realm were chattels of the French crown, that they formed part of his "regalia." This substitution of royal protection for local feudal protection would have been in the interest of the Jews if it had not been abused. For a time Philip IV tolerated the Jews, though he pocketed much of their profits as the price of the royal protection. But in 1306, being hard pressed for money, a general ordinance confiscated all Jewish property, fixed and movable, and the Jews were expelled from the kingdom. To say nothing of the manifest injustice and inhumanity of this policy, the decree seriously deranged French commerce. Then, under pretext of restoring the commercial balance, the King sold licenses to some Jews permitting them to return to recover their debts on condition that a certain percentage of these amounts went to the royal treasury. But the King squeezed out of the Jews all they acquired and in 1311 again expelled them. The treatment of the Lombard money-lenders and bankers was similar. In 1291 they were deprived of their property and expelled, allowed to return to recover debts, and again expelled in the same year as the Jews. In 1315 Louis le Hutin once more allowed the Jews to come back, but under heavy and humiliating obligations, notably the requirement to wear a yellow target as a distinctive mark. Philip V persecuted them. Finally Philip VI expelled them again. It must not be inferred, however, that the French kings were unique in this treatment of the Jews. Anti-Semitism, largely motivated by fiscal interests, was universal in Europe in the fourteenth century. Edward I of England expelled the Jews in 1291. The kings of Spain, the German princes, and the Italian cities did much the same. The one place in Europe where Jews might live without molestation was Avignon, where the popes were singularly tolerant of them. The popes appreciated their commercial and financial abilities.

Jews

Fall of the Templars

Philip IV's suppression of the Templar order and confiscation of their enormous wealth superficially seems to be of a piece with his treatment of the Jews and Lombards. But there is really a wide difference. The Knights Templar as an ecclesiastical institution enjoyed that immunity from state control and that exemption from taxation which all ecclesiastical corporations enjoyed. Hence the victory of Philip IV over Boniface VIII compromised their position. In principle the king would have been justified in abolishing the privileges of the order. But he went further. He destroyed the order and confiscated all of its enormous wealth. Again avarice was the prevailing motive of the king's conduct. To make his policy morally the more reprehensible Philip IV resorted to such abominable measures as false testimony, and confessions extorted by torture. The monstrous charges alleged against the Templars that they were heretics and even infidels at heart, that they practiced terrible orgies in secret, that the knights indulged in unnatural immoral practices, that they spit upon the cross and mocked the figures of the Saviour and the Virgin, may be dismissed as wanton inventions devised for propagandistic purposes.

The real charge which differentiates the case of the Templars from that of the Jews and Lombards is that they were a secret society and that the interests and conduct of the order were often prejudicial to public welfare. Since the crusades had terminated, there was no employment for the knights, who became an idle, dissolute, unresponsible, and immune class in society. There was solid reason for the King's dislike within his realm of "a body of professional soldiers with a powerful international organization, with the purpose of their mission no longer capable of fulfillment, with no special allegiance to the country in which they were living, with unusual financial resources at their command, if not in their possession. . . . Such a body could not but menace the stability of Europe, and above all the stability of the French state."[1] The justice of Philip IV's principle — though not his practices — towards the Templars is found in the fact that it is plain that throughout all Europe the rulers were uneasy about the Templars. It may even be said, without alleging cowardly complacence on the part of Clement V, that the Church itself looked askance and with suspicion upon the daring independence and insolence of the Templars. It is this that explains the universal hatred of them and the destruction of the Templar Order everywhere in Europe within a few years. If avarice had been the ruling motive for the general abolishment of the Templars, not they but the Hospitallers ought to have been the victims. The wealth of the Templars was much less than that of the Hospitallers, who were spared. In 1224, according to the statistics available, the Templars possessed only nine thousand manors in Europe; the Hospitallers nineteen thousand.

The shamelessness of Philip IV's extermination of the Templars is in the way in which it was done and the criminal waste of the enormous wealth that their fall brought to the king. A portion of the confiscated wealth, it is true, was given to the Hospitallers. But most of it, instead of being used for the benefit of society, was everywhere squandered upon political favorites, much as Henry VIII lavished the wealth of the dissolved monasteries in England. It was in vain that a far-sighted and honorable counselor of the king, named Dubois, urged that the riches of the Templars ought to be used for the public welfare — for endowment of the universities, for the founding of new professorships, among them a chair of the Arabic language and literature, for support of schools and hospitals.

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[1] *London Times Literary Supplement, Jan.* 28, 1930 — a review of A. S. TURBERVILLE, *The Templar Order in Europe.*

War played an important part in Philip IV's policy, but he was not the man to wage useless and empty war. He promptly came to peace with Aragon in the war that had ensued after the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. The two belligerents divided the Kingdom of Naples. The house of Anjou retained possession of the mainland portion of the realm, while Aragon acquired Sicily.

War with England (1293–1303)

But peace with England was impossible. The war that broke out in 1294 between Philip IV and Edward I of England is of double importance. It was the immediate occasion of the King's taxation of church property, which brought him into conflict with Boniface VIII, and was also the preliminary to the Hundred Years' War. It may be described as a curtain-raiser to that long conflict. As to the causes of the war, some of them were of remote, others of more immediate, origin. To begin with, it must be remembered that a long heritage of enmity existed between France and England, which had its inception in the conquest of England in 1066 by William the Conqueror, of Normandy. The subsequent accretion of the English possessions in France by the union of the Norman and Plantagenet dynasties in 1135, and by the marriage of Henry II with Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, made English dominion upon the mainland a menace to France. That menace was partly reduced and the balance partly redressed in 1204, when Philip Augustus conquered Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. But the English crown still remained possessed of the rich duchies in the southwest of France, Guienne and Gascony. For these territories the kings of England were vassal to France — a political relation that irked them excessively, the more so because the French kings, now grown stronger than their rivals, punctiliously insisted upon the performance of liege homage — that is, homage in person, for these territories.

Tradition of enmity between France and England

Franco-English relations from 1272 to 1307 are naturally divided into four periods. Between 1272 and 1291 the chief question was the fulfillment of the Treaty of Paris (1259) between Louis IX and Henry III. This treaty had provided for English renunciation of all claims to the northern provinces in France which Philip II had conquered in 1204 and the clear understanding that Aquitaine should still be regarded as a fief of the French crown, for which the English sovereign was to do homage. But certain points were made contingent upon future events. The Agenais and Saintonge south of the Charente were to be ceded to England if Alphonse of Poitiers, their holder, died without heirs. This happened in 1271, but it was not until the Treaty of Amiens in 1279 that Edward I acquired possession of the Agenais, and he did not obtain Saintonge until 1286. Moreover, the status of Quercy was in doubt; for England claimed that it was part of the dowry of Joan, sister of Richard I and grandmother of the Countess Joan, wife of Alphonse of Poitiers. In addition, there were conflicting rights of the English and French kings with reference to certain fiefs pertaining to the bishops of Limoges, Cahors, and Périgueux. Other sources of friction arose from the conduct of some of Edward I's vassals as duke of Gascony, who appealed to Philip IV against him as their overlord.

In spite of the amicable settlement of these earlier problems, war broke out between the two countries in 1293 and lasted until 1303.

French doctrine of "natural frontiers"

What made the situation all the more fraught with hostility in the time of Philip IV and Edward I was the fact that the French King was actuated by a policy that, while apparently feudal, really was national in its nature — namely, to combine with and under the French crown all the provinces of the still not completely unified France in which French blood, the French language, and French institutions existed. This policy, so strongly monarchical and national in character, was given further validity by a new political doctrine of formidable and ambitious dimension, the doctrine of the "natural frontiers" of France. This was a truly royal and national, not a feudal, doctrine. Even if a theory, it was a theory that a strong king might endeavor to convert, or succeed in converting, into fact. This maxim has been the pretext of all French territorial aggression ever since the time of Philip IV. It explains the rivalry of Francis I and Charles V in the sixteenth century; the wars of Richelieu and Louis XIV in the seventeenth century for possession of Belgium, the Rhine lands, Lorraine, Alsace; the French conquests of the armies of the French Revolution and Napoleon; the war of 1870; the World War of 1914–18. The fact that so monarchical, so absolutisticly inclined a sovereign as Philip IV first enunciated this doctrine of "natural frontiers" is significant. Philippe le Bel was a legist, deeply imbued with ideas of Roman law, and he — or one of his counselors for him — had not read Cæsar's *History of the Conquest of Gaul* in vain. For had not Cæsar said centuries ago that "Gaul is bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees," and was not the realm of France ancient Gaul under a new name, a new dynasty? The urge territorially to round out the frontiers of France until they were conterminous with the rushing Rhine, the snowy peaks of the Alps, the blue peaks of the Pyrenees, was the ambition of Philip IV and has been the policy of every French government since, whether royal or republican in form. The modern nature of this design, even though disguised by feudal trappings, is apparent.

"No wonder, then, that the policy of the English government was uniformly and consistently favourable towards its Gascon subjects, and so formed a powerful counterpoise to the inducements which were always presenting themselves in favour of the growing French sovereignty. As the northern and south-eastern, and then the eastern and north-eastern provinces of France came, one after another, under the direct dominion of the French crown, it was impossible but that the fashion of the times, the pressure of the ever-tightening circle drawn around this isolated province [Gascony], and the ties of blood should operate in many directions towards incorporation with France. . . . If Aquitaine had been bounded by any natural frontier, its independence, it is easy to see, would have had much longer duration. As it was, Bordeaux, the heart to and from which the arteries and veins of social and political life set forth and returned, retained its English vitality so much longer than all the rest of Gascony because it had a frontier of its own in the broad river which washed its quays. Only after a prolonged struggle, maintained by the loyal city to desperation, was its final transference to France accomplished." [1]

Flanders

Flanders, on the other hand, represented a wealth derived, not from agriculture, but from commerce and industry. The Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the first the greatest commercial artery of central Europe, emptied into the North Sea through Flanders. The rich county lay wedged in between lower Germany and France and was in close relation with England across the Channel. The great land routes and water routes of Europe converged upon Flanders. In Flemish ports might be seen ships from the Baltic countries and Iceland side by side with English, French, and Spanish — and, after 1300, Genoese and Venetian galleys. Moreover, in addition to being the chief distributor of all northern Europe's commercial products and the broker for the exchange of commodities brought over the Alps or by sea from the countries of southern Europe and the Levant, Flanders was the most important industrial region in the North, rightly called the Lombardy of the North. Bruges was the chief commercial place, Ghent the chief industrial place, in Flanders. But almost every other town in the land was distinguished for some local industry, in the main either textile manufacturing or metal-working.

As far back as the twelfth century the French kings had had their eyes fixed upon territories adjacent to Flanders, if not yet Flanders itself. Philip II's first territorial acquisition was Artois. But a century had enormously increased the riches of the Flemish towns. The principal source of this wealth was English wool. Yorkshire was the greatest wool-growing country of Europe, but since Yorkshire was not as yet industrialized, the raw wool was shipped by thousands of bales from the eastern ports, like Newcastle, Hull, and Boston, across sea to Flanders, where the weavers of Ghent, Ypres, and many another town wove the raw product into various kinds of cloth, which was then exported all over Europe, the best being sent to Florence, where secret dyeing processes enabled the Florentine textile houses to produce a highly prized variety of cloth. The revenue of the English kings, who imposed both export and import duties on wool, were enormous. No less was the revenue of the Flemish towns. The count of Flanders was a vassal of France, but like the Lombard cities, the greatest towns of Flanders had become practically free towns and burgher communities. The "good towns," whose workers knew on which side their bread was buttered, favored England when the war between Philip IV and Edward I broke out.

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[1] Montagu Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire,* p. 20.

Fisheries

There was yet another ground of enmity between France and England. They were commercial rivals in the North Sea and the Channel. But the feud of feuds on the high seas was over the fisheries in the North Sea, especially on the great fishing-bank known as the Dogger Bank, which from time immemorial has been fished by all the peoples whose countries border that body of water. Clashes between Breton and Norman fishing-fleets with smacks from Newcastle, Boston, Hull, Yarmouth, and the English channel ports were as old as the twelfth century and increased as commerce and shipping grew in volume and importance. The claims and counter-claims for spoliation which arose because of these petty conflicts aggravated the acrimony between the French and the English governments, and Edward I was petitioned, significantly, by aggrieved Flemish fishermen to "see law and punishment dealt out, forasmuch as he is lord of the sea." This is the earliest intimation, unless the admiralty authority of the warden of the Cinque Ports be so regarded, of England's claim to sovereignty of the sea, which was not formally declared until the reign of Edward III.

Yet if the English crown did not in the days of Edward I declare her sovereignty of the sea, there is much in the English King's conduct which points that way. Edward I's political course was to unite Britain under his domination, just as Philip IV was ambitious to unite France. There is no essential difference between the English subjugation of Wales and Scotland and the French wish to subjugate and annex Gascony, Guienne, Flanders, and the border provinces of the German Empire. England had her doctrine of "natural frontiers" too. But the conditions differed. France's dream was for a territorial domination, England's for dominion over the sea. The sea was her "natural frontier," but she wanted to draw the line from the continental edge of the sea and thereby assert and acquire mastery of the sea.

Modern nature of these issues

The modern rather than medieval and feudal nature of these issues and purposes is self-evident. They are commercial and industrial competition, nationalism — at least in an incipient form — territorial unification for national rather than feudal ends, bourgeois rather than feudal motives, the interests of monarchy rather than the interests of a feudality.

Outbreak of war

In 1293 these accumulated grievances culminated in war. A conflict broke out between the fisher-folk and mariners of the Cinque Ports and those of the coast towns of Normandy, and in an affray off St. Mahé in Brittany (April 14) the latter were worsted. Edward I was at this time involved in war with the Scotch and unable to comply with the summons of the King to appear in Paris as his vassal to make redress for the English "depredations" upon French subjects. Instead he sent his brother Edmund of Lancaster, who, deceived by the suavity of Philip IV, surrendered English custody of the border castles of Guienne as bail for his brother's appearance later. But Edward I was unable to come when the term expired; and after a third summons still remained unanswered, Guienne was declared forfeited to the French crown and was occupied by French troops. This brought the war to a head.

Franco-Scottish alliance

Edward I renounced his fealty to France, made alliances with some of the princes of lower Germany and Flanders, and prepared for an expedition across the channel. But a new rebellion of the Welsh prevented him from going at once, while Philip IV countered the English alliance with Flanders by forming one with Scotland. Meantime Gascony was overrun by the French, and the Narrow Seas swarmed with pirates of both nations. The port towns on each side of the Channel were in a state of terror. "There was no law imposed upon the sailors," runs a contemporary record, "but whatever anyone could carry off, that he called his own." Boniface VIII in the summer of 1295 sent two legates into France, who endeavored in vain to bring about peace. During the years 1296–7 affairs in France went adversely to the English, although English corsairs made a descent upon the Île de Ré in the estuary of the Loire, harried the Biscayan coast, and pillaged La Rochelle. The English King's hands were tied by events at home, and in 1298 he made a truce on the basis of the *status quo*.

Battle of Courtrai (1302)

Philip IV was not loath to make the truce. Most of Guienne and Gascony were in his hands. Moreover, he wanted a surcease of hostilities in order to chastise Flanders for its English partisanship.[1] The controversy with the Pope delayed this intervention for nearly four years, during which the Pope incited the Flemings in order to trouble Philip IV. The result of this papal tampering was a frightful massacre of the French, as distinguished from the Flemings, at Bruges — the Matins of Bruges, an event comparable to the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. When in 1302 a French army invaded Flanders, it was badly beaten by the burgher militia of the Flemish towns at Courtrai (July 11), the so-called Battle of the Spurs, from the circumstance that the victorious burghers stripped the dead and captured French knights of their spurs and hung them up in the cathedral as trophies of war. New English proposals for peace followed upon this French repulse, but Philip IV refused to treat unless the Scotch were included, and also demanded that Edward I come over to France to negotiate in person. But the Parliament refused to allow the King to go to France and declared that the French demand was an insult.

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[1] Aggressive as Philip IV's policy in Flanders may seem, he was within his rights. According to feudal law a vassal could not marry his son or daughter without the consent of his overlord. But Gui de Dampierre had promised to let Edward, Prince of Wales, marry his daughter Phillipa.

Dynastic alliances

Finally in 1303 peace was made at Montreuil-sur-Mer; Gascony and Guienne were restored to the English crown, and the terms were cemented by a double marriage alliance between the two dynasties, by which Edward I married the French King's sister Margaret, and Edward, Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward II), married Philip IV's daughter Isabel. It was a futile arrangement, as the future proved. A cynical feature of the settlement was that each power deserted its ally in the recent war. Philip IV abandoned the Scotch — when William Wallace was captured, a French safe conduct was found in his belt — and Edward I abandoned the Flemings.

French invasion of Flanders (1304)

In the next year (1304) Philip IV invaded Flanders again to avenge the Matins of Bruges and the disaster to the French arms at Courtrai. The Flemish army was encamped near Mons-en-Puelle in a ring or *lager* formed of carts and wagons. The French sat down around this improvised fort and let hunger fight for them. At last in desperation the Flemings flung themselves upon the French. A frightful slaughter ensued. The French cavalry charged through and through the eddying mass of undisciplined men. This victory, in which it is said the Flemings lost twenty-five thousand, was followed by reprisals, which avenged Courtrai. Finally peace was made at Athies-sur-Orge (June 5, 1305). Philip IV released Robert of Béthune, the heir of Gui de Dampierre, whom he had taken, and restored him to his county. But in redress the Count had to pay two hundred thousand livres and surrender Lille, Douai, Orchies, and Béthune to France — that is to say, all of French or Walloon Flanders between the Scheldt and the Lys. But the treaty required the ratification of the great towns, which they refused because it demanded the dissolution of their relations with England. In 1312, the execution of the treaty still hanging, Philip IV prepared to invade Flanders once more. Still the Flemish towns remained obdurate and would not desert the English cause. When the Capetian house expired in 1328, the Valois kings of France inherited this unsettled condition.

Philip IV and Germany

In dealings with the German Empire French policy in this reign was fortunate. The Emperor Adolph of Nassau was powerless to aid Edward I. Otto, Count of the county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté), renounced his allegiance to Albert of Austria and recognized the French King as his immediate overlord. Though the territory still continued to be an imperial fief, French political influence now became predominant. Count Henry of Bar paid for his English sympathies by surrendering a part of his territory to the French crown. Capetian sovereignty was formally recognized in Viviers and the Lyonnais in 1307, a step by which the authority of the French kings penetrated into the imperial territory east of the Rhone. In a word, French influence almost insensibly was manifested along the whole imperial frontier from Lorraine to Provence. Territorially France at least was "edging" towards the Rhine and the Alps, if yet far away from them.

Philip IV's administration

Yet neither his conflict with Boniface VIII nor his wars were the principal affairs with Philippe le Bel. His dominant interest was within his kingdom. His chief abilities were spent upon administration. His ambition was to transform the feudal monarchy into an absolute one as completely as possible. His reign is decisive in the history of French political institutions. With Philip IV the French kingship lost that respect for feudal rights, that equity and sense of justice, which had characterized it under Louis IX. The government took on a character of duplicity, hypocrisy, and violence hitherto foreign to it. The King pursued the work of administrative centralization through legists who had an exorbitant conception of the royal authority and cloaked the violence and tyranny of the King's policy with a guise of legal theories and technicalities. In this labor the King was ably seconded by his chief ministers, his chancellor Pierre Flotte, his chamberlain and treasurer Enguerrand de Marigny, by William de Nogaret, procureur of the parlement of Paris, by Raoul de Presles, advocate-general of the parlement.

In a former chapter we have seen that the early Capetian kings had around them a council to deliberate upon all questions that the king might bring before them and to render justice to the vassals of the royal domain. This council was composed of prelates and lay nobles, among whom often figured the grand officers of the palace, like the constable and the chamberlain. This assembly was the *Curia regis*. Philip II improved the administration by differentiating the parlement of Paris as a high court of justice from this body and at the same time created the bailiffs as superior administrators and judges over the local provosts of the royal domain. But as the area of the royal domain increased in the reigns of Philip Augustus and St. Louis, other administrative changes were made. St. Louis appointed seneschals over the bailiffs and created circuits of administration in the *sénéchaussées,* which at the same time included several bailiwicks and were so drawn as to cut across the lines of the ancient provinces. He also increased the proportion of legists in the court of the parlement, who had been first introduced by Philip II.

But Philip IV excluded from the court the last remnant of feudal representation and made it wholly legist in composition and thoroughly royal in sentiment. Henceforward the court of the parlement held two long sessions of two months each in spring and autumn. During the summer months the judges were sent out on circuit to hold court in the provinces. It needs no demonstration that this policy contributed to the centralization of the power of the crown in France. This is the origin of the

Grands Jours de Troyes, the Grands Jours d'Auvergne, etc. Moreover, as the court of the parlement of Paris had formerly been separated from the *Curia regis,* so now another administrative differentiation was made. Philip IV, whose interest in questions of taxation and finance was excessive, established the chamber of accounts as a court to pass judicially upon all causes that might arise of a fiscal nature or regarding taxes, except those of a purely feudal character, which came before the court of *aides.* The result of a hundred years of institutional development, therefore, was four administrative bodies, all of which had slowly evolved by definition of function out of the old *Curia regis* — the *conseil du roi,* a sort of privy council, the parlement of Paris, the chamber of accounts, and the *cour des aides.*

Legislation

Philip IV's energy as a law-maker was tremendous. A constant stream of royal ordinances flowed from his chancellery, which dealt with justice, finance, taxation, military reforms, regulation of trade, public improvements, and the like. The volume of this matter is impressive and itself a striking evidence of the new spirit and conduct of the monarchy. The military changes introduced by Philip IV in especial sapped the privileges and the pride of the feudal nobility. For room was made by these reforms for militia of the towns and squads of volunteer peasants (*roturiers*). These innovations cut the French noblesse to the quick, but their pride was further hurt when the King abandoned the ancient exaction of forty days' military service of a noble and put the nobles upon a basis of pay according to their rank — twenty sous for knights banneret, ten sous for simple knights, and five for *écuyers* or squires. These chevaliers were not brigaded with the lower class of troops, however, but were battalions of nobles, not infrequently a group of vassals having the same suzerain. Nevertheless the starch of feudal pride and the power of feudalism to be independent of the crown was wilted by these reforms.

Taxation and finance

Thus far, properly speaking, Philip IV had initiated nothing radically novel. His originality consisted in more thorough application and more logical development of the principles and policies of his predecessors. But in the field of taxation and finance Philip IV was an important originator. Nothing stamps him as a modern ruler so much as his handling of these two subjects. The triumphant conclusion of his contention with the Pope enabled the King to tax church property regularly, and from 1297 the French Church contributed an annual sum to the royal fisc. But Philip IV mollified the clergy by guarding appearances. The clergy certainly dared not refuse to pay the sums, but Philip IV diplomatically " permitted " the clergy to vote them in convocation. He was less considerate of his secular subjects. The lands of the baronage were taxed with a royally imposed real tax, proportionate to their value, just as bourgeois and peasant freeholds were taxed. Towns were taxed for a lump sum, the burgesses laying the amount assessed as they pleased upon the inhabitants. Corporations like monasteries and convents, gilds, the universities, again, were taxed *en bloc*. No person and no property escaped the King's hand.

All this was direct taxation. In indirect taxation Philip IV was even more ingenious. Perhaps taking his cue from the policy of the towns which preferred to raise funds upon products of consumption rather than by imposing local rates, the King did the same, not within France, but upon commodities imported or exported at the frontiers. Although the tax was not high, judged by modern standards, it was drawn from so great a number and volume of articles — staples like wool, food-stuffs, etc., being objects of universal consumption — that the total amount was large. Philip IV soon discovered, however, that taxation could regulate trade, and in so doing his reign marks an epoch in history; for he utilized taxation as a means of stimulating commerce in some places, of killing competition in others. For example, in order to promote wool-raising in Picardy and Champagne he laid a tariff on Flemish or English wool. In Pontoise, in order to reduce the price of bread, he abolished the monopoly of the bakers' gild and instituted free trade in bread.

Isolated examples as these instances are, it is none the less true and important that Philip IV of France was the first really modern king in the realm of taxation. The kinds of new taxes which he devised are striking proof of this quality. He was execrated by the people for these "evil taxes (*maltôtes*)," and his policy has been misjudged by many historians. It is not entirely fair to allege the charge of avarice against Philip IV unless in the case of the Jews and Lombards and the Templars. The Europe of 1300 was far richer than the Europe of 1100 and 1200. Commerce and industry had given birth to a new kind of wealth and a new sort of class, the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, land no longer produced the revenues that it once had. It was both salutary and necessary for the governments of the time to tax these new kinds of wealth, and not to let the burghers escape taxation as the feudal nobles had done in earlier centuries. But there were no precedents out of the past. The government had to experiment in one way and another both in form of tax and in rate of taxation. It had to invent new taxes to meet new conditions. It was the old rule of trial and error. Naturally there was popular outcry against these new-fangled impositions, and the more so when they were unduly heavy, to which grievance we must add abuses arising from the dishonesty and peculation of officials. In all times peoples have resented new taxes more than increase of old taxes. The Europe of 1300 was a new Europe, and Philip IV was the first King to grapple with the problems and conditions it presented.

Coinage

Much the same observation may be made of Philip IV's monetary policy. He constantly altered the currency. Contemporaries called him a "false moneyer." It is true that from 1295 the oscillations in the value of French money were erratic, and the relation between the precious metals variable. But while it is true that the King, like every other sovereign, derived a profit from the coinage of money in the seigniorage attached to such prerogative, it does not necessarily follow that Philip IV's manipulation of the coinage was deliberately done with this intent. The difficulty of devising a coinage that represented an equilibrium between gold and silver, owing to the constant fluctuations of values, was what compelled Philip IV time and again to cancel one emission and issue another. Unless this ratio were made, gold would incline to be hoarded or exported and silver become the only currency, although western Europe by this time was operating upon a gold basis, as the Venetian ducat and the Florentine and Genoese florins show. Hence changes of coinage were frequent in Philip IV's reign, especially between 1296 and 1306. It may be admitted that the King's monetary measures oftentimes were badly prepared and harshly effected. But it remains to be proved that Philip IV deliberately uttered counterfeit or debased coin.

This charge probably arose from the unpopular law that abolished all provincial coinage within the provinces of the royal domain, where still the ancient coins of ancient feudal houses sometimes circulated, and made only the royal coin valid. This legislation, aiming to establish a uniform coinage, was immensely unpopular with the people of the provinces, who time out of mind were used to their own local coins. The grievance was more imaginary than real. Actual hardship, however, sometimes was entailed. For much of this provincial coinage was clipped, mutilated, or plugged with tin or lead. When those who found themselves possessed of such coins appeared to pay their taxes or to exchange the old coins for new, the King's officials put the coins into a smelter and drew off the dross metal, giving the bringer only the value of the pure metal in residue. Yet surely the King may not be blamed for injustice in such a transaction.

French monarchy not absolute

While strongly inclined towards absolutism in theory, in practice Philip IV could not do with impunity anything that he might wish to do; for there were vested interests, privileged classes and institutions, which had passed down from the great days when feudalism was still a power. These elements had yet to be reckoned with and Philip IV was too cautious a king to ride roughshod over them. Synods met in every ecclesiastical province, where bishops and abbots sat by the side of representatives of the cathedral chapters and some lesser clergy. Almost everywhere it was customary in the provinces for nobles and bourgeois to assemble to deliberate either separately or together. Protests might be sent to the King by these assemblies.

Moreover, the government of Philip IV was so conducted as to seem, at least, to indicate the wish of the King to associate the nation with his acts more frequently and more intimately than his predecessors. It was a gesture of confidence in the French nation, even if it was not genuine and sincere. Accordingly Philip IV sometimes summoned to his presence representatives from the three orders — clergy, noblesse, and bourgeois — as was done when the war with Aragon was terminated in 1290; sometimes he sent an official to the provincial estates. Four times — in 1302, in 1303 during the struggle with Boniface VIII, in 1308 when the Templar order was dissolved, and in 1314 — he convoked the States-General of the realm. The last of these convocations has especial interest, for it was summoned to consider the fiscal measures that the King had in mind preparatory to another entrance into Flanders and is the first French assembly in history that considered matters of finance. Thus we see that France and England of this same time had similar representative bodies, whose opinion the King found it expedient to consult. Why French constitutional development differed from the English is another matter, the answer to which is found more in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century history of France.

States-General

We have not here to point out the origins of the States-General. As said, the elements of this institution existed long before Philip IV's reign. But the truth is that the origins of the States-General elude detection. One eminent French historian (my former master, the late Professor Achille Luchaire, of the University of Paris) thinks that the *Etats généreaux* were derived from the *Curia regis;* another thinks that they originally were convened in order to vote extraordinary subsidies for the King, and hence that their conduct was a modification of the old feudal contract of service; others believe that they arose out of the King's practice of consulting specialists upon certain questions; thus they were a sort of enlarged *conseil du roi,* in which figured men from various classes and from various provinces or even from the entire kingdom: clergy, barons, bourgeois from the towns. But the earliest States-General that we know of did not vote subsidies.

Opposition of nobles to crown

Nevertheless the nobility chafed greatly under the growing authority of the crown. There are evidences of revolt in 1303, in 1309, in 1313; but their importance has been exaggerated. But in the autumn of 1314, at the time the States-General were called to vote a subsidy for the Flanders campaign, provincial leagues of the barons were formed (analogous to that sixty years earlier in the youth of St. Louis) in Burgundy, Vermandois, Normandy, and Languedoc; and the King bent before the threatening storm. A few weeks later he was dead. But the movement inaugurated by the baronage did not die with him. Philip IV's eldest son and successor, Louis X, reigned but two years. His reign is without remark. But his death for the first time since the accession of the Capetians raised the question of the royal succession. The King left a daughter by his first

Death of Philip IV (1314)

Louis X (1314–16)

Question of the succession

wife; his second wife was pregnant when he died. His younger brother Philip assumed the regency until fate determined the succession. The widowed Queen gave birth to a son, John I, who died within four days, and Philip V, the Long, became king (1316–22). Yet the question of succession was not clear. There were protests made at the coronation that Louis X's daughter was rightfully the ruler. The question of female succession had never been raised before. Philip V summoned the States-General, who approved the coronation, swore to obey the King, and declared that "women may not succeed to the crown of this realm according to the Salic law."

Philip V (1316–22)

But the issue was kept alive by the malcontents of the recent league, which began to form anew. There was constant friction with England and with Flanders. To crown this unrest a peasant rebellion broke out, known as the Pastoureaux, very similar to that other Pastoureaux rising in the reign of St. Louis. These infuriated and half-mad fanatics, led by an ex-priest and a defrocked monk, ravaged the provinces, massacred the Jews — who had but lately been suffered to return to France — and were finally destroyed by the bailiff of Carcassonne. What the mob left to the wretched Jews was taken by the King who squeezed a hundred and fifty thousand livres out of the Jewish colony in Paris alone.

Pastoureaux

Yet Philip V was an intelligent and efficient ruler. He had his father's passion for efficiency and incredible application for work. His short reign is important in the history of French administration. The period of formation of French institutions closed with Philip IV. The period of normal, routine development began with Philip V. It is significant that most of his ordinances were issued after consultation with the estates, either general or provincial, according to circumstance. The King obviously endeavored to associate his subjects in his measures, without doubt in order to prevent discontent in the provinces. He had a decent respect for public opinion. Sessions of public assemblies were frequent in Paris and in the chief cities of the provinces; and these assemblies, by reason of their almost continuous meeting, developed an increasing sense of their political importance.

Importance of Philip V's reign

Among Philip V's chief ordinances may be mentioned acts reorganizing the king's household, the king's council, the parlement of Paris, from which the last clerical influence was excluded, the administration of the forests, financial administration and the chamber of accounts. The King's ideas of administrative reform were more radical than those of his subjects and stamp him as in advance of his age. For example, he tried to institute uniform weights and measures and a uniform money system (which his father had begun). But in these policies he ran up against local prejudices, to which he had to yield, to the undoubted detriment of France. The cry arose: "Back to St. Louis," whose reign in retrospect seemed a golden age, though in reality the cry was a reactionary movement.

Charles IV (1322–8)

Philip V left only daughters and the crown devolved upon Charles IV (1322–8), the youngest son of Philippe le Bel. Charles IV exhibited the dexterous facility of his father in devising new taxes, but his measures were more detrimental to trade. He was so greedy for money that he jeopardized the administration of justice to get it. Thus in 1322 he ordered that the salaries of the judges of the parlement of Paris should be paid out of the fines imposed, a deplorable arrangement since it made the judges interested in condemnation. Two years later another ordinance provided that the loser in a lawsuit must pay the costs of the procedure.

Strained relations with England

French relations with England in this reign became intensely strained. Edward II of England grew up into a king with a despicable character. He offended the barons by his wantonness and favoritism towards the Despensers, and the English nation by the terrible defeat of Bannockburn (1314), by which Scotland recovered her liberty. The barons' party was joined by the Queen, who formed a criminal amour with Roger Mortimer. Charles IV took advantage of this situation, demanded that Edward II, although he was his own brother-in-law (which showed how ineffectual dynastic alliances were), come to France to do liege homage for Guienne and Gascony, and, when Edward II failed to appear, attempted the conquest of Gascony. His French queen played hand in glove with her brother, when sent to France in the spring of 1325. Two years later Mortimer and his gang, including his paramour, the Queen, did the English King to death, and Edward III became king of England. His first act was to imprison his mother for life and break the grip of the rotten politicians around him. In the next year Charles IV died.

(1328) Extinction of Capetian house Accession of Philip VI of Valois

Having no male issue, he left the determination of the succession to the estates, who pronounced for his cousin Philip of Valois, (1328–50), the sixth King of France of that name.

The expiration of the Capetian dynasty and the accession of the house of Valois mark the termination of one epoch and the opening of another, that of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453).

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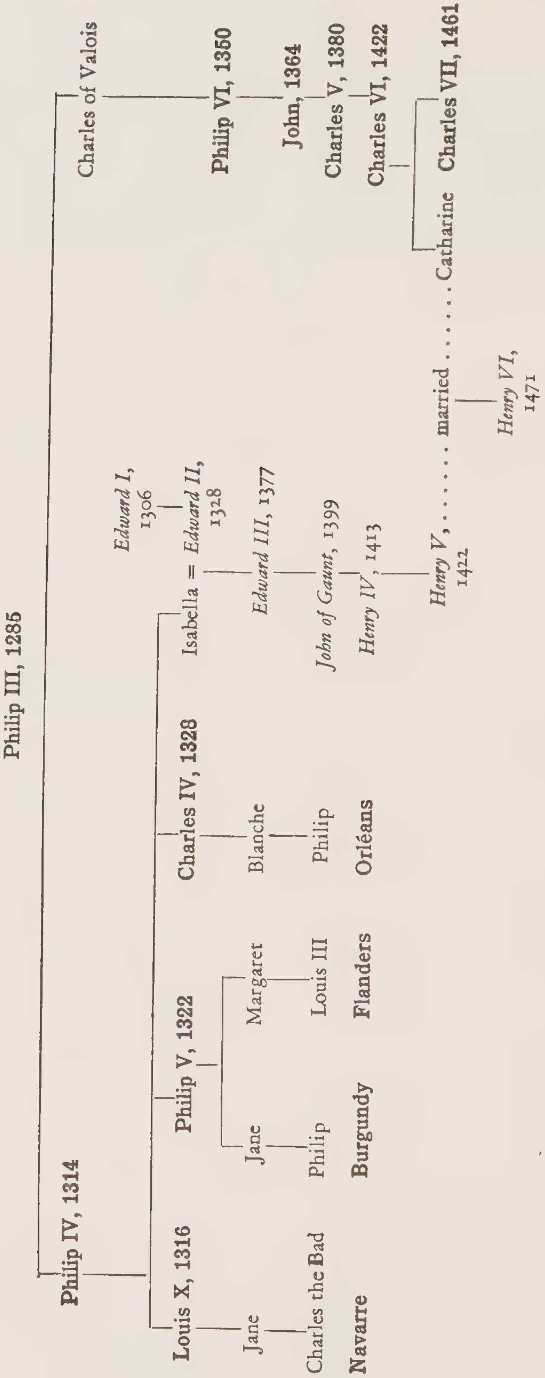
The Succession in 1328


Philip III, 1285
Philip IV, 1314
Charles of Valois
Louis X, 1316
Philip V, 1322
Charles IV, 1328
Isabella = *Edward II,* 1328
Edward I, 1306
Philip VI, 1350
Jane
Jane
Margaret
Blanche
Edward III, 1377
John, 1364
Charles V, 1380
Charles the Bad
Philip
Louis III
Philip
John of Gaunt, 1399
Henry IV, 1413
Charles VI, 1422
Navarre
Burgundy
Flanders
Orléans
Henry V, 1422 . . . . . . married . . . . . . Catharine
Charles VII, 1461
Henry VI, 1471

The dates, years of death. French kings, in black type. Descendants of Edward I, in italics.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. PERIOD I (1337–1380)

The war between England and France which began in 1337 and lasted until 1453 is the longest war recorded in history. It is known as the Hundred Years' War. The term is substantially, but not literally, accurate. Only one treaty of peace (1360) was made in this protracted epoch, and it was not a real peace, but an armistice. Neither nation, however, would have been able to endure constant and unremitting war for so long a period, for one or the other must have succumbed from exhaustion.

> "Men from time to time grew weary of the war, even though they had no real desire for peace, and there were pauses in the work of mutual slaughter when pestilence — the Black Death, 1349–50 — swept impartially over both lands and filled the graveyards, and the supplies of men fell short of the needs of the battle-field, or when money could neither be wrung from the land, nor extracted from the wool on its way to Flanders, and when the mercenary troops mutinied against their leaders and refused to fight without the payment of their wages. With the exception of these intervals, hardly to be called intervals of peace, the war between England and France waged for more than a hundred years." [1]

As a matter of fact, although no lasting peace was ever made, although the enmity between the two combatants persisted, an extended interval when there was neither peace nor war intervened during the years 1380–1415. This interim divides the conflict into three periods:

Periods of the war

Period I. 1337–80 From the inception of the war, in 1337, to the death of Charles V of France, in 1380. This epoch is characterized by the victories of Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), the English capture of Calais (1347), the rebellion of Paris and the *Jacquerie* or peasant revolt in Champagne (1358), the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), the renewal of the conflict in 1367, culminating in French victory, and political recovery under the rule of Charles V.

Period II. 1380–1415 The interim of cessation of hostilities without formal peace (1380–1415) during which domestic politics were dominant in each country.

Period III. 1415–53 The renewal of the war by Henry V of England in alliance with the French Duke of Burgundy. The battle of Agincourt in 1415 was followed by the English conquest of all northern France, including Paris. But further conquest was stemmed by the feats of Jean Darc (1429–31) and the return of Burgundy to French allegiance (1435), supplemented by effective military, administrative, and financial reforms in the French government. The period terminated with complete French recovery and the expulsion of the English from France.

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[1] Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 79.

Approach of war (1328–37)

The vast war-cloud of Anglo-French hostility formed of the ancient heritage of enmity between the two nations, of conflicting political and territorial ambition, of dynastic jealousy and hatred, of commercial rivalry, lowered lower and lower in the years between 1328 and 1337. The most intense grievance between the two governments, which summed up and gave point to all the rest and was the immediate occasion of the war, was the French policy in Flanders. Louis de Nevers, the Count of Flanders, had been driven out of his county by his hostile subjects and found refuge in France. Soon after his coronation, in 1328, Philip VI gathered an army in order to restore his vassal. The battle of Cassel (August 28) established French influence in almost every town and province of Flanders except Ghent. Ten thousand Flemings were executed; the privileges of the towns and the prosperous merchant and craft gilds were abolished. Many Flemish nobles, broken in fortune, many ruined burghers, fled across sea to England, where they became clamorous for war against France.

French intervention in Flanders

On June 6, 1329 Edward III did homage without protest to Philip VI in the Cathedral of Amiens in his capacity as duke of Guienne and count of Ponthieu (which was part of his mother's dowry). Yet war was in his heart and conquest his ambition.

England looked with glowering wrath upon this strong French rule in Flanders. Edward III's marriage with Philippa of Hainaut was evidence of it. In 1336 Louis of Nevers, urged by French diplomacy, arrested all English merchants in Flanders; Edward III replied by arresting all Flemish merchants in England, forbidding export of wool abroad, and prohibiting importation of Flemish woven fabrics. Deprived of raw wool for their looms, the Flemings faced a winter of "hard times." The political attachment of Flanders to France and its economic dependence upon England were two incompatible relations. But the fate of Guienne and Gascony was woven with that of Flanders. The resolve of Philip VI to wrench these provinces from English rule was almost equal with the French aggression in Flanders as ground of the war.

Formation of allianees

Each adversary prepared for the struggle. France knitted again the raveled alliance with Scotland. Edward III turned to the Emperor Ludwig IV, an enemy of the French King, who made him an imperial vicar, thereby giving him the power to recruit soldiery in the Rhenish lands and Lower Germany. But there was a deeper design than this in Edward III's mind. It must be clearly understood that Flanders was in a singular feudal position. It was composed of three territories of that name: Flanders "under the Empire," of which Ludwig IV was overlord; Flanders "under the crown," of which the king of France was overlord; and the "Free County of Flanders," which the count possessed without feudal attachment. The Anglo-Imperial alliance at least vaguely planned for the union of all three of these territories under English domination, to be held in vassalage of the Empire, the Prince of Wales or the second son of the English king to be actual holder of the territory. What induced Ludwig IV to form such an alliance was the fact that as emperor he had his own quarrel with Philip of Valois because the French King refused to do homage for the Lyonnais and Franche-Comté, which Philip IV had wrenched from the Empire.

Beginning of hostilities (1337)

The first English blow of the war was struck on November 9, 1337, when the garrison that France's ally, the Count of Flanders, had established on the island of Cadzand, in the estuary of the Scheldt, was driven out by an English squadron. But prior to this episode hostilities had broken out in Gascony, where the French had taken the offensive in the diocese of Agen. In the next year (1338) English troops embarked for the continent to join Edward in Brabant. A detachment under the orders of the Earl of Derby undertook an expedition to Tréport, in the diocese of Rouen, burning the city, as well as the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Michel, and devastating the surrounding country. This abbey was the first to meet with the sad end that afterwards came to so many others during the Hundred Years' War. After having been in Brabant since July 1338, Edward called together his German allies at Brussels on September 1, 1339. Here he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, as many English as Germans and Brabanters. He pushed on as far as Mons, Valenciennes, and Haspres and came with his army on September 25 to Marcoing, west of Cambrai. Everything was laid waste along the line of march, for, from the first, fire was the constant ally of the English. The King of England himself wrote to his son Edward on November 1: "We passed Monday, the eve of Saint Mathew, outside of Valenciennes, and with daybreak the soldiers began to burn in Cambrai, and burned the entire week following, so that this country is completely destroyed, and all the wheat and cattle and other property. The following Saturday we came to Marcoing, between Cambrai and France, and the soldiers began to burn in France itself the same day. . . . As we went on our soldiers devastated about xii or xiii leagues of country." This last remark shows us the habitual conduct of the English in their incursions into an enemy's country.

Cambrai resisted all the attacks of the King of England's army. But what must have been the fate of the numerous convents and churches in the neighborhood? That of the monks of Saint-Géry, Saint-Aubert, Cantimpre, of the Benedictines of Saint-Sépulcre and others that were outside the city? For all the country around Cambrai was pillaged and devastated. Learning that Philip VI had collected his troops at Péronne in Vermandois, the English King raised the siege and turned his army towards France. The first French province to be invaded by the English during the Hundred Years' War was Vermandois. The soldiers overran the entire country, which they found fertile and rich in resources, for there had been no war there for a long time. All was burned, pillaged, and laid waste. The advance guard, under the Bishop of Lincoln, burned Moy, Vendeuil, La Fère, and Saint-Gobain, penetrated into the territory of the lord of Coury, and came to Bruyères (near Laon), which the soldiers put to the flames.

Importance of Flanders

But Flanders was the focus of the rival nations' observation and interest. Flanders was not more necessary to England than England to Flanders. The weavers of Ghent and other important textile towns were deeply opposed to the anti-English policy of the Count. France, by compelling him to suspend commercial relations with England and by covering the sea with privateers, was ruining Flanders. Without English wool there was no occupation for the weavers. Not a few of them escaped to England and were settled at Worsted in eastern Norfolk, whence the term for the particular kind of spun yarn of that name. In Ghent bands of starving weavers paraded the streets. Aware of these conditions of discontent, in April 1337 Edward III had sent agents abroad to negotiate with the Flemish town governments looking to the establishment of staples or warehouses for wool. At the same time treaties of alliance were made with the Count of Hainaut and the Duke of Lorraine and Brabant and lesser lords.

Jacques van Artevelde

The critical condition in Flanders brought forward the first statesman of the Hundred Years' War. This was Jacques van Artevelde, a rich burgher of Ghent, in his time beyond any doubt the foremost commoner in Europe. Under his leadership the burghers of the Flemish towns acquired an international importance. Van Artevelde sat in the "royal game" of war and diplomacy and played his hand with a finesse that astonished kings and princes. His father had already marked out the pathway of the son. For, as a woolen-merchant trading with England, he had been driven out of the country, and his property confiscated, by the pro-French Count of Flanders during the reign of Philip IV. He had found refuge in England, but returned in 1302 and fought in the battle of Courtrai. Jacques van Artevelde seems to have taken no part in the political troubles and the civil war between the Count of Flanders and the Flemish towns until after the battle of Cassel (1328), which crushed the burgher party in Flanders and threatened complete French political control in the country, to the detriment of the commercial relation between the towns and England. The political liberties of the great Flemish communes, and the commercial and industrial prosperity of almost all Flanders, depended upon checkmating French ascendancy and maintaining free trade with England.

Revolution in Flanders (1338)

Artevelde became the political leader and the spokesman of the popular cause. A few months after the English declaration of war against France, revolution broke out in the Flemish towns, and on January 3, 1338 Artevelde was elected captain-general of the militia of Ghent. In this capacity he renewed the forbidden commercial relations with England, and soon cargoes of English wool came to feed the looms and save the half-starved population of Ghent from famine. At the same time he sought to mollify France by offering to make heavy purchases of French wheat. But the Count of Flanders, under the thumb of the French King, at the price of ruining his country, appealed to French arms for support in repression of Ghent, while at the same time the Bishop of Thérouanne imposed the interdict upon the land.

Artevelde acted promptly. He seized Bruges, the Flemish capital, with an army of burgher militia, traversed the county from end to end, forcing or persuading every town to embrace his cause, patrolled the frontier to prevent French aggression, and finally capped the climax by declaring that the Flemish policy was one of neutrality. The Leliard or French party in Flanders, so called because of its partisanship of the lily or fleur-de-lis, the heraldic device of the kings of France, at once took the offensive. Civil war broke out, while at the same time French troops harassed the frontier. Artevelde perceived that a neutral policy could not be sustained and that Flanders would have to choose between the warring kings. Alliance with England was the only alternative. The papal interdict was the final influence that drove him to this act; for by its mandate the Flemings were bound, in penalty of two hundred thousand florins, to support the King of France. But who was king of France? Let Edward III, said Artevelde, assume the title and arms of the French king and then the Flemings might support him and at the same time evade the papal penalty. It was a clever legal technicality and Edward III grasped at the suggestion. On February 21, 1340 the inscription on the great seal of England was officially altered, the title duke of Aquitaine being eliminated as merged in the greater royal title. It was then that the famous motto of the English crown, "*Dieu et mon Droit* (God and my Right)," was also adopted and the lilies of France quartered upon the royal shield of England.

Edward III claims the crown of France (1340)

The alliance was one of mutual advantage. If Flanders needed English protection, England no less needed the Flemish trade, Flemish monetary support, and the use of Flanders as a military base of operations against France. Edward III was hard pressed for funds. He was short of money to pay his troops; the Duke of Guelders had to be put off with a promissory note; the crown jewels were in pawn at Cologne and huge sums were borrowed on the security of English wool in the English "staple" or export ports from two banking-houses in Florence, the Bardi and the Peruzzi. Parliament refused to grant new taxes unless the crown granted certain "easements" of its ancient prerogative.

Artevelde must be regarded as almost a creator — certainly a founder — of that confederated group of provinces, Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant, Limburg, etc., known for centuries afterwards as the Low Countries (*Pays-Bas*) and today as the Kingdom of Belgium. Edward III, politically English, but half-French through his mother, and a vicar of the Empire and ally of the Emperor Ludwig IV also, was declared protector of the Belgian confederation. The revolutionary political arrangement was concluded at Ghent on January 23, 1340. One of the terms of this alliance was that English arms were to aid in restitution of the border places of Flanders which Philip VI had seized after the battle of Cassel: Lille, Artois, Douai, Béthune, Tournai.

Guienne

Sea-power

In the meantime French aggressions in the south-west, where Blaye and Bourg were captured and Bordeaux threatened, were made with the aim of drawing English forces away from the Channel. For the French government had conceived the grandiose design of destroying the English sea-power in the Channel, intercepting the Anglo-Flemish trade, and, if successful in so doing, assailing the island kingdom. To this end an immense French fleet, in which Breton and Norman ships were to be supported by a squadron of forty Genoese galleys which Philip VI had hired from the Doge, was gathered in the harbor of Sluys in the estuary of the Scheldt. "There lie in the haven of Sluys," wrote the Duke of Guelders to the English King, "more than two hundred great vessels, well stuffed with Frenchmen and all manner of habiliments of war, besides Spaniards, Genoese, Normans, and Picards, all manned with above forty thousand men. Wherefore it behooveth thee to look to thyself."

Edward III had looked well. In the Orwell he had collected a fleet the like of which England had never seen before. In number of ships the French outnumbered the English, but the latter were the better seamen. The two French admirals were ignorant of seamanship, and one of them was not even a soldier, but owed his preferment to his skill as a financier. The Genoese admiral, Black Beard, was a good sailor but unused to northern waters, and the Mediterranean method of sea-fighting by chaining the galleys together was impracticable within the narrow compass the fleet found itself. On June 24, 1340, having the advantage of both wind and tide, as a good sailor, Edward III attacked and utterly scattered or destroyed the French fleet in Sluys in a prodigious naval battle. England's maritime supremacy was thereby established and has been maintained ever since. In the following September a truce was made between England and France, to which Flanders was a party, at Esplechin, to last until St. John's Day (June 24) 1342. But, while convenient to the kings concerned, it proved full of embarrassment to Artevelde, as we shall soon see.

Battle of Sluys (1340)

The truce came as a relief to the English King, for the political condition in Gascony gave great anxiety. For three years the Anglo-French border in the southwest had been the scene of strife, and Edward III feared for the loyalty of some of his Gascon vassals. The greatest of the Gascon nobles were Gaston, Count of Foix, the Count of Armagnac, the Sieur d'Albret, and the Viscount of Béarn. The first held directly of the crown of France, but was connected with Guienne by many ties besides those of proximity. The house of Foix was notorious for its independence, ambition, courage, ability, and unscrupulousness. Gaston was therefore, a dangerous neighbor and a necessary friend to England. On the other hand, the three other lords held of the English king as duke of Guienne, but it was not easy for them to be loyal. Armagnac was strongly pro-French in sympathy. The territory of Albret blocked the road between Bordeaux and a great part of Guienne, and its alliance and goodwill were indispensable to England. The sieurs d'Albret made dexterous use of their position to tax the trade of Bordeaux and Bayonne. Béarn's importance arose from its strong situation among the spurs of the Pyrenees.

English anxiety over Gascony

These troubles were hardly composed, not without heavy cost to Edward III in the form of grants or money payments, and much misgiving, "because," records an English chronicler, "the Gascons are ever uncertain friends and much prone to vacillation," before a new source of enmity arose in Brittany between England and France. This was a contested succession between Charles of Blois and John of Montfort, the latter of whom had English blood in his veins and owned lands in England. A war of partisans ensued, which lasted for years, in which one side was backed by French gold and men-at-arms, the other by English gold and men-at-arms, although nominally there was a truce between England and France.

Contested succession in Brittany

The battle of the Sluys was partly canceled by the loss of the Flemish alliance. Artevelde had labored to reorganize the administration of Flanders by dividing the county into three districts in which Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres were chief places. The ambition of each of them to be the capital disrupted the country. This condition was aggravated by the turmoil in every town where a conflict between the greater and the

Loss of Flemish alliance by England

lesser gilds was crossed by feuds between the lower working classes and the gilds, which were in control of rich drapers and textile manufacturers. It was a conflict between capital and labor, between employer and employes, between the upper class and the commonalty, with the added grievance that the urban patriciate also controlled the town governments and monopolized the public offices. In a riot of the weavers and fullers against the employers which befell in Ghent in 1345, five hundred were slain in the market-place. The Count of Flanders and his French sympathizers, who had been driven out, returned under these circumstances. The result was a confused civil war in Flanders, in which the elements were almost inextricably mixed, in the midst of which the heroic and patriotic Van Artevelde was murdered. For nearly forty years Flanders dropped out of the picture of the Hundred Years' War.

In the same year the Earl of Derby made a gigantic raid in France from Bordeaux. Since the French attack upon them in 1337 the cities of the English provinces in France had been taxed in their commerce at the rate of twelvepence in the pound for the repair of their walls and the building of fortresses, so that the ground was well prepared for Derby's offensive in this region. The expedition sailed in July 1345 and, landing at Bordeaux, advanced up the Dordogne. Bergerac was taken, but the earl failed before Périgueux. In all he took sixty castles or towns, and was besieging Aiguillon when news arrived of Edward III's invasion of Normandy, upon which the siege was raised. We have arrived at the great campaign of Crécy.

Expedition of 1345

The loss of English ascendancy in Flanders and the Earl of Derby's successful campaign in Guienne opened the eyes of the English to the possibilities of attack upon France from this direction. In consequence in the winter of 1345–6 immense money, time, and energy were expended by the government in preparing for such an expedition during the next summer. The long preparations occupied the whole winter of 1345–6. Assessments for military service were made upon all those who held knights' fees, a census of all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty was made for purpose of levying troops, and shipping collected at Portsmouth for the army of embarkation. It was a formidable undertaking to transport an army with horses and accouterment, arms and munitions, by sea from Portsmouth to Bordeaux; for the ships were small and the voyage tedious and dangerous around the point of Brittany and across the Bay of Biscay, notorious for the roughness of its water. Bordeaux then was as far from England as Bombay is today.

Campaign of 1346

The expedition sailed in July. But storms and head winds, combined with the fearful tides off Ushant, the highest tides in Europe, retarded the fleet, while the summer waned. Then it was that Edward III, rather than see the expedition fail, resolved to put back into the Channel and land on the coast of Normandy. It is said that a French traitor with the English King, named Godefroy d'Harcourt, suggested the feasibility of this project. Be that as it may, on July 12, 1346 the English debarked at Cape La Hogue in the Cotentin. Ordinarily in military history so abrupt a change of plan would have spelled disaster, but actually it was the easiest and safest thing for the English to do. For the French, being advised of the approaching attack on their southwestern flank, had massed their army there, so that Normandy was bereft of fighting men. The country was defenseless; only the walled towns deterred the English invasion. For six weeks the foe traversed Normandy from west to east — and Normandy was probably the richest and most prosperous province of the French realm — pillaging and burning everything in their path. An eyewitness tells us that the swath of the army was fifteen miles wide and that at night the line of march glowed with the charred ruins of villages, farmsteads, standing crops, destroyed orchards. Every town in the path of the army was devastated, Barfleur, Saint-Lô, Caen, where William the Conqueror and his Queen lay buried in the exquisitely beautiful abbeys that they had founded.

> "In the sack of Caen a document was discovered which Edward at once turned to good account for arousing the patriotic feelings of his subjects against their French enemies. This was the agreement, made as far back as the year 1338, by which the Normans undertook to give their aid to the king of France in his proposed invasion and conquest of England. The earl of Huntingdon, who was invalided home in charge of prisoners, brought the document to England; and it was publicly read by archbishop Stratford in St. Paul's churchyard. On the fall of Caen, the neighboring city of Bayeux sent in its submission to the invaders, and after a rest of five days Edward, leaving the former place, which was stripped to the bare walls, resumed his march, and was met at Lisieux, on the 2nd of August, by the two cardinal envoys, Etienne Aubert and Annibale Ceccano, archbishop of Naples, who attempted negotiations for peace, but without success. Advancing towards Rouen, Edward found that place occupied in force and the bridge broken. Striking the Seine therefore at Elbeuf, he marched up-stream on the left bank, the enemy watching his movements from the other side."[1]

What so far had been a promenade for the English now became a peril. For the French army had hastily been recalled from the southwest and was by this time pressing the invaders hard. It was fresh, while the English were leg-weary and burdened with hundreds of wagons of loot. The French cut the bridges over the Somme, but the English managed to cross at low tide below Abbeville. The French pursuit continued until at last at Crécy, in the little county of Ponthieu, the English stood at bay. The day was August 26, 1346.

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[1] Preface to Avesbury's *Chronicle.*

Battle of Crécy

The study of technical military history is usually profitless except to the student of military science. But now and then a battle occurs which is of luminous importance to history. Such was the battle of Crécy. It broke the prestige and the power of France as the first military nation in Europe, which had been glorious and undiminished since the day of Bouvines (1214); it enormously dilated England's military power and ambition; it was the first of those great continental victories of England in successive wars with France which were not to terminate until Waterloo. The English losses were light, those of France appalling. Among those who perished were the dukes of Bourbon and Savoy, the old King John of Luxemburg and Bohemia, who had offered his arms to France, eleven princes, two archbishops, eighty knights-banneret, twelve hundred knights, and twenty thousand other soldiery, including many Genoese mercenaries. Crécy marks a revolution in the art of medieval warfare. The old fighting methods of the time of the crusades were obsolete. The time was passed when victory rested with heavy cavalry armed with the lance. Although many such warriors were found in both armies, the English victory was chiefly due to the skill of the English archers, armed with the long-bow, the effectiveness of which made the footman more than a match for the mounted knight and sounded the knell of warfare along the traditional feudal lines.

Long-bow

Although largely used in antiquity, the bow was a discarded weapon in the Middle Ages. The last important use of it was at the battle of Hastings, in 1066, and even then the arrows were shot vertically into the air, so that the descending barbs penetrated the heads of the English foe. For already body-armor had become impervious to arrows. As armor and helmet became heavier in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the bow was abandoned in all western Europe. The crusaders in the East suffered little from the arrows of the Mohammedans. Battles were cavalry charges of heavily armored, strongly horsed knights. Warfare was a noble profession. It is true that at Bouvines and afterwards we find the use of town militia as infantry, but it was more employed to guard camp and to garrison occupied territory, than in battle. Unless the terrain was unfavorable to the movement of cavalry, as at Courtrai (1302), infantry could not stand against a charge of horse, as the slaughter of it at Cassel (1328) showed. This explains why France still adhered to the ancient method of fighting.

But in England a revolution in the manual of arms had been made by Edward I. In his wars with the Welsh the English discovered to their sorrow the terrible effect of the long-bow, which probably was of Welsh invention. This was no mere small bow with a short and light arrow, but a bow measured to the height of the man who carried it, made of springy yew, with cat-gut strings, drawn back as far as the ear, with a long, steel-pointed arrow, guided on its mission of death by a gray-goose quill. The recoil of such a weapon, which required a strong and expert archer to pull it, made the " cloth-yard " arrow a formidable missile. It was good for a hundred yards and capable of penetrating the stoutest corselet; it would go through an armored man or through an armored horse. It could penetrate four inches into white oak wood. The range, penetrability, and rapidity of fire of the long-bow made it possible to mow down an army of cavalry before ever the horsemen could close with the enemy. Infantry armed with the long bow were secure against a mounted foe and deadly to that foe.

This is what Edward I discovered, and forthwith he took measures to train the free yeomanry in its use. The terrible disaster of the English at Bannockburn in 1314, where the Scotch, who had borrowed the long-bow from the Welsh, taught England the value of military preparedness, had made England wise for the future. " The lesson which the English learned at Bannockburn they taught to the French at Crécy." Not even the Genoese mercenaries at Crécy, who were armed with the terrible arbalest, could withstand the English arrows. For the arbalest was effective at short distance only; their " quarrels " fell short of the English arrows. One must read Froissart's *Chronicle* to get a picture of that terrible day when the English arrows rattled like hail on the armor of the knights, and their feathered ends made it seem as if the air were full of snow. The charging French knights never reached the front rank of the English bowmen, who, in harrow formation, caught them with both direct and cross fire and mowed them down like hay. At the same time a swarm of Welsh hill billies in the English army, running on foot, wormed their way into the *mêlée* and brought down many a French rider by stabbing his horse in the belly where the armor did not protect.

Crécy was a revelation to western Europe. Winning at odds of four to one against the most formidable chivalry of Europe, was a triumph for the English. This battle marks an epoch in the history of warfare. The fact that Edward caused *all* the men-at-arms to dismount and placed the horses with the baggage in an enclosed park in the rear, the fact that the men-at-arms formed the solid line of resistance and acted simply as spearmen, while the archers were to shoot down the assailants — all these doings were novel and powerful in the consequence, so far as the military aspect is concerned. In less than an hour after the conflict began, battle's magnificent array was in one red burial blent.

The French government, to its detriment, was slow to learn the lesson of the defeat and slower to introduce reform in the army. But the doughty Bretons by themselves profited by experience. In the small and neglected fights after Crécy, like Morlaix and Auray, the knights on both sides dismounted just before going into engagement, hacked off the heavy butts of their lances, and went in on foot, with the barb as a stabbing weapon. Obviously under such new conditions the old heavy armor was impossible, so that we find the armor becoming lighter and the ancient pot helmet gradually discarded for a steel hat (*bassenet*) or a steel cap (*morion*) made of links of chain sewed upon a leather cap. History has repeated itself, for in the World War the soldiers wore steel hats with a brim to protect them against shrapnel.

The Scotch invade England

In the same summer another Crécy, so to speak, was fought and won by England at home. The French had revived the alliance with Scotland, so that the Scottish border was another French front — so much so that no Englishman living north of the Trent was required to do service beyond sea. Incited by the French, King David II of Scotland invaded England and was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross (October 17, 1346), near Durham, whose massive cathedral has aptly been described as "half house of God, half fortress 'gainst the Scots."

Battle of Neville's Cross (1346)

Siege of Calais (1346–7)

From the field of Crécy the English pursued their way to Calais, which finally succumbed after an eleven months' siege (August 4, 1347); the shattered French government's efforts to relieve it were unavailing. The country about was ravaged for provisions, and to secure a continual supply for the army Edward wrote (September 6, 1346) to the several sheriffs, to the Bishop of Durham, and to the mayors and bailiffs of nearly thirty seaport towns in England, informing them of his victory at Crécy and desiring that all who were willing to sell "flour, bread, corn, wine, beer, flesh, fish, bows, arrows, strings for bows, and other victuals for the support of the army" should send them to his camp before Calais. He also ordered "machines and other instruments for breaking walls" to be sent to him from England.

On the 25th of June the French made an effort to break through the English blockading fleet and to victual the town. This attempt was frustrated by an unexpected movement of an English squadron, which surprised the enemy off Boulogne and Corotoy. Thereupon the garrison in their turn tried to communicate with their friends outside and sent out two boats at early dawn to steal through the English lines. But the boats were sighted and chased, and one was driven ashore; whereupon, in his extremity, her Genoese captain bound to an ax and cast into the sea a letter of which he was the bearer from Jean de Vienne, the captain of Calais, to the French King. By this letter, which was recovered at low water, the English King learned the straits to which the town was reduced. "All victuals were exhausted, horses, dogs, cats were all devoured;

and nothing remained but human flesh to subsist on." Soon afterwards Calais surrendered.

This important port, the nearest continental point opposite to Dover, thenceforward, from its capture by the English until it was lost in 1558, gave England an open door into France. The town was strongly fortified, together with a zone of territory round about known as the "Pale," from the palisade that encircled it. Next to the governorship of Guienne the captaincy of Calais was the most important office of the English administration abroad. The possession of Calais compensated for the loss of English influence in Flanders and supplemented the always precarious English position in Brittany, in spite of the capture of Charles of Blois (June 20, 1347). It was valuable, too, for import of English wool.

The four disasters to French arms in the Sluys, at Crécy, at Calais, and in Brittany shook even Philip VI's pride and led to an armistice on September 28, 1347, which was prolonged from time to time till 1355, although little observed in Guienne and Brittany. Only in Flanders, where an oligarchic reaction triumphed over the lower and pro-English element of the population of the towns, had French influence still hope. Philip VI died in 1350 and was succeeded by his son John II le Bon. The new King set much store on French preponderance in the Low Countries and sought to attach the Count of Flanders to the crown by marrying the Duke of Burgundy with the Count's daughter and heiress Margaret. Flemish attachment to England cooled. In reward for a promised French annuity of ten thousand livres and other advantages the Count in 1351, having banished 380 English sympathizers in Bruges, set out for Paris, where he did homage to John of Valois.

Death of Philip VI (1350)

John II (1350–64)

From 1347 to 1356 the war lapsed. For the time being England seems to have been sated. A contemporary writer says that there was hardly even a peasant's cottage that could not exhibit loot from the great campaign. The houses of the nobility were glutted with spoil from France. But the great deterrent of further war was the pestilence of the Black Death, which swept over Europe in 1349.

Lapse of the war (1347–56)

Both nations prepared to renew the conflict in the winter of 1354-5. In France the States-General authorized the gabelle or tax on salt which Philip VI had introduced, on condition that the collectors were appointed by the estates and that they should have power to audit the government's collections and disbursements. Even with this concession the gabelle was collected with great difficulty. In Normandy its imposition was resisted; in Picardy there was violent insurrection of the populace, especially in Arras. In the same winter the English Parliament granted Edward III a wool-tax of fifty shillings per sack, which, owing to defective calculation, brought in only one-third the sum anticipated. It had been determined in a council held at Westminster after Easter 1355 that the Duke of Lancaster (formerly the Earl of Derby) should assume command of the English forces in Brittany and that the Black Prince should attack France from the south. In Normandy the English counted upon the support of the French princely traitor, Charles the Bad of Navarre, who was in possession, with his own hireling troops, of Caen, Mantes, Meulan, Beaumont and Pontoise.

Expedition of the Black Prince (1355–6)

The Black Prince sailed from Plymouth in September 1355 for Bordeaux. On November 2 Edward III crossed to Calais. But it was not in accordance with the French policy to risk a pitched battle; King John wasted the territory, so that in fear of starvation the English King returned to Calais after nine days of campaigning, whence he speedily crossed to England. An additional motive was that on November 6 the Scots had captured Berwick.

Meanwhile in the south of France the Black Prince advanced up the Garonne, chastised the Count of Armagnac "by reason that the count of Armagnac was the leader of the wars of our adversary and his lieutenant in all the land of Languedoc, and had more oppressed and destroyed the liegemen of our most honored lord and father, the king, in his lands than any other in those parts," found Toulouse too strong for him, but took Castelnaudary and Carcassonne, which he reckoned "greater, stronger and fairer than York," where he burned the "bourg," but failed to take the castle, and marched away to Narbonne, where the same thing happened. By December 9 the Prince was back in Bordeaux again, laden with spoil and unscathed; for he had met nothing but local resistance. The effect of this bold but wanton expedition was to throw many Gascon nobles, who hitherto had been hesitant of allegiance, strongly over to the English side.

Battle of Poitiers (1356)

This swaggering expedition of 1355 was the prelude to the great campaign of 1356, which culminated in a second Crécy — the battle of Poitiers or Maupertuis, as it is better called (September 19, 1356). We have a rare account of the itinerary of this famous campaign, not only in historical chronicles, but in the Black Prince's letters from the field. This time the English blow was aimed at almost the heart of France, the rich cities in the valley of the Loire, the prosperous provinces of Berry, Touraine, Anjou. The whole summer (July 6–September 19) was spent in ravaging these provinces, without interference. Only in mid-September did a French army make its appearance; for until this time it had been engaged in futilely defending Normandy against the Duke of Lancaster, who had landed at La Hogue and repeated the campaign of ten years before, spreading a path of devastation from Cotentin almost to the Seine.

> "Nothing so far could have been worse than Prince Edward's generalship. He had advanced without support and without plan into the middle of a hostile

country, and had taken no pains to inform himself of the neighborhood of an enormous army. He himself said afterwards that he hoped to meet his father and the duke of Lancaster, but he evidently took no care to learn even whether his father had sailed. It was too late now to return back into Aquitaine or advance forward into Brittany. If he could not fight his way through an army six times his own in numbers, he was lost. His army was not even provisioned, and the French army might have starved him into surrender by remaining quiet."[1]

But the absurd chivalrous ideas of the time made it "dishonorable" to avoid an engagement. It was "heroic" to fight; there was no "glory" in starving a foe into submission. The English were saved in their extremity by the folly of the French King. The Black Prince was so caught in a trap that he offered to restore all the spoil of the expedition, booty, prisoners, and fortresses and to pledge himself not to bear arms against France for seven years. But John II demanded the surrender of the Prince and one hundred of his knights. To this Edward would not listen. So confident of victory was the French King that he gave orders to spare none of the English except the Black Prince.

As at Crécy in 1346, so now in 1356 at Maupertuis the English were cornered by the French and compelled to fight when they would rather have avoided the effusion of blood. They owed their escape to the folly of the enemy and the good tactics of the Black Prince. The English army numbered seven thousand; the French at least six times as many. The Black Prince took his stand with great good sense and an eye to the terrain, upon the top of a hill sloping upward from the high road running from Poitiers to Limoges. At the foot of the hill was a hedge, through which a cart-road ran over the hill. Thus his front was screened. A marsh in the vale protected one of his flanks. On the crest the English cavalry was ranged in three "battles" or divisions, while the archers lay, belly down, behind the hedge, concealed from the enemy. The French cavalry in five "battles," two in alignment in the front, the other three in column behind them, charged for the aperture in the hedge. It was madness to think that so great a host could force its way, uphill, through so narrow a breach. Not a rider reached the opening. The long-bow men rose up and poured a withering fire of arrows into the advancing host. In a few minutes the ground in front was covered with an inextricable mass of wounded and dead men and horses, down upon which the three rear divisions pounded. Then Edward advanced his banner and charged down upon the French while the Captal de Buch, in command of the English rear-guard, made a wide detour and caught the enemy in the rear.

It was a more crushing defeat than Crécy ten years before. King John and three of his sons, two marshals, and the flower of the French nobility were captured. The number of prisoners was so great that Edward slaughtered the common soldiery for fear the battle might be renewed. Many of the lesser nobles were released on parole and promissory notes for their ransom, hundreds of which are yet preserved in the English archives. Bitter contention arose as to who was to be rewarded for the capture of the King. For prisoners of war in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were the personal possession of their captors, and John was worth a fortune. Those prisoners whom he designed to carry with him to England and to whom the Gascons laid claim the Prince bought of their captors, but those taken by the English he did not buy until they were brought safe to England. Prisoners of war who were able to pay at all mainly owed their lives to this system.

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[1] Robert of Avesbury *De gestis regis Edwardi III.* ed. E. M. Thompson (Rolls Series), introd.

Captivity of King John

From the field of his victory the Black Prince returned to Bordeaux, where, says Froissart, "he remained all winter, and there was much feasting and merriment." In the spring (1357) conqueror and conquered sailed for England. King John, as Edward III's overlord, was lodged at Windsor and was treated more as a guest than a prisoner, unlike David Bruce, the Scottish King, who had been taken at Neville's Cross and was still incarcerated in the Tower, because the Scots would not pay his ransom. Later the French King was lodged in the Savoy Palace with a retinue of servants, a liberal allowance of spending money, and leave to hunt in the royal forests. He beguiled the time in writing a treatise on hunting, for King John loved books.

Misery of France

Meantime France sank into a depth of misery the like of which the country had not seen since the ninth century. Entire provinces had been desolated, farms, villages, and towns ruined; what survived of the defenseless population was on the verge of starvation; wandering mercenaries from both armies infested the roads and preyed upon the people; the great feudal families, in whom a large part of the local government was vested, were broken and impoverished by the war; taxes were uncollectible and the government, such as it was, had no means of support. Violence, even anarchy, was almost everywhere. In this national crisis the Crown Prince Charles was the salvation of France.

Revolt of Paris (1358)

Hitherto the Paris basin, Champagne, and Burgundy in the north and Languedoc and Provence in the south had escaped the turmoil of war or its aftermath. But in 1358 double anarchy broke out in the north — the revolt of Paris under Étienne Marcel, the provost of the merchants, an office which was equivalent to that of mayor of the city, and the rebellion of the peasantry in Champagne (*Jacquerie*).

Marcel's political career began after the battle of Maupertuis (1356). The Dauphin arrived in Paris ten days after that disaster and immediately summoned a meeting of the States-General of the northern provinces (Langued'oïl). Marcel presided in this assembly, and at his instigation, for he was permeated with bold and revolutionary ideas, a commission of eighty members was appointed which demanded that the seven chief administrative officials of the crown should be dismissed, with confiscation of their property, and that the Dauphin should rule, with a council of twenty persons, of whom twelve were to be bourgeois. Upon these conditions the estates would vote a subsidy of a tenth levied upon the towns and a half upon the revenues of the clergy and nobility.

Marcel, who had seen Flanders, was imbued with the political and social ideas of the great Flemish towns. But his project was tantamount to a revolution in the French form of government and unthinkable by the Prince or the clergy and nobles. The Dauphin prorogued the estates; but for want of money he was at the mercy of the provost, who armed the industrial corporations in Paris and threatened to use force. Charles was compelled to dismiss his ministers and convene another session of the States-General (1357). Under dire pressure of this body the regent was forced to sanction a great ordinance of "reform," by which the crown renounced all right to assess taxes without consent of the estates; and was made to accept a council of thirty-six members, all of whom were anti-royalist. Immediately all the old officers of the crown were discharged, and the parlement of Paris, the courts of law, the chamber of accounts packed with Marcel's partisans. But from England King John sent word forbidding the ordinance, whose execution would have been the death of the royal prerogative. The Dauphin courageously appealed to the provinces, rightfully feeling that the findings of the States-General were not the sentiment of the realm, but the intimidation of revolutionary Paris. The provost invaded the palace of the Louvre with his armed men, followed by the mob of Paris, and murdered two of the regent's chief officials in front of the throne.

Treason of Marcel

This brutal murder was the turning-point in the career of both Marcel and the Dauphin. Hitherto Marcel had posed as a reformer; now he was shown up for what he was, an unscrupulous demagogue who would go to the length of assassination to execute his projects. The law-abiding element of Paris, the clergy, and nobles everywhere backed the Prince in the now open war between the upper middle class, sustained by the clergy and nobility, and a furious and violent Parisian democracy, which paraded through the streets wearing the red and blue colors[1] of the provost of the merchants, beating up peaceful citizens, robbing stores, rifling private houses. It was a civil war between the proletariat of the towns and the upper classes. Charles took advantage of this cleavage to call a new States-General at Compiègne, leaving Paris to Marcel, who more and more proved unable to control his violent followers. Seeing his authority slipping, the provost unsuccessfully tried to combine the revolution in Paris with the peasant revolt in Champagne, and when that failed, in desperation endeavored to betray the capital to Charles the Bad of Navarre, the renegade French Prince, who nominally was an English partisan, but actually a freebooter, who at this juncture was plundering Normandy with an army of cut-throats. Fortunately this calamity was averted by the murder of Marcel (July 31, 1358) by one of his own outraged men. Three days later Charles came back to Paris.

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[1] The origin of the French tricolor is in these two colors of Paris united with the white of the Bourbons.

Jacquerie

Simultaneously with these violent events in Paris the countryside east of Paris in Champagne and Beauvais had been the scene of that peasant revolt known in history as the Jacquerie. Peasant risings were nothing new in medieval history. What gave special horror to this one was its coincidence with the rebellion of Paris and the terrible prostration of the government in 1358. The immediate occasion of the Jacquerie is said by some historians to have been the action of the States-General of Compiègne in May of this year ordering the repair and garrison of the *châteaux* in Champagne in anticipation of renewed attack by the English, and that Étienne Marcel pointed out to the peasants that this was a pretext on the part of the nobles to enable them to strengthen their seigniorial authority, a suggestion which immediately drove them into furious insurrection. Other historians exonerate Marcel and hold that the Jacquerie was due to the horrible conduct of brigands and *routiers* who made their rendezvous in these *châteaux,* many of which were lordless and in a state of decay. Froissart, whose sympathies always were with the nobility, assigns no other motive than what was given by some of the unhappy wretches themselves, who, when asked why they did so, replied "that they did not know, but they acted as they saw others do, and they thought that they should, in such manner, destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world, that there should be no more of them."

On the other hand, another chronicler, who does not conceal his inclination in favor of Étienne Marcel and the popular party, assigns more adequate causes for the insurrection. "In the summer of 1358," says this chronicler, "the peasants who lived in the environs of St. Leu de Cherunt and Clermont, in the diocese of Beauvais, seeing the miseries which overwhelmed them on all sides, and that their lords, far from defending, oppressed them and did them more evil than their enemies, determined to rise up against the nobles of France."

Whatever the occasion, the cause was the terrible suffering of the peasantry, which at last drove them to frantic and fearful reprisal. With home-made weapons improvised out of scythes and billhooks, and clad in home-made leathern armor, the peasants organized in bands and deluged the countryside with fire and blood. The reddest spot was the valley of the Oise. If the towns had cast in their lot with the insurrectionary peasants instead of adhering to the cause of the Dauphin, the situation would have been formidable. For then the rebellion of Paris under Marcel would have grown into a general revolution. Within two months (May–June) the movement was pitilessly crushed, as was inevitable. The victims of the repression exceeded twenty thousand. Much as one sympathizes with the sufferings and wrongs of the peasantry, made all the worse by the war, in the straits in which France was after the disaster of 1356, such a violent outburst could not be tolerated. The country was too near dissolution to permit the spread of anarchy.

English renewal of invasion (1359)

Finally, to complete the woe of France, in 1359 Edward III again invaded France. From Calais he swept around in a great ellipse of devastation whose long axis extended from Reims to Chartres. But the hardships of a winter campaign made through a country where parts had not been tilled for three years, told upon the invader also. Edward III high-handedly plundered the region around Cambrai (which he held of the Empire, whose ruler was his ally) for food on the pretext that the inhabitants sympathized with the French. As wanton, too, was the English destruction of churches everywhere, so much so that Innocent VI made sharp protest. The sole retaliation the French made for all this damage was the sack of Winchelsea. The English were so sure of their command of the sea that they forgot the French corsairs operating in the Channel. A great storm on April 13, "as if the world had come to an end," combined with the epizoötic, which swept away six thousand horses of the English, at last persuaded Edward III that it was time to make peace.

Treaty of Brétigny (1360)

As for France, Charles had long since realized that peace at any price was necessary for his stricken country. On May 8, 1360 at Brétigny,[1] near Chartres, peace was signed. The most important territorial stipulations were: that England was henceforward to possess without obligation of feudal allegiance to the crown of France the southwestern provinces of Guienne, Saintonge, Agenais, Périgord, Limousin, Cahors, Tarbes, Bigorre, Gaure, Angoumois, and Rouergue; in the north the town and "Pale" of Calais, the seigneury of Marck, and the counties of Guisnes and Ponthieu; and that the county of Poitou, which France had acquired in 1259, was to be retroceded to England. This was the bitterest sacrifice required of France. The Poitevins were intensely French. The sailors of Rochelle had fought the enemy on the sea since the inception of the great war. The Rochellois hotly protested against this transfer and for more than a year held out against English entrance into their city, and then gave in only on condition of generous commercial privileges, and with the saving proviso that "their hearts remained French." In return Edward III contracted to renounce the title of king of France and all claim to the French throne.

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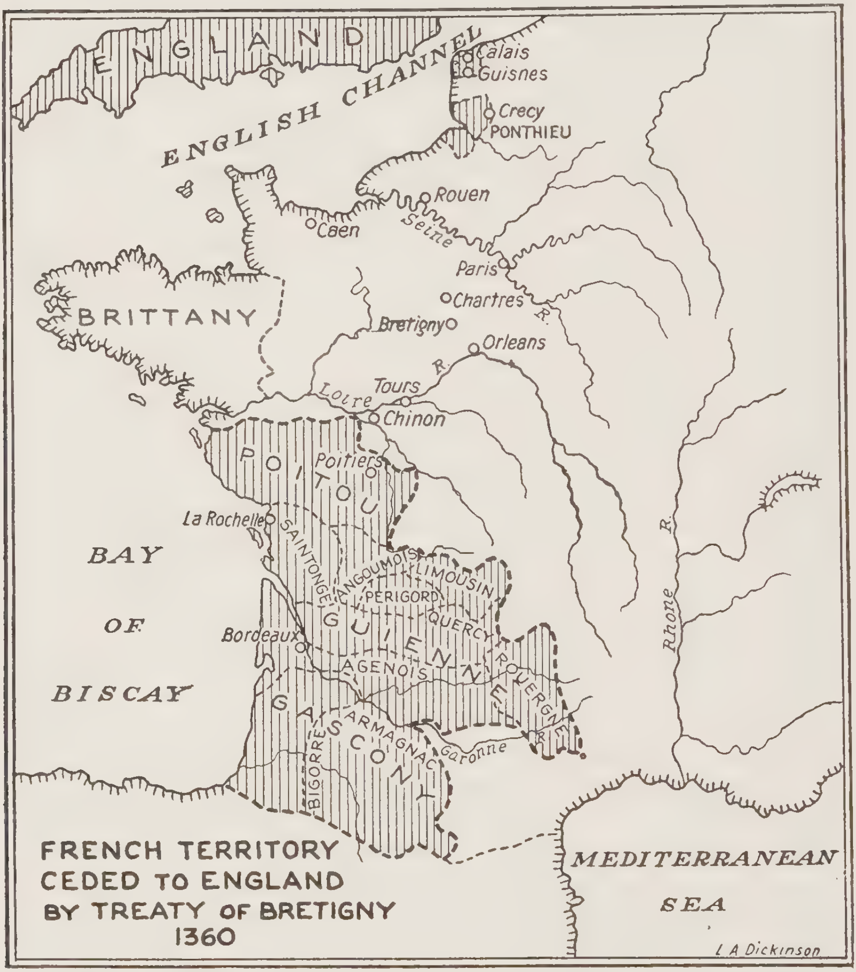
[1] The preliminary treaty was concluded between the Dauphin and the Prince of Wales, for a king could treat only with a king — and King John was a prisoner.

The ransom of King John was a heavy burden for France. The price of his liberation was fixed at three million gold crowns (*écus d'or*), each crown being reckoned at thirteen shillings, fourpence, so that the total sum was estimated to amount to one million, five hundred thousand pounds in English currency. Of this huge sum six hundred thousand crowns were payable within four months, the rest in installments over a series of years.[1] Fifty-one nobles, including the captured princes, were retained in England as hostages for eventual payment, but John


FRENCH TERRITORY CEDED TO ENGLAND BY TREATY OF BRETIGNY 1360

ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Calais
Guisnes
Crecy
PONTHIEU
Rouen
Seine
Caen
Paris
Chartres
R.
BRITTANY
Bretigny
Orleans
Tours
R.
Loire
Chinon
POITOU
Poitiers
La Rochelle
SAINTONGE
ANGOUMOIS
LIMOUSIN
PERIGORD
QUERCY
GUIENNE
Bordeaux
AGENOIS
ROUERGUE
R.
GASCONY
ARMAGNAC
BIGORRE
Garonne
BAY OF BISCAY
Rhone R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
L A Dickinson

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[1] Of the entire sum demanded for the French King's ransom, less than one-half, 720,700 crowns only, was paid.

was released in July and returned to France with sixteen wagon-loads of luggage.

Each party to the treaty engaged to renounce all alliances that it had made during the war. Thus the French renounced alliance with Scotland; England with the Flemings and the German Emperor. The question of the Breton succession was to be settled by special negotiation, and a joint commission was established to determine title to the border fortresses between the French and the English provinces, which had changed hands so often in the struggle that no man knew to which power many of them pertained.

The definitive treaty was executed on October 24, 1361. The dinners and festivities, the jousts and tournaments, the entertainments in London and Calais, the pledges of mutual accord, which accompanied these negotiations covered a latent, still smoldering enmity between the two nations. The Treaty of Brétigny was destined within seven years to become " a scrap of paper."

It was fortunate for France in this distress that the direction of the government was still in the competent hands of the Dauphin. King John had speedily returned to golden captivity again. For when Louis of Anjou, one of the French princes who had been left in England as security for the payment of his father's ransom, took French leave and came home in violation of his parole, King John, who had no stomach for the difficult job of governing his desolated country and really longed for the gilded leisure that he had enjoyed in the Savoy Palace, rhetorically announced that " were good faith and honor vanished from the rest of the world, such virtues ought still to find their room in the breast of kings," and went back to England to gamble and hunt and race horses, and there John le Bon, that happy-go-lucky, feather-headed, debonair, self-indulgent, worthless King of France died in 1364.

The treaty of Brétigny brought a cessation of foreign invasion. But peace had its evils no less than war. Thousands of the soldiery of each army, who for years had battened on the war, when discharged from service by their governments, refused to lay down their arms and abandon their calling. The French provinces were soon filled with these ruffians, who were organized bands of brigands, the " free companies," under command of English, French, Gascon, and Flemish captains. These brutes devastated the countryside, ravaged villages and towns, and held priests, merchants, and common folk for ransom, whom they murdered if payment was not forthcoming. Among the most notorious of these captains were Sir Walter Manny, a Fleming long in the English service, and the notorious Sir John Hawkwood.

The companies consisted of men from all countries and classes. There were Gascons, English, Bretons, Hungarians, Italians, Hainaulters, *Ravages of the free companies*

and Germans. In 1361 there were as many as sixteen thousand men in the companies. Some of these were large and well-organized bodies. The White Company, which originated in France, but which later found service in Italy, had, besides the men-at-arms, farriers, harness-makers, coopers, butchers, doctors, cooks, clerks, who kept the accounts and saw that safe conduct was rendered to ransomed prisoners, and lawyers, who prepared the contracts and attended to "legal" business.

The company was usually composed of horsemen and foot-soldiers. The foot-soldiers were, as a rule, English archers. They were armed with long-bows, long arrows, swords, and heavy knives. They wore a fine coat of mail, called a *brigantin*. The ravages committed by the men wearing this armor gave the meaning to our present word "brigand." They carried with them ladders in separate pieces of four parts which fitted together and enabled them to scale walls. They fought almost invariably on foot, leaving their horses in charge of varlets. The companies preferred to make raids on the open country rather than on fortified places. They would fall on a little hamlet suddenly, perhaps at midnight, torture the peasants to make them reveal the hiding-places of their little hordes, kill their children before their eyes, and lead their wives and daughters away as captives. The cattle were killed except for what they needed for food. The standing grain was mowed and taken away if the company had use for it; if not, the fields and the village were fired. The clergy even was not safe. Churches were pillaged and priests put to the same tortures as common people. The Pope himself was three times forced to give money to buy the companies off. Excommunications were useless.

In the period following Poitiers, all France was divided among them. Sir Regnald de Cevole, a Gascon by birth, known as the archpriest, was one of the first leaders of the free companies. He made a raid through Provence and came to the very gates of Avignon. The Pope was so alarmed that he made a treaty with the archpriest, giving him forty thousand crowns to withdraw and full absolution to all of the companies. The King of Navarre and many pillagers under his name ravaged all parts of the kingdom, especially Picardy, the Île-de-France, and Champagne, and obtained control of the Seine both above and below Paris. They seized the fortresses of Creil, Le Herelle, near Amiens, and Manconseil, near Noyon, and from these three places did irreparable damage to the kingdom. One of the most famous leaders under the King of Navarre was the Captal de Buch, who had been in the service of the Black Prince. The Irish and English captains Derry, Franklin, and Hawkins or Hawkwood, as he was more commonly known, pillaged the northern counties. Champagne was ravaged by the English knights Sir Peter Dudley and Sir Eustace d'Abrecourt; Sir Robert Knolles ravaged Normandy. Later he set forth from Normandy with two thousand combatants, ascended the Loire, and entered Berry and laid waste that country. In Auvergne he was met by an army raised against him, but he feared an open engagement.

Constable Bertrand Du Guesclin

Charles V realized that the first necessity of his country was to rid it of the free companies. He found the man to do it in Bertrand Du Guesclin, a small Breton noble who had been bred up by years of warfare in the peninsula, whose prowess was known to all France — a stalwart, hard-hitting, hard-boiled soldier, schooled by the toughest military experience, and withal as loyal as a bulldog. Well did Du Guesclin serve his royal master. Brittany had been a field-square for so many years, and local feeling between French and English partisans had run so high, that a patriotic sentiment had been born in Brittany the like of which can be found nowhere else in France of the same degree at this time. Fortunately for France, the Breton war of succession, which had been waged for twenty-three years, was terminated in 1364 by the battle of Auray, in which Charles of Blois was killed, an event that opened the way to the Treaty of Guérande in the next year, which assured the succession to the lineage of the rival Montfort family.

Auray was technically an English victory. Practically it was an English defeat; for the settlement resulted in an exodus from Brittany of a large number of the defeated partisans, who sought service in the King's army. Among these the most distinguished was Bertrand who was made constable or chief commander of the French army, the core of which was composed of loyal Bretons. With this small but thoroughly disciplined array Du Guesclin proceeded to make war relentlessly upon the free companies. Sir Walter Manny went home to England with the spoil he had gathered, to become an English country gentleman in his retirement, and before his death squared himself with the devil by leaving his fortune to the Church. Sir John Hawkwood found France too hot for him and betook himself over the Alps to Italy with his following, where he was the first of those famous *condottieri* or soldiers of fortune of the Italian Renaissance. He died as lord of Bagnacavallo and Cotignola.

Statesmanship of Charles V (1364–80)

Meanwhile Charles V labored for the recovery of the realm. The Valois dynasty, with the exceptions of Charles V, Louis XI, and Francis I, is not a distinguished dynasty in French history. All the rulers of this house except these three were either vain and frivolous, or weak or cruel or depraved. Charles V has come down in history as the " Wise " and deserves the epithet. He was not a warrior, although he waged successful war. He had nothing of the foolish romanticism of the decadent chivalry of the time. Instead, he was a cabinet king, sitting at his desk in the Louvre, poring over state papers, diplomatic notes, ordinances, and appointments, watching every movement of his government, aware of everything happening in his realm. He was a forerunner of the "practical" politics of the Renaissance, a precursor of those, no longer feudal, but national monarchs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Prudent, attentive, patient, and shrewd, Charles V drew around him able officials of like mind with himself. From his council chamber issued ordinance after ordinance for the reconstruction of France. Repair and policing of the roads, promotion of markets and trade, speedy and strict justice, honest money, economy instead of waste, taxation sufficient to furnish the government with the means to renovate the ruined country and equip a new army, but without the old abuses and privileges — these were Charles V's purposes. He organized the *chambre du trésor* or treasury chamber, by adopting the fiscal system devised by the States-General; the nine *surintendants généraux* and their subordinates (*élus*) became royal officials instead of officials of the États-généraux and collected the old feudal aids and newly invented taxes for the King, to whom alone they were responsible. Thus the monarchy became stronger than before. Charles V established a householder's tax called the *fouage,* from the fact that it was levied on hearths; he reserved as royal the right to grant municipal charters or grants of nobility — for a fee; he made the bishops liable to French law for all save offenses of canon law; he divided the kingdom into revenue districts and abolished the ancient feudal and manorial tolls and in their stead laid *douanes* or tariffs upon the transit of goods from one district to another; he created a new army, a new fleet, a merchant marine. Finally, Charles V was the first King of France with scholarly interests; he himself had been a student at the University of Paris, the privileges of which he enlarged. He was a lover of books and, when he died, bequeathed 950 manuscripts to the Royal Library, an enormous library for that time. The earliest gleams of the Italian Renaissance beyond the Alps are to be seen at Charles V's court.

This frail and sickly but highly intelligent King of France for years bent every effort to restore and resuscitate his country against the day of renewed war with England. For his heart was set upon the union of the English fiefs in France with the crown, the incorporation of all the peoples speaking the French language under French sway. It was a national as well as a monarchical cause to which the King was pledged.

In so far as possible, however, Charles V was determined to keep the impending conflict off of French soil, and circumstances for a time, at least, favored this intention. Scotland, Flanders, and Germany had already been drawn into the vortex of the war between England and France. It was now the turn of Castile. The chain of circumstances which induced this event has little of the dignity of history, but the circumstances, nevertheless, are not without importance. Across the Pyrenees the kings of Aragon and Castile had made steady territorial progress against the Moors

Spain

in the thirteenth century, but each King nevertheless clung to the territories which he held north of the Pyrenees. Aragon's claims had been relinquished, as we have seen, in 1286. But Castile still asserted a claim to Gascony, derived from an alleged gift of the province to Castile by Henry II when his daughter Eleanor married Alfonso III. She had lived with him for forty-three years and died of grief when he died (1214). France and England were rivals for political ascendancy in Castile. This explains why Louis VIII of France married the Princess Blanche of Castile. It also explains why, in the next generation, Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I of England, married, in 1254, Eleanor of Castile, a sister of Alfonso IV — one of the few clever things done by Henry III. "The union provided a surer frontier between the two states than troops or treaties could ever give."[1] The negotiations of Edward III in the years 1342–4 to obtain the hand of a Castilian king for his daughter fill pages of the official correspondence of his reign. The Princess Joan was betrothed to Peter, Prince of Castile, but she died in 1348. The alliance between the Black Prince and Pedro the Cruel was not the result of an impulse of chivalry, as Froissart represents. Mutual support of the English and Castilian dynasties was a firm tradition of both houses.

Pedro the Cruel (1334–69) of Castile had five illegitimate brothers, born of his father's mistress, Leonor de Guzmán, of whom the eldest was Don Enrico, or Henry Trastamara, as he is better known. These brothers were the nucleus of a faction of nobles hostile to Pedro. In 1353 Pedro married a French princess of the Bourbon family, and related to the royal family, but immediately abandoned her for another mistress and persuaded the bishops of Salamanca and Avila to nullify the marriage. It was an affront to France, but France was in no position to resent it during these years. The faction of the nobles, however, led by Henry Trastamara, revolted, and for four years (1357–61) there was civil war in Castile, which terminated in the subjugation of the rebels and the flight of many of them to the French court, where they clamored for French intervention.

French intervention in Castile

Charles V saw in French intervention the means to acquire French ascendancy in Castile and thereby to get Guienne and Gascony between the jaws of a vise. An added motive was that war in the peninsula would enable Du Guesclin, his constable, to recruit all the residue of the free companies, many of whom still vexed the provinces, and to get them out of France. It was a policy so practical that it seems almost cynical. There was even some grim humor attached to it. Some of this licentious soldiery rejoiced at the prospect; others were more reluctant to abandon easy pickings in France for an arduous expedition across the Pyrenees and a hard campaign over the dry and stony plains of Castile, and demanded money in advance. The King had no money, but the French Pope at Avignon was rich. Already before this some of these marauders had compelled the Pope to pay good gold under threat of invading his dominions. Bertrand was a good Christian, but a better soldier, and sent word to Urban V that he was in need of a great sum of money, backing up the request by appearing with this army of ruffian soldiery upon the edge of the papal territory. The Pope sent a cardinal, " who would rather have been chanting mass," to threaten them with excommunication. Bertrand and the Maréchal d'Audreham met the Cardinal " with due courtesy," but there were many others " who would rather have robbed him of his clothes." The hard-boiled French commanders scoffed at the idea of excommunication and reiterated the demand for money. The Cardinal returned to the Pope with the word: " These ruffians have burned many churches and many fine dwellings, slain women and children, violated maidens and dames of high lineage, stolen horses, cattle, and sheep, purloined many jewels and chalices of churches and much gold, silver, copper, and brass. So they beg for pardon of their sins and the sum of two hundred thousand gold pieces." The Pope could plainly see from the windows of his great palace the foraging parties of the free companies stripping the countryside, and, as he expressed it, " taking much pains to go to the devil." It was not a moment for argument. He paid up.

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[1] Burrows, Montagu, *The Family of Brocas de Beaurepaire,* p. 24.

Black Prince and Pedro the Cruel

Having wind of the approach of the French, Pedro the Cruel turned to the Black Prince for aid and sent to him as a present the world-famous ruby still among the crown jewels of England. Interest and ambition tempted the Black Prince to intervene in Spain, although the folly of it was perceived by some of his counselors. The most eminent of these was Sir John Chandos, a native Aquitanian and long a loyal servitor of Edward III, who had fought at Crécy, Poitiers, and Auray, where he captured Bertrand, and who in 1361 was made king's lieutenant in France. When the Black Prince was made viceroy of the English provinces in France, in 1362, Chandos became constable of Aquitaine. He was a wise, honest, and fearless counselor, but one whom the Prince disliked.

Maladministration of the Black Prince in Guienne and Gascony

The reason for this lay in Chandos's objection to the regent's policy. In his new capacity the Black Prince had set up at Bordeaux a state and a court of great magnificence, which entailed new and heavy taxation upon provinces that already had borne the heavier share of the cost in blood and treasure of the campaign of 1356. Furthermore, in the arduous task of making Aquitaine, under its new conditions, an orderly and well-governed principality, the Prince adopted a wrong policy. The long rule of England in Guienne and Gascony had resulted in the varied training of a large number of officials recruited from the native noble families, for " posts which none could possibly fill so well as men of the same blood and language with the people of the new principality."[1] But instead of appointing such men to office the Prince passed them over and appointed Englishmen, job-hunters and office-seekers, among them the hungry relatives of his wife, Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, who swarmed over sea to Bordeaux in droves. Naturally the native baronage was offended. Moreover, Edward established a new court of appeal to supersede the old "appeal" to the king of France. This *cour de supériorité* or *cour de ressort* took the form of a sort of English assizes or judicial "Grands Jours," held in the principal cities of Aquitaine. Tact and statesmanship were required to make such changes. But instead of understanding their feelings and being considerate of local prejudices, the Prince offended those whom he ought to have favored and conciliated. Sir John Chandos knew and understood this rancor and vainly endeavored to moderate the Prince's policy. He pointed out that a campaign in Spain would require more taxation and inspire more disaffection. But "the rougher military counsels of the Prince's English officers had now superseded the Anglo-Gascon influence."[2]

Battle of Nájera (1367)

The Black Prince would not listen to advice. He was avid for more military glory. In the spring of 1367 he entered Castile and on April 3 won the battle of Nájera over the French under Du Guesclin, who for the second time was made a prisoner, but for whom the French King soon gladly paid a huge ransom. It was a bootless victory, for Henry Trastamara shortly afterwards assassinated his brother Pedro and secured the throne, with the result that French political influence was ascendant in Castile. In vain Edward III's second son, John of Gaunt, was married to a daughter of Pedro with the hope of neutralizing that ascendancy.

Signs of rebellion in the English provinces in France

Meantime in Gascony and Guienne things were going from bad to worse. The nobles were sullen; the people of the towns were angry over excessive taxation, especially the hearth-tax (*fouage*). Worst of all, Charles V was well aware of this sentiment of disaffection and secretly fomented it by agents who deftly scattered French gold among the malcontents. Charles V and the constable had adroitly planned for a renewal of the war with England. To this end the French army had been reorganized; it was well commanded; the treasury was empty no longer; the country both agriculturally and commercially was prosperous; France had recovered from the terrible condition of ten years before. In anticipation of war again, the government had strongly walled and fortified the cities of the central provinces to make them capable of withstanding siege.

Renewal of war (1369)

Finally in 1369, when all was ready, a number of Gascon nobles came to Paris, where they lodged complaint in the king's court against the Black Prince for misgovernment. The King summoned Edward to appear as his "vassal." The Prince furiously rejoined that he was no vassal of France and pointed to the terms of the Treaty of Brétigny. Charles V suavely replied that if the Prince would read the text of that settlement, he would discover that there was a clause in it to the effect that the treaty was not to be fully in force unless and until every provision of it had been settled, and reminded the Prince that John II's ransom was not yet entirely paid, nor was the question of the border fortresses yet resolved. The far-sighted Charles had deliberately inserted a "joker" in the treaty, which the English had failed to perceive the import of. French diplomacy had protected the legality of the French position and put the onus of renewing the war upon England. It was masterly.

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[1] Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[2] Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

When the Black Prince failed to put in his appearance before the Parlement of Paris, Guienne was declared confiscated to the French crown. Simultaneously the French arms radiated in all directions. The Count of Saint-Pol and the Duke de Châtillon occupied Ponthieu; the dukes of Anjou and Berry marched into Guienne; a rebellion was fomented in Quercy; the Duke of Burgundy protected Normandy from English invasion. In order to frustrate English penetration into Flanders the last was married to the daughter of the Count of Flanders, which united Burgundy and Flanders and determined French control in the Low Countries. The Franco-Scottish alliance was renewed between Charles V and Robert Bruce, the Scottish King.[1]

Sack of Limoges (1371)

Du Guesclin destroyed some English forces that had entered Picardy and then marched southward to encounter the Black Prince, who had invaded the Limousin. He was too late to relieve Limoges, which after a long siege was compelled to yield. The "chivalrous" Black Prince gave quarter to the French knights, but in his fury put the whole population to the edge of the sword, not even sparing women and children. It was his last victory. He wasted the countryside in his mad marches and burned many hamlets and villages; but the peasant population had fled with their goods and cattle into the walled towns, which were well stocked with provisions. Du Guesclin, avoiding pitched battle, dogged the English army, picking up stragglers and intercepting foraging parties, for the English, having devastated the country, were soon reduced nearly to starvation. Finally, to fill the cup of English defeat to the brim, a Castilian fleet destroyed an English fleet off La Rochelle (June 23, 1372), and De Montfort was driven from Brittany (1373).

Death of Edward III (1377)

In April 1373 the Black Prince, broken in health, gave up his command and returned to England. In February 1374 a truce was concluded, to last until May 1, 1375, when it was prolonged to 1377, but it was ill observed, and Gascony meanwhile was almost entirely overrun by the

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[1] David II, since his capture at Neville's Cross, had become so English in sympathy that after his release, in 1357, he tried to secure the Scottish succession for his nephew, the Duke of Clarence, but the Scottish Parliament rejected the proposal and elected his nephew Robert Bruce instead. He was the first king of the house of Stuart.

French. When the truce expired at Edward III's death (June 21, 1377), Charles V renewed hostilities. The French admiral Jean de Vienne ravaged the south coast of England; Du Guesclin occupied all Guienne and Gascony except the Bordelais; Oliver de Clisson, destined to be the constable's successor in the next reign and, like him, a Breton, drove the last remnant of English partisans out of Brittany. France had come back with vigor and power. When in the summer of 1380 Charles V and his great constable Du Guesclin both died, they could truly say that they had fought a good fight and kept faith with the nation.

French recovery

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CHAPTER XXXII

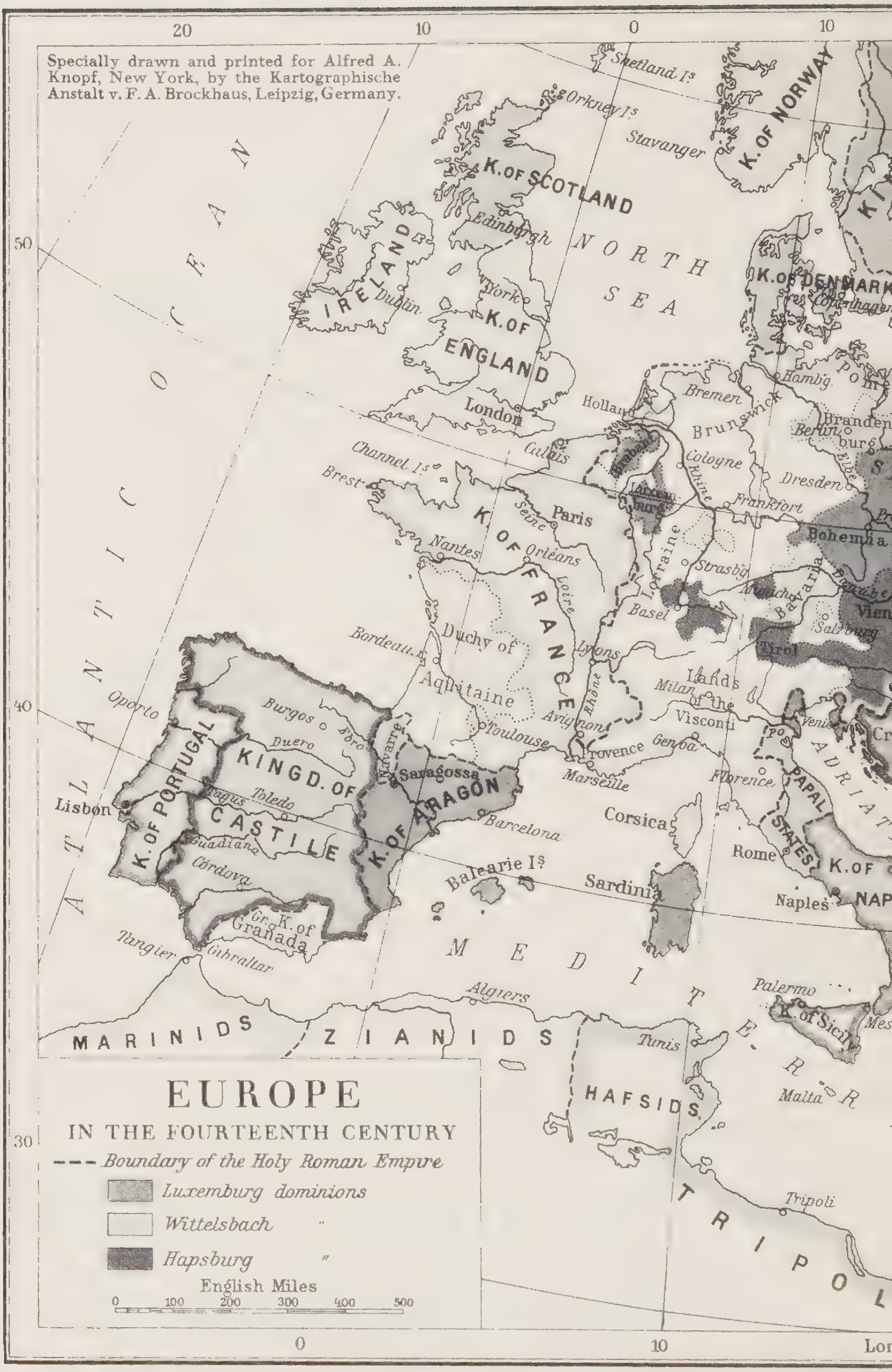
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Confused nature of later medieval German history

The character of German history in the period that extends from the end of the Interregnum in 1273 to the end of the fifteenth century — we may take the accession of the Emperor Maximilian in 1493 as the term — is very confused. The old tribal duchies had vanished. Frederick I had rent Saxony asunder and sliced Bavaria down, while everywhere the tendency of vassals of the second rank to territorialize their power and localize their authority had operated to disintegrate the duchies. Even the ancient ducal title disappeared in Franconia and Swabia. On the ruins of the duchies arose a crowd of margraves, landgraves, counts, and small barons, one and all of whom became dynasts, each of whom struggled to aggrandize his house-power (*Hausmacht*) by every means — war, marriage, purchase. The great German bishops differed no whit from this turbulent baronage in policy. They regarded their dioceses as independent fiefs and struggled to enlarge their episcopal possessions as ruthlessly as their lay neighbors. The sole difference between the two classes was that the bishops could not establish hereditary houses; but they were no less princely, no less warlike, no less avaricious of wealth and power. Only in eastern Germany, in Austria and Brandenburg, were the bishops still dependent upon the rulers.

This political and territorial division tended continually to greater extreme owing to the vicious practice of the lay nobles of partitioning their house lands equally among their sons, the title also passing to *each* son, instead of concentrating the lands and authority of the house in the hands of the eldest son, as in France, where the law of primogeniture saved France from being dissolved into a chaos of jarring atoms like Germany. Among this swarm of nobles those who were immediate vassals were superior to the others and were designated as "princes." The number varied. In the fourteenth century it was about thirty. Each of these nobles enjoyed the feudal rights of justice, taxation, coinage, and market, and made war and peace as he pleased or was compelled. The effect was to partition the German kingdom into hundreds of principalities, some of which were large, like the margraviates of Austria and Brandenburg and the County Palatine of the Rhine, but most of which were small and ever inclining to become smaller. The result was that the map of Germany in these centuries resembles a crazy quilt or piece of spatter-work.

The territorial dissolution was greater in western Germany than in

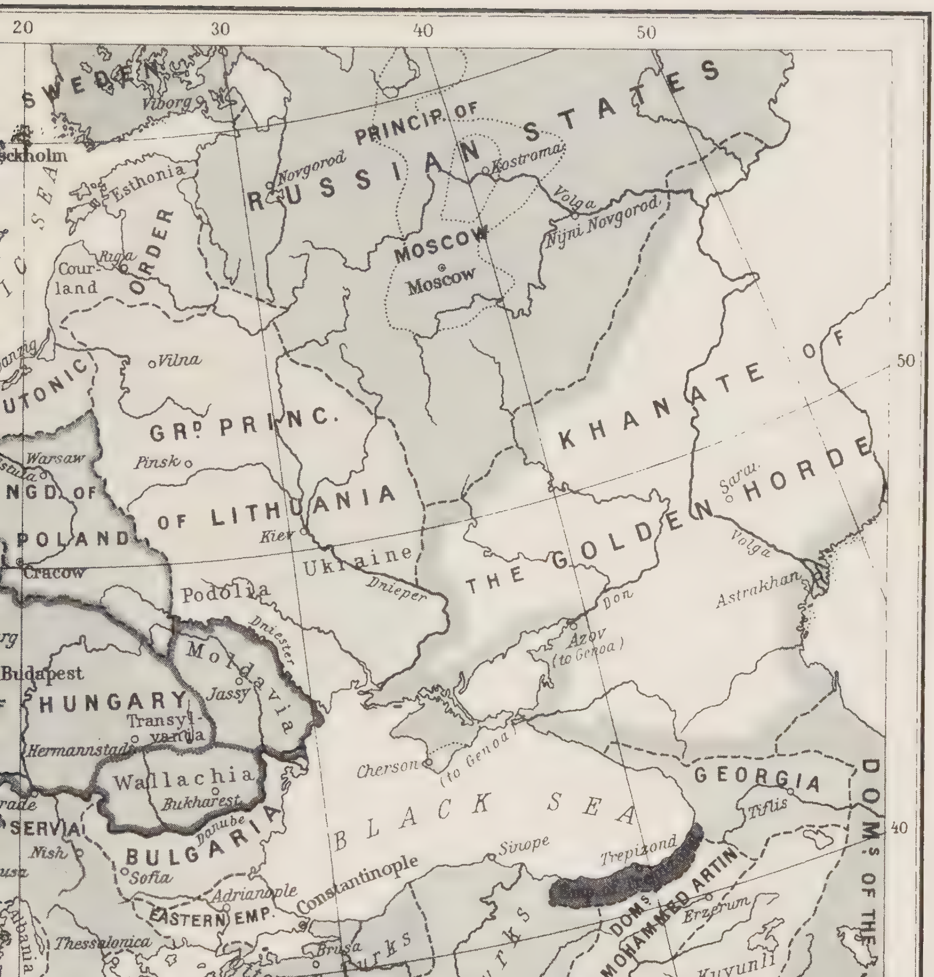


Specially drawn and printed for Alfred A. Knopf, New York, by the Kartographische Anstalt v. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, Germany.

EUROPE

IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

--- Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
▨ Luxemburg dominions
☐ Wittelsbach "
■ Hapsburg "
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
20
10
0
10
50
40
30
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Shetland Is
Orkney Is
Stavanger
K. OF NORWAY
K. OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Dublin
York
K. OF ENGLAND
London
K. OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
Hambg.
Bremen
Holland
Brunswick
Brandenburg
Berlin
Elbe
Calais
Cologne
Rhine
Dresden
Frankfort
Luxemburg
Channel Is
Brest
Paris
Seine
Bohemia
Lorraine
Strasbg
Nantes
Orléans
K. OF FRANCE
Loire
Basel
Munich
Bavaria
Danube
Vienna
Salzburg
Tirol
Bordeaux
Duchy of Aquitaine
Lyons
Lands of the Visconti
Milan
Venice
Oporto
Burgos
Ebro
Duero
KINGD. OF CASTILE
Toledo
Tagus
Lisbon
K. OF PORTUGAL
Guadiana
Córdova
Navarre
Saragossa
K. OF ARAGON
Barcelona
Toulouse
Avignon
Rhône
Provence
Genoa
Marseille
Po
Florence
PAPAL STATES
Corsica
Rome
Sardinia
Balearic Is
K. OF NAPLES
Naples
ADRIATIC
Gr. K. of Granada
Gibraltar
Tangier
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
MARINIDS
ZIANIDS
Tunis
HAFSIDS
Palermo
K. of Sicily
Malta
Tripoli
TRIPOLI
0
10


20
30
40
50
SWEDEN
Viborg
Stockholm
Esthonia
ORDER
Riga
Courland
PRINCIP. OF
RUSSIAN STATES
Novgorod
Kostroma
Volga
Nijni Novgorod
MOSCOW
Moscow
Danzig
TEUTONIC
Vilna
GRD. PRINC.
OF LITHUANIA
Pinsk
Warsaw
Vistula
KINGD. OF
POLAND
Cracow
Kiev
Ukraine
Dnieper
Podolia
Dniester
Moldavia
Jassy
Budapest
HUNGARY
Transylvania
Hermannstadt
Wallachia
Bukharest
Danube
SERVIA
Nish
BULGARIA
Sofia
Adrianople
EASTERN EMP.
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Albania
Janina
D. of Athens
Pr. of Achaia
Modon (to Venice)
Chios (to Genoa)
Smyrna
Brusa
Ottoman Turks
Seljuk Turks
Adalia
Rhodes
Crete (to Venice)
Cyprus
KHANATE OF
THE GOLDEN HORDE
Sarai
Volga
Astrakhan
Don
Azov (to Genoa)
Cherson (to Genoa)
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Trebizond
Emp. of Trebizond
GEORGIA
Tiflis
DOMS. OF MOHAMMED ARTIN
Erzerum
ARMENIA
Kara Kuyunli
Turkomans
Mosul
Tigris
Euphrates
Aleppo
Bagdad
DOMS. OF THE JALAYRS
Beirut
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
SULTANATES
MAMELUKE
Barca
Alexandria
Cairo
Arabia
EAN SEA
50
40
30
20 of Greenwich
30
40

the east. Near the French frontier the dismemberment resulted in the formation of petty principalities, which in the sixteenth century were united to form the Dutch Republic. These territories were Holland, Brabant, Nassau, Zealand, Guelderland, and Luxemburg. The largest and greatest states were in the east, in that "new" Germany which had been created by the eastward expansion of the German people and conquest of the Slavs. These two states were Brandenburg and Austria. Lesser half-German, half-Slav states were Mecklenburg, Silesia, Pomerania, which inclined towards Brandenburg; and Moravia, which inclined towards Austria. These tendencies were due to proximity. In many of these states the old families survived and continued to rule. This is notably true of Mecklenburg and Bavaria, whose medieval houses survived to 1918. Yet the making of Germany in the last centuries of the Middle Ages fell largely to new families like the Habsburgs, the Luxemburgers, and the Hohenzollerns. Quite apart from these ecclesiastical and feudal principalities were the free cities, which were sovereign urban communities.

Lack of territorial and political unity

As the German kingdom in these centuries had no territorial or political unity and no single ruling dynasty — in which it affords a suggestive contrast with France — there was no common event in which Germany was interested, no common policy to guide it. "The German dynastic conflicts of the period are as unimportant as they are unedifying."[1] There are many accounts of such feuds, curious, romantic, dramatic, legendary. Since there is no red thread running through German history in this epoch, the most practical course to understand the period is to select certain major events. These are (1) the rise of the Habsburgs, (2) the reign of the Emperor Ludwig IV, (3) the reign of Charles IV and the establishment of the electoral college in 1356 by the Golden Bull, (4) the rise of the Hohenzollern house in Brandenburg, (5) the formation of Switzerland, (6) the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights, (7) the history of the Hanseatic league.

Major events

Rise of the Habsburgs

Habsburg is a locality in the canton of Aargau in German Switzerland, where the ancient castle of the house may yet be seen. In the Middle Ages the territory was a part of southern Swabia. The lineage of the family has been traced back as far as the tenth century, but the earliest official act of the house is dated October 11, 1064. The Habsburgs owed their early fortune to Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century, who conferred the landgraviate of Alsace, the county of Zurich, and the "protection" of the monasteries of Seckingen and Murbach upon them. In the first half of the next century the power of the house was extended over the Aargau, the Sundgau, Breisgau, Schwyz, and many other monasteries also in the Alpine region. When the Emperor Frederick II died, in 1250, Rudolf of Habsburg vainly endeavored to acquire the duchy of Swabia, but the

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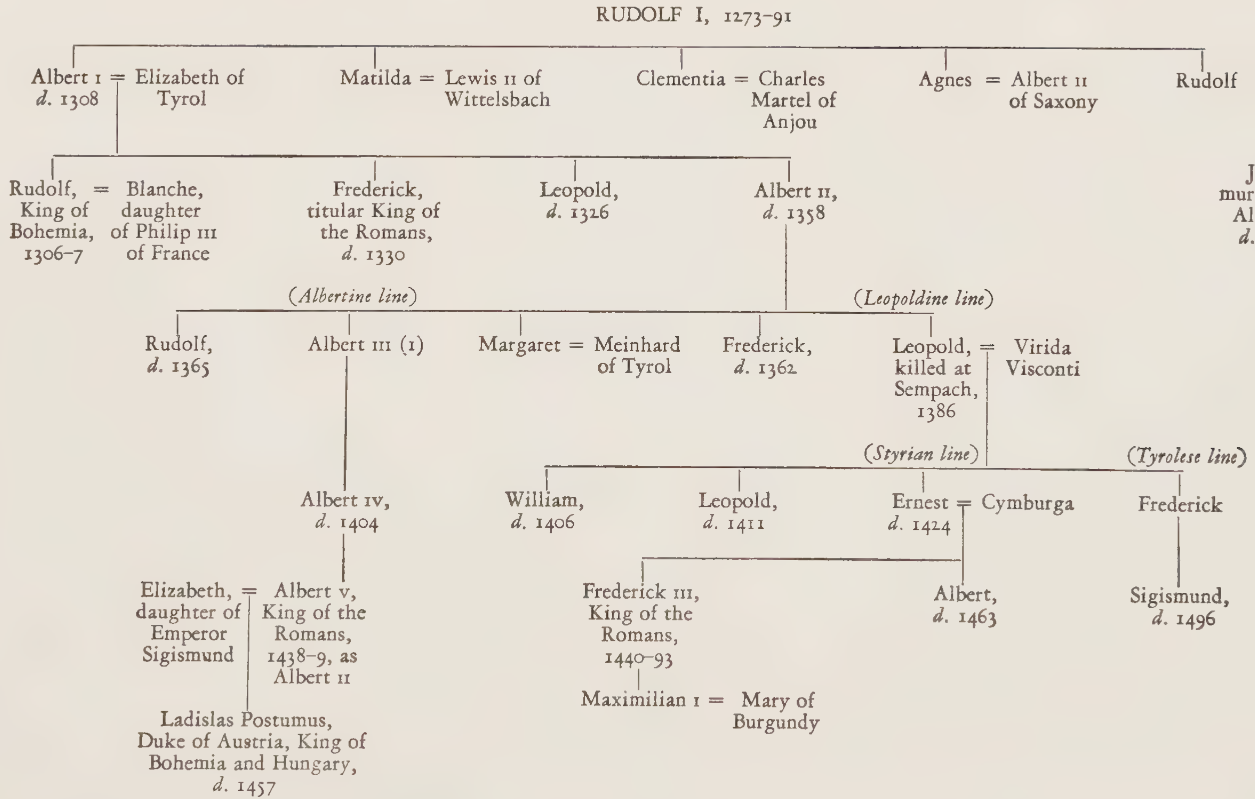
[1] Emerton, E., *Beginnings of Modern Europe, preface,* p. x.

THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG


RUDOLF I, 1273–91
Albert I = Elizabeth of Tyrol
d. 1308
Matilda = Lewis II of Wittelsbach
Clementia = Charles Martel of Anjou
Agnes = Albert II of Saxony
Rudolf = Agnes, daughter of Ottocar
Rudolf, King of Bohemia, 1306–7 = Blanche, daughter of Philip III of France
Frederick, titular King of the Romans, d. 1330
Leopold, d. 1326
Albert II, d. 1358
John, murderer of Albert I, d. 1313
(Albertine line)
(Leopoldine line)
Rudolf, d. 1365
Albert III (1)
Margaret = Meinhard of Tyrol
Frederick, d. 1362
Leopold, killed at Sempach, 1386 = Virida Visconti
(Styrian line)
(Tyrolese line)
Albert IV, d. 1404
William, d. 1406
Leopold, d. 1411
Ernest = Cymburga
d. 1424
Frederick
Elizabeth, daughter of Emperor Sigismund = Albert V, King of the Romans, 1438–9, as Albert II
Frederick III, King of the Romans, 1440–93
Albert, d. 1463
Sigismund, d. 1496
Maximilian I = Mary of Burgundy
Ladislas Postumus, Duke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, d. 1457

(1) — The Habsburg territories were divided between Albert III and his brother Leopold, the former taking Austria, and the latter the rest. Of the sons of Leopold, Ernest succeeded to Styria and Carinthia, Frederick to Tyrol and the lands in Swabia. The Albertine line became extinct with the death of Ladislas Postumus, when Austria passed to Frederick III, and the latter's son, Maximilian I, reunited all the territories of the house.

opposition of the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the Count of Württemberg foiled him.

Then, in 1273, came the great fortune of his election as emperor, with which the Interregnum terminated. It is true that the imperial title at this time had more dignity than power. The royal right of taxation had been lost in 1232. The crown lands had been so lavishly given away by the last Hohenstaufen, or impudently appropriated by land-hungry barons and bishops during the Interregnum, that there were but shreds and patches of them left. Nevertheless the Emperor still preserved the right to appoint his burgrave in cities that were upon the royal domain, and the old feudal laws of escheat and forfeiture were still enforceable by the crown. The exercise of these two rights is the root of the success of the Habsburgs. Thus Austria was acquired in 1278.

Formation of Austria

At the time that the Habsburg family acquired possession of the duchy of Austria, that territory had already had a long and interesting history, stretching back into the tenth century. At some time prior to 976 Otto II had granted to a certain Leopold, a member of the Franconian house of Babenberg, the territory then called the Bavarian Ostmark. It was an almost desolate waste at the time of the grant, having been repeatedly devastated by the Hungarians in their forays into Germany, and had been under Hungarian rule from 907 to 955 or later. Though little is known of this first Babenberg margrave, his rule must have been highly energetic and successful; for the charters show a progressive advancement of the zone of occupation till at his death, in 994, it had reached the Wienerwald. In the civil wars that racked Hungary in the early decades of the eleventh century, German intervention became a frequent occurrence and by 1043 had resulted in the permanent cession by the Magyars of the Danube valley as far as the Leitha and March rivers. Here it stopped, and Austrian territory stopped there as late as 1918. The remainder of the century the Babenberger margraves spent as participants in the various struggles that afflicted Germany, and in developing their own territory. They were as yet vassals of the dukes of Bavaria. German colonization must have been heavy in this region; for by the beginning of the twelfth century the strip between the Fischa and the Leitha, which earlier had been a sort of " no man's land," was firmly held by German colonists. In the twelfth century the principal territorial gain of the Babenberger margraves was the duchy of Styria; their standing in the feudal world was also raised by the elevation of their Austrian territories into a duchy. The change of title had been made in 1156, and compromised the claims of the Babenbergers upon the duchy of Bavaria. The last Babenberger Duke of Austria died in 1246, without children.

The next thirty-two years saw Austria under three different regimes: imperial, Hungarian, and Bohemian. After a more or less successful attempt of Frederick II to claim Austria and Styria as vacant imperial fiefs, and an equally illusory attempt of the Hungarian King, the two duchies fell into the possession of Ottocar II, then Margrave of Moravia and later King of Bohemia (1251). In 1270 he added to these possessions Carinthia and Carniola. But the end of the Interregnum proved fatal to the hopes of Ottocar. In 1274 and again in 1275 the new Emperor, Rudolf of Habsburg, summoned Ottocar to justify his occupations of territory, and in 1276 advanced into Austria at the head of an imperial army. Ottocar signed the Treaty of Vienna, by which he ceded his conquests to the Emperor; later he broke the treaty and renewed the war, only to fall in battle on the Marchfeld (1278). Rudolf now took possession of the duchies of Austria and Styria, with which in 1282 he invested his son Albert; Carinthia and Carniola were ceded to Meinhard, Count of Tyrol.

Battle of the Marchfeld (1278)

The establishment of the Habsburg family in Austria marks an era in history; owing to the peculiar faculty of that family for successful land-grabbing (in the main by peaceable and matrimonial means), the duchy of Austria became the center of an agglomeration of territories, which in the course of some centuries came to resemble an historical museum of races, nationalities, and languages; and to stretch from the Inn and the Böhmerwald to the Carpathians and the Iron Gates of the Danube. Yet, though this process of agglomeration was begun in 1278, its proportions for a long time seemed quite modest. At the death of Rudolf I, in 1291, the electoral assembly refused to elect his son; and though the latter finally secured the imperial crown in 1298, his territorial gains were negligible. He tried in vain to acquire Holland as a vacant fief of the Empire after the death of Adolph of Nassau and was assassinated by his nephew just at the moment when he was about to march against the Swiss (1308).

Habsburg acquisition of Austria

Again there was a scramble for the crown. For, although the imperial authority was insignificant, windfalls might come the Emperor's way, like that of Austria in 1278. Through the influence of the Archbishop of Trier the princes elected his brother, Henry (VII), Count of Lützelnburg or Luxemburg, a territory in northwestern Germany, wedged between the lower Rhine and the Meuse, and then, as now, half French in culture. When his son John in 1310 married the heiress of Bohemia to the discomfiture of the Habsburgs, the fortune of the house was made. Henry VII attempted to revive the imperial authority in Italy. Perhaps the fact that he happened to have been born near Siena had an influence upon him, for Henry VII was of a romantic temperament, pious, virtuous, just, valiant in tournament, a belated hold-over of the days of high chivalry into the harder modern epoch. At this time Italy was torn by factions, and the Ghibellines appealed to him to intervene. What lends dignity to this episode is that the poet Dante was one of those who eagerly looked forward to Henry VII's coming. It was a forlorn expedition. Henry VII

Henry VII of Luxemburg

was deceived by his friends and betrayed by his enemies. He was crowned emperor in Rome in 1312, and died, perhaps of poison, in the next year at Pisa.

Ludwig IV of Bavaria (1314–47)

The imperial crown then fell to a man of very different mold. This was Ludwig IV, Duke of Bavaria (1314–47), long a bitter foe of the Habsburgs, against whom, as we shall see, he helped the Swiss. The escheat of Brandenburg in 1320, by the extinction of the Ascanian dynasty there (the lineage of Albert the Bear, who had made Brandenburg, as the Babenbergers had made Austria), put Louis in a position of rivaling the Habsburgs and Luxemburgers as a political and territorial power. But instead of husbanding his resources like the Habsburgs and steering clear of entangling alliances, Ludwig IV, like Henry VII before him, chose to intervene in Italy. Thereby he incurred the hostility of Pope John XXII, who, though resident at Avignon, still endeavored to wave the papal wand over Italy, as the popes of the previous century had done, in total disregard of the actual revolution that had taken place in the political status of the papacy in 1303. The chief of these Italian imperialists were Can Grande della Scala, lord of Verona, and Dante's protector, whom he has immortalized, the Margrave of Este, and the Visconti Duke of Milan. They had strong partisans, however, among the Franciscans or Minorites, who were strenuous opponents of the profligacy and worldliness of the Avignonese court. As might have been expected, Ludwig IV was merely the cat's-paw of his Italian partisans, and his end might have been as disastrous as that of Henry VII. Fortunately he saw the folly of his course and returned to Germany.

The law Licet juris *(1338)*

Meantime John XXII's presumption went so far that he assumed the right to dispose of the imperial crown, as Innocent III and Nicholas IV once had done. In 1324 he excommunicated and deposed the Emperor and had the effrontery to declare Charles IV of France to be emperor. The futility of the declaration is manifest. Thanks to the jealousy between Habsburg and Luxemburg, Ludwig IV was able to maintain the balance of power, and the enmity of the papacy even made him popular for a season. In 1338, infuriated by the Pope's arrogance, the German princes convened at Frankfurt and in the famous law *Licet juris* plainly told the Pope that he was a meddler and rejected the whole medieval tradition of papal authority over the Empire. The bluntness of this declaration is astonishing. "The false and dangerous doctrine that the emperor elect is not emperor until his election is confirmed and approved by the pope is clearly the work of the ancient enemy of mankind, attempting to stir up strife and discord and to bring about confusion and dissensions among men."

But much more important than this declaration was the progress of political thought which grew out of this controversy. Europe found a publicist in Marsiglio of Padua, who in the *Defensor pacis* cogently

New political theory. Marsiglio of Padua

sustained the political philosophy already broached by William of Ockham and William Nogaret, but pushed the new thought further. His view of the nature of society and the State was thoroughly Aristotelian. The State, he said, was an organized community existing for the good of the people, who had the right to make their own form of government and to make the laws according to which they wished to be governed. He quoted Aristotle that "the effective cause of law is the people," and maintained that government rested upon the consent of the governed. The prince ruled by the assent of the whole body of citizens. Monarchy was the best form of government, but the monarch should be an elected, not an hereditary, ruler; for an hereditary ruler could say that birth gave him right to rule, whereas in reality his power should come from the people. It is easy to see that these ideas of Marsiglio were much beyond the theory and the fact of the age; indeed, they were not broadly uttered until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and not realized until the French Revolution, except in England after 1688. As to the Church, Marsiglio asserted the superiority of the State over the Church, and the validity of the conciliar theory, according to which supreme authority in the Church reposed, not in the pope, but in the general council.

Brandenburg

It was natural, since the Pope was French and regarded as an instrument of the King of France, that Ludwig IV should have allied himself at this juncture, as we have already seen, with Edward III of England against France. The Emperor's luck in acquiring Brandenburg by escheat was repeated in 1342, when William, Count of Holland, Zealand, Hainaut, and West Frisia, died, leaving his sister, the Empress, his sole heir. The prospect of such a magnificent acquisition aroused the jealousy of the German princes to a pitch of hostility against Ludwig IV, and five of the electors endeavored to have him deposed. They could not carry their intention through and Ludwig IV died an emperor, although with a clouded title. His ambitious policy defeated itself. He could not enforce Bavarian claim to the Low Countries. Rash, vacillating, sometimes weak, Ludwig IV deserves to be remembered, less for his character than for the issues of his reign.

Holland

Charles IV (1347–78)

In 1347, for the second time, the imperial election fell upon the house of Luxemburg, in the person of Henry VII's grandson, Charles IV, who through his mother was also king of Bohemia. In him Germany possessed the shrewdest ruler of the fourteenth century, and the ablest also, for with a weak hand Charles IV played a successful game of diplomacy. His fame rests upon the Golden Bull (1356), which established the electoral college and formally determined how the emperor was to be elected.

The Golden Bull can only be understood in the light of the events and state of affairs within the Holy Roman Empire prior to or contemporary with its promulgation in 1356. The Empire in the hundred years subsequent to the death of Frederick II (1250) had witnessed six emperors and at least an equal number of rivals. These were not merely German in national stock, but Bohemian, Spanish, and English as well.[1] Each emperor was an elected sovereign who paid heavily for the office by the relinquishment of imperial lands, property, and prerogatives. The Empire had possessed two chief sources of revenue, the imperial lands (*Reichsgut*), the most fertile and widespread of which had lain along the Rhine basin, and, secondly, the so-called regalian rights, such as tolls, customs, mines, rights of coinage, and the special taxes levied on the Jews. These for the most part were now lost to the crown, having been given either as gifts or as bribes to the feudality by the grateful or obligated incumbent, or else seized forcibly during the Interregnum.

The lowest point in the process of decomposition of the Empire, by depriving the crown of its wealth and power, was reached with the accession of Charles IV. This was due to the circumstances under which he succeeded to the imperial title — that is, at a time when an emperor already sat on the throne (Ludwig IV of Bavaria, 1314–47). Moreover, Charles IV was not a popular candidate because of his connection, as its king, with Bohemia, a non-Germanic state, always at odds with Bavaria and Austria. He was compelled, therefore, to pay very heavily for his election by granting further concessions in the direction of independent sovereignty and greater privileges to the leading princes, and by the dissipation of the imperial lands. He sold or bargained away the last rights of the Empire in Italy to the Italian cities[2] or to the papacy, and to an equal or greater extent in Germany. To the Pope and the Church he was particularly kind. When he and his father appeared at Avignon to negotiate with the Pope for the support of the papacy in his candidacy, he agreed to renounce all the points of conflict which had been raised by Ludwig IV in his controversy with the Holy See, to give up all claims or pretensions which the former had asserted in Italy, to spend only one day in Rome when he should go there to be crowned, and never to return without the express permission of the Pope. In fact, it seems to have been an abject capitulation to the papacy, and German writers condemn Charles freely for this. The high prelates in Germany were no less magnanimously treated. For instance, the Archbishop of Cologne seems to have been bribed by a gift of a hundred thousand marks to support Charles's candidacy.

The imperial office was of value to the incumbent only to the extent that it might bring enrichment and increased power to his own house, and was sought largely for this end. The outstanding example of this political gambling is Rudolf I, who acquired the Austrian lands for his own family. Adolph I of Nassau took by force the margraviate of Meissen and the landgraviate of Thuringia. Ludwig IV married his son to the heiress of Tyrol and had earlier acquired Brandenburg by escheat. Charles of Bohemia was no different from his predecessors; he used the imperial title to serve his private ends, to increase his *Hausmacht,* which lay principally in Bohemia and Luxemburg, and to extend his possessions, as by the acquisition of part of the Upper Palatinate in 1353, Upper and Lower Lusatia and part of Lower Silesia in 1368, and Brandenburg in 1373.

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[1] Charles of Bohemia and Luxemburg; Alfonso, King of Castile; Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

[2] In exchange for large sums of money he extended the liberties of the Lombard cities and took 100,000 gold florins from Florence as a compensation for *not* visiting the city and receiving homage due him as emperor upon the occasion of his first visit to Italy.

Charles IV, upon his return from his first trip to Italy in the summer of 1355, turned his attention for the moment from his own dominion, Bohemia, to a consideration of the internal affairs of the Empire at large. The problems were of a very grave and pressing nature. The Empire was in a state of confusion, due to the endless wars among the feudality and between the feudality and the towns, the dissatisfaction of the population because of heavy taxes, the hindrances to trade through the insecurity of the land and river routes, the burdens resulting from the excessive number and size of tolls exacted from travelers and merchants by the baronage, together with the evils resulting from a debased and various coinage, brought about by the fact that every petty lord minted his own coins.

More than all, Charles IV was faced with the necessity of regulating the election of the Emperor in order to prevent double elections or prolonged vacancies. For the purpose of settling some of these problems the Emperor on September 7, 1355 summoned the diet to convene at Nuremberg on November 11, though it actually did not come together until November 25. Between this time and January 10, 1356, when the diet adjourned, a considerable number of documents were issued, dealing with the public peace, such as ordering the city of Metz to cease its strife with Duke Wenceslaus until the Emperor could arrive to arbitrate, granting charters, confirming rights, privileges, and liberties granted to various cities, as Magdeburg, Cologne, and Trèves, and so forth. But most of the matters above enumerated, which were among the principal items making up the original agenda of the Nuremberg diet, were too involved to be settled at one session, so that nothing definite or far-reaching was concluded except in the more pressing matter of regulating the imperial election. At various meetings of the diet resolutions were proposed and accepted with reference to this subject, and on the final day of the session, January 10, 1356, they were issued as a single document. This declaration contained, however, only the first twenty-three chapters of what has since been termed the Golden Bull. The other eight articles were resolved upon at the Diet of Metz, which met in the autumn of the same year, and were published at Christmas. The two sections, being clearly supplementary, were so considered and thenceforward appeared as a single document, referred to as the Golden Bull from the gold seal (*bulla*) attached to the instrument.

Golden Bull (1356)

The Golden Bull was the embodiment and written acknowledgment of all the tendencies and realities operating within the Holy Roman Empire at the time of its promulgation. It established nothing entirely new. Its interest and importance lies in the very fact that it established the existing situation in a written, constitutional form; in other words, it added the sanction of law to tradition. It is in this sense that Bryce is writing when he declares, apropos of the Golden Bull, that Charles "legalized anarchy and called it a constitution." This verdict, however, is considered too harsh by many historians. The document was a constructive measure, aiming to end the unhappy situation caused by double elections, by regulating election and designating the electors. Though the leading princes were increased in their prerogatives, this was only a paper acknowledgement of what had been a *de facto* practice for years. The concessions were unavoidable, if their support was to be won for the monarchy, and harmony to be established within the Empire. While it is true that the Golden Bull failed to bring about this era of peace, and that the next fifty years was marked by feud, yet this must be imputed, not to Charles IV, but to the circumstances of the time; nor can he be blamed for the failure of the yearly meetings of the electoral college to take place as provided for in the Golden Bull.

Upon analysis the contents of the Golden Bull are found to fall into three general divisions, corresponding to the three chief objectives or purposes which the instrument was intended to serve by its framers. These are: (1) the machinery henceforth to be employed in the election of the national monarch; (2) the securing of a maximum degree of power and privileges and prestige to each of the seven electors and their houses; (3) the using of the imperial office as a means of increasing the house-power of the king of Bohemia.

Seven electors

Under the first head belong the following: The seven electors were henceforth to be the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trèves, arch-chancellors of the Holy Roman Empire for Germany, Italy, and the "Gallic provinces and . . . the Kingdom of Arles"[1] respectively, the king of Bohemia (arch-cup-bearer), the count palatine of the Rhine (arch-steward), the duke of Saxony (arch-marshal), and the margrave of Brandenburg (arch-chamberlain). Imperial elections were to be held at Frankfurt, within three months after the death of the emperor; the archbishop of Mainz was to send out notices of the death of the emperor and call the electors together and in general perform the functions of secretary for the empire. Provisions were made for the safe conduct and honor that should be accorded each elector in traversing the territories of other powers and for the number of armed persons that each might bring with him; the type and manner of oath that each elector should take; the right of an elector to be represented by a deputy under certain conditions; the manner of voting; the determination of the candidate by a majority vote, a majority to be had even when three electors voted for a fourth and this fourth then cast a vote for himself.

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[1] i.e., the old Kingdom of Burgundy, acquired by the Empire in 1032.

History of the evolution of the elective principle

The question naturally arises why only seven electors were provided for in the Golden Bull, when it is perceived that Bavaria and Austria, two of the most powerful feudal houses in the Empire, as well as a good many other important principalities, such as Mecklenburg and Württemberg, were excluded. Apart from other reasons, the explanation lies in the fact that by the time Charles IV came to the throne, the number seven had become fixed and sacred. Even in Greco-Roman times seven was a magical or mysterious figure, while the biblical allusion to the "seven lamps of the Apocalypse" made it all the more mystical to Christians. We can glimpse this from the Golden Bull itself, in the introductory paragraph of which there is a reference made to "the seven electors of the Holy Empire, through whom, as through seven candlesticks throwing light in the unity of a septiform spirit, the Holy Empire ought to be illumined."

But while this explains the limitation of membership in the electoral college to seven members, we have still to consider why certain houses were included and others not. This compels us to go back in German history. Among the early Germanic tribes the elective and hereditary principles were combined in the election of a monarch. One family by common consent would be elevated to the position of an hereditary dynasty, but from this family the tribesmen picked or elected him whom they believed the best qualified for leadership. Upon the formation of the Holy Roman Empire a new conception entered similar to that guiding the Roman papacy — namely, that "the headship of the human race being, like the papacy, the common inheritance of all mankind, it could not be confined to any family, nor pass like a private estate by the ordinary rules of descent." But in practice this was not observed by the generations following the Carolingians. The Saxon, Salian, and Hohenstaufen houses all perpetuated themselves through their eldest male heirs until they failed of male issue in the direct line. In other words, the older tribal principle was maintained of confining the candidacy to members of one house, and the election fell upon, not the best member, as in former days, but the eldest-born male heir, in accordance with the notion of primogeniture, which had become institutionalized in western Europe by this time.

Theoretically, the electorate consisted of all the princes and their followers, and thus the German king was chosen on the old tribal or universal basis. But in the course of time, beginning with the election of Lothaire II in 1125, the principle came into being by which the selection of the future monarch was carried out by the leading princes, and their choice was then submitted to the rest for their approval. From this developed the practice of limiting the electoral right to the leading magnates without consulting the lesser ones, until by the time of Frederick Barbarossa, in 1152, the number of electors seems to have narrowed down to seven. But who these seven were cannot be made out clearly until we come to 1263, when a letter of Pope Urban IV mentions the custom of electing the emperor by seven electors and designates the archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, the count palatine of the Rhine, the margrave of Brandenburg, the duke of Saxony, and the King of Bohemia as possessing that right.

The right of these three prelates to a vote does not seem to have been challenged seriously at the deliberations of the Diet of Nuremberg. They were heads of the richest sees in Germany, and each was titular grand chancellor of a kingdom. Moreover, they were great temporal princes through their possession of vast lands and property and hence were entitled to consideration on that score. All three of the archbishops, furthermore, were good friends and loyal supporters of Charles IV, so that if any possible objection existed formerly, it was not brought up at the diet.

In the choice of the four secular electors political consideration was the determining factor. In the earlier centuries the four leading feudal offices in the imperial household — namely, those of honorary cup-bearer, seneschal, marshal, and chamberlain — had belonged to the dukes of Franconia, Swabia, Saxony, and Bavaria, the four oldest states of Germany. To these should have fallen the electoral right also. Franconia and Swabia, however, had disappeared from the map, and other houses had risen to importance whose claims to a voice in the affairs of the Empire had to be listened to. The powers and honors belonging to Franconia and Swabia eventually fell to two of the newer states, the palatinate of the Rhine, "which represented the vote of the extinct dukedom of Lorraine," and the margraviate of Brandenburg, while the other older states of Saxony and Bavaria held on to their original privileges. As king of Bohemia, it was to be expected that Charles IV would find a place in the electoral college for his own state.

Thorny questions

One of the thorniest questions to decide was between Bavaria and the "palsgraviate" (palatinate) of the Rhine. Each of these states belonged to the same family, the Wittelsbachs, but in 1253, upon the death of Otto of Bavaria, his dominions were divided between his two sons, Ludwig and Henry, the former becoming the palsgrave, and the latter the duke of Bavaria. Before this time one electoral vote had been cast for both states, but now that they were definitely separated, neither wished to relinquish the vote in favor of the other, which brought them into conflict with Bohemia, which also claimed a vote. Self-interest and politics decided the issue, as usual. Charles IV had married Anna, the daughter of the palsgrave, and thus cemented an alliance with the younger house. Bavaria had proposed and backed Gunther of Schwartzburg against Charles IV for the imperial office; Bavaria, in the person of Ludwig of Brandenburg, son of the late Emperor Ludwig IV, had wrested the Tyrol lands from the grasp of Bohemia through the annulment, by his father, of the marriage of Margareta Maultasch with one of the Bohemian kings and his own subsequent marriage with her; Ludwig IV had declared Brandenburg a lapsed fief of the crown and had bestowed it on his son Ludwig, and so frustrated Bohemia in one of her chief ambitions. All these facts, together with the unwillingness of the other electors to see two votes in the same house, were decisive in causing Charles IV to declare for the younger Bavarian line. Still another reason lay in the fact that the Bavarian branch had a " courtesy representation " in the vote of Brandenburg, since the territory was at this time still ruled by the son of the Emperor Ludwig IV of Bavaria.

From the foregoing we see why the honor of choosing the emperor and enjoying the highest honors of the realm fell upon the seven states indicated in the Golden Bull. It is relatively easy to explain why some of the lesser states were excluded, but it is not so easy to understand why such a powerful principality as Austria should have been left out. The sacredness of the number seven here played a principal part. The admission of Austria to the electoral group could only have come about through the expulsion of one of the other states, and this under the circumstances was impossible. Aside from Bohemia, the other electoral states were distinctly German principalities, always considered integral parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Habsburg Austria, on the other hand, was in the position of a parvenu, a climber. From the very first she had put herself in the position of an outsider, pursuing a policy separate and independent from that of the other states, a process which in the course of time became accentuated, and increasingly alienated her from the other states. Bitter strife and jealousy had existed between Austria and the other principalities since the days of the first Rudolf. The latter had antagonized Bohemia and first aroused the fears of the other states, by wresting the Austrian lands from Bohemia and bestowing them on his own family, thus laying the foundation of the Habsburg power in

Austria. Albert I (1298–1308) had pushed forward strenuously the policy of expanding the house-power laid down by Rudolf and made it the grand object of his life to extend his dominions in the direction of Bohemia, Hungary, and the Tyrol lands. Albert had also greatly antagonized the other princes by his bold pretensions and particularly by his championship of the Rhine towns in their disputes with the Rhenish bishops.

Austrian forgeries

While the Habsburgers do not seem to have strenuously contested their exclusion from the electoral college at the Diet of Nuremberg, they were dissatisfied nevertheless, as were others of the lesser princes. This discontent was voiced soon afterwards by Rudolf IV of Austria (1358–65), who succeeded his father, Albert II, as duke in 1358. He endeavored by various artifices to force an acknowledgment from Charles IV that in rank, privileges, and independence he was on a parity with the other electoral princes. For this purpose he forged five documents which purported to show that Henry IV, Frederick I, Henry VII, Frederick II, and Rudolf I were all Austrian princes, and that even as far back as the days of the Roman Empire Julius Cæsar and Nero had recognized the freedom and dignity of Austria and had conferred privileges on her, exceeding even those granted to the seven electors by the Golden Bull! These pretentious claims were too much for Charles IV. He asked the opinion of Petrarch on the authenticity of the documents, and the great humanist exposed their falsity. The pretensions of Rudolf were rejected and Austria was compelled to retain her vassal status to the Empire. This is only another instance of the tendency of Austria to pursue her way independently of the other states—in other words, to consider herself as an outsider rather than as an integral part of the Empire.

Attitude of the papacy

There was also another power, far greater than Austria or Bavaria, which the Golden Bull failed to honor: the papacy. In the Golden Bull not a word is mentioned about the papacy, nothing is said pertaining to the permission or approval of the pope in the election of the emperor, nothing concerning the necessity of the emperor's receiving his crown formally from the Holy See. Looked at from one point of view, it cannot, however, be construed as a direct repudiation of the papacy. The chief purpose of the Golden Bull was to designate the electors and to establish the procedure for the election of the "king of the Romans"; it said nothing of the latter's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. But while in this wise we can only discern at best a negative support of the declarations of 1338, in actuality it lent positive force to the elimination of the pope in the affairs of the Empire. The papacy at this moment was in an unfavorable position to make a protest. It was the time of the Babylonian captivity, and the Holy See was the object of attack from all quarters because of its corruption and alleged French partisanship.

The German clergy was up in arms against it because of its greedy exactions and despotic rule.

Golden Bull as a constitution

Seen from one angle, the Golden Bull is largely a written testimony to the fact that the Empire had ceased to exist except in mere name, and an acknowledgment and confirmation of the sovereign powers of the leading states. On the other hand, since at least the form of the central monarchy was preserved, it recognized the fact that the interest of each separate state was best preserved by continuing the form of a common organization, and so prevented the states from wholly parting from one another. Again, on its more immediate and constructive side, it was an attempt to legalize and definitely fix the system of imperial elections, which heretofore, because of their undefined nature, had been largely responsible for the chaotic conditions prevailing within the Empire. While the Golden Bull failed to bring about the peace and harmony which had been its expressed intention, this cannot be laid to Charles IV, but was due to the unruly forces of the time; and it is a safe assertion that were it not for the Golden Bull and its unmistakable provisions for the election of the Holy Roman Emperor, the future history of the Empire would have been even more chaotic than it was. The Golden Bull assumed the character of a constitution, and in all subsequent years, down to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, its authority was appealed to in the imperial elections and in the rights and privileges of the component states. If we are to believe Bryce, it "legalized anarchy"; if we are to accept Lamprecht, it sought to prevent anarchy by stopping the disintegration at the point reached in 1356 and fixing fast what remained of the imperial prerogatives. It undeniably worked to prevent further territorial disintegration by the provision that the territory of the four lay electors henceforth was to be one and indivisible.

In conclusion, article 31 of the Golden Bull is worth observing because of its provision for the education of the children of the princes and recognition of the international nature of the medieval Empire. It reads in part:

> "Inasmuch as the majesty of the Holy Roman Empire has to wield the laws and the government of diverse nations, distinct in customs, manner of life, and language, . . . the princes of the Empire should be instructed in the different dialects and languages which are used in the Empire. . . . In addition to their natural language [German], therefore, the princes shall be instructed from infancy in the grammar and speech of the Slavonic and Italian tongues, beginning with their seventh year, so that before their fourteenth year they shall have learned the same according to the intelligence granted them by God. For this is considered, not only useful, but also, from the aforementioned causes, highly necessary since those languages are wont to be very much employed in the administration of the Empire."

Charles IV bent every effort towards the establishment, around Bohemia as a core, of a solid kingdom which would provide his house with territorial substantiality and political power sufficient to give it preponderance in Germany. In a word, he labored to accomplish what the Habsburgs were slowly doing and what the Hohenzollerns later were to do. Aggrandizement of the domains of the Luxemburg house was his constant purpose. He annexed Moravia, Lower Silesia, and Lausitz to Bohemia. He exploited every incident to this end. He was three times married, and each time the alliance was profitable; he married his children to advantage; he played the cities against the baronage; he deprived the Wittelsbacher of Brandenburg by an adroit legal technicality. In his own lands he was a good administrator. He gave his subjects a notable code of laws, which substituted much Roman law for old feudal customary law, the *Majestas Carolina,* the preparation of which was entrusted to the eminent Italian publicist Bartolus of Sassoferrato. He founded the University of Prague (1348), the first university in central Europe, and adorned Prague with magnificent buildings and bridges. He promoted agriculture, internal improvements, drainage of swamps, forest-clearing. He put down the robber barons. His revenues were so great that when (1373) he had acquired Brandenburg from Otto the Lazy, the last Bavarian margrave, in return for an annuity, and wanted to get the mark, too, he could afford to pay five hundred thousand ducats for it. The earliest gleams of the Italian Renaissance in Central Europe are found at Charles IV's court. He was like Charles V of France, his contemporary and friend — for they had been students together at the University of Paris — and in the year before he died, Charles IV visited the French King.

University of Prague (1348)

The plans of Charles IV ought to have been realized and probably would have been if he had not been short-sighted enough to divide his vast domains among his sons. Unfortunately he did not — perhaps he felt that he could not — adopt the wise French law of primogeniture and, instead of keeping all his dominions together, partitioned them between his three sons. Wenzel, who succeeded him in the imperial title, got Bohemia (Luxemburg fell to him later also); John received Lausitz; Sigismund was given the margraviate of Brandenburg. Wenzel was a sot and was deposed in 1400. For ten years the imperial crown was an object of contention. Finally, in 1410, Sigismund was elected emperor through the assistance of Frederick of Hohenzollern, the Burgrave of Nuremberg, who was rewarded by the gift of Brandenburg. The fortune of the Hohenzollern house began as that of the Luxemburg house declined and was destined to rival that of the Habsburgs. When Sigismund died, in 1437, the crown fell to Albert of Habsburg (1438–9) and then to his cousin Frederick III (1440–93), who

Fifteenth-century emperors

ruled so long that he established the tradition of Habsburg imperialism. Never again did the crown slip from their possession as long as the Holy Roman Empire lasted.

The weakness of the imperial authority became proverbial. The Empire was a rope of sand. In 1422 Sigismund had attempted to create a national tax, which failed; in 1427 another tax, called the "common penny," was authorized without success. Neither princes nor cities were anxious to contribute. Bavaria said it had more need of money than the Emperor; Strassburg said it would pay when the other cities would pay; some of them paid in counterfeit coin, some in adulterated money, and most not at all.

Formation of Switzerland

Amid "the amorphous heterogeneity of the microscopic particles" which formed the moribund German kingdom, it is refreshing to find an historical development untainted by selfish dynastic policy and mercenary ends. Such was the rise and formation of Switzerland. One cannot yet speak of "Switzerland," but only of an agglomeration of Alpine lands which were the debris of the dissolution of the power of the house of Zähringen after the death of the last Duke in 1218. The Zähringer had been good feudal princes. They had founded Freiburg (1178) and Bern (1191) and promoted burgher spirit in older Swiss places like Zürich, Lucerne, and Lausanne in order to keep in check the fractious feudality of Swabia and Burgundy, part of whose territory lay in the Alpine lands. After 1218 strife ensued between the counts of Kyburg, the Habsburgs — who are to be watched in Swiss history — the counts of Savoy, the bishops and the abbots of Einsiedeln, Muri, and Saint-Gall, whose temporal powers were large.

The particular beginning of Swiss liberty is attached to the history of the reign of Frederick II, who in 1231, when his son Henry was his regent in Germany, in order to keep the route open between Italy and his Swabian possessions, purchased the territory of Uri from the abbot of Altdorf and the abbess of Frauenmünster in Zürich and organized the peasantry there into a free self-governing canton immediately dependent upon the Empire. It was the first free Alpine community. In 1240 the Emperor accorded the same franchises to the canton of Schwyz. These two cantons controlled the St. Gotthard Pass, which was opened between Germany and Italy about 1230 and, although a high and rugged road, was the straightest course between these two countries and of paramount interest to the Emperor to keep open. The Habsburgs, who were the greatest lords in the region, resented this growth of free communities. But they could not arrest it, especially after the seat of the house was removed to Austria in 1278.

This is a turning-point in Swiss history. The Habsburgs still tenaciously clung to possession of their lands and power in the Alps. There was the rub, for the hardy mountaineer peasantry, who were freemen and not serfs (though serfdom obtained in the valleys and around the lakes on the lands of bishop, abbot, and noble), having tasted of independence, had no mind to see it jeopardized, as threatened in 1291 when the abbot of St. Leodegar in Lucerne sold his rights to Rudolf of Habsburg. Fifteen days after the death of Rudolf, on August 1, 1291, the peasantry of the canton of Waldstetten or Unterwalden united with those of Uri and Schwyz and formed the "Perpetual Pact," the original of which is still preserved in the Swiss archives. Thus was formed the Swiss Confederation. The three cantons remained independent, however; the confederation was a loose union for mutual defense against Habsburg aggression. In 1309 Henry VII, *en route* to Italy, confirmed the three previous charters, establishing the immediate relation of the three cantons to the Empire, to the chagrin of the Habsburgs.

Battle of Mortgarten 1315

But when Henry VII died (1313), the Habsburgs thought they had a free hand in the Alps, and Duke Frederick of Austria in 1315 undertook to crush the Swiss with force of arms. The result was the Austrian defeat at Morgarten (November 15, 1315), the "Lexington of Swiss liberty." In 1322 the Habsburgs experienced a similar defeat at Ampfing.[1]

The reigns of Ludwig IV of Bavaria and Charles IV of Bohemia were favorable to further development of the Swiss Confederation, for both emperors were hostile to the Habsburgs, and the former was especially so situated as to be able to block Austrian ingress into Switzerland, as a glance at the map will show. It was for this reason that the Habsburgs so strenuously labored to acquire the Tyrol in order to have a road into Switzerland which the Wittelsbacher could not readily obstruct.

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[1] This is the heroic period of Swiss history, of which William Tell is the mythical hero. "The Swiss narrative, to which popular poetry has added many ornaments, and which condenses the facts of the *gradual* acquirement of an immediate relation to the Empire into a short space of time, and exaggerates their effects, can no longer be regarded as historical in view of the results of modern investigation. It is first found in chronicles which were written between two and three hundred years *after* the events, and is often contradicted by the contemporary documents. Neither the Oath on the Rütli (1307), nor the expulsion of the bailiffs on January 1, 1308, is historically authenticated. . . . As regards the story of William Tell, it is now established that neither the shooting of the apple from the head of his son, nor the murder of the bailiff Gessler in the hollow way at Küssnacht can in any way be regarded as an historical event. It has been proved that among the Küssnacht bailiffs of that time there was no Gessler. The legend of the shooting of the apple occurs five times outside of the cantons, agreeing almost to the wording of the answer which the archer gives to the tyrant: in Norway, in Iceland, in Denmark, in Holstein, and on the middle Rhine, and, with an altered motive, a sixth time in England. Hence it is tolerably certain that we have here to do with a common Germanic tradition. Moreover, the resemblance of the Swiss version to the elder narrative of Saxo Grammaticus (twelfth century) of the shot of Toko the Dane, who is said to have lived in the tenth century, is so striking as to render it probable that the Swiss chroniclers had that historian before them." — PLOETZ, *Epitome of History*, p. 246.

Meantime the middle of the fourteenth century saw an important change in Swiss history. This was a time when the German cities were rapidly increasing in wealth and population, acquiring their liberties and forming leagues together for common defense and general welfare. Although this urban movement was stronger in Rhenish and northern Germany than elsewhere, nevertheless we find the same manifestation in the Alpine lands. In 1331 Lucerne, in 1351 Zürich, in 1352 Glarus and Zug, in 1353 Berne entered the Confederation, which by that time was formed of eight cantons. In 1361 Charles IV recognized it by imperial charter. The Swiss Republic was founded.

City Cantons

But a new peril impended. A horde of the free companies that so vexed France during these years, under the command of Enguerrand de Coucy, in 1375 invaded the country, but were finally destroyed and driven out by the valiant Bernese. Eleven years later the Habsburgs made their last ineffectual effort to crush the Swiss. The battle of Sempach (1386) confirmed the freedom of Switzerland forever. The hero of this engagement, Arnold von Winkelried, is almost as legendary a figure as William Tell. But the battle was not won by a man, but by a weapon. This was the Swiss pike, an arm as indigenous to Switzerland as the long-bow to England. The Swiss used the old cross-bow, as all common fighting men did on the continent. But these bowmen were sheltered within a hollow square of pikemen, which constituted the really effective force. The pike was a long and heavy lance, twenty-two feet in length, with a formidable barb, which the pikeman held steadily on the level, the butt resting in a holster upon his thigh, the shaft supported by a thong running out from his shoulders. These pikemen formed a hollow square, and between the projecting barbs marched other fighting men, three or four deep, armed with short swords. Such a squad, if it kept solid formation, was almost invincible in that day. No infantry, no cavalry, could charge it. Like the ancient Macedonian phalanx, which it remarkably resembled, such a battalion could overcome almost any resistance. It might advance on a straight front, or, again, a word of command could throw the square so that it went through the enemy on the sharp angle like a snow-plow. The effectiveness of the pike as a weapon of war was not lost upon Europe. In the next two centuries no continental prince (England never adopted it) was without his regiment of pikemen. The Spanish pikemen in the service of Philip II were the hardest foe that the Dutch encountered. Spain's domination in Italy was maintained by her pikemen. The Scotch Guard, later the Swiss Guard, of the French kings in the sixteenth century was composed of pikemen and did yeoman service on many a field of battle. The pike held its own as a weapon long after the invention of gunpowder. Not until light field-artillery came into vogue and the old clumsy match-lock gave way to the musket did the pike become obsolete.

Battle of Sempach, 1386

Expansion of Switzerland

The fourteenth century saw the development and consolidation of the cantons which were the nuclei of the confederation. The fifteenth century was the heroic era of Swiss expansion, "Every war in which the Swiss took part, however different the immediate causes may have been, had one and the same fundamental motive: the necessity of safeguarding the St. Gotthard road and its immediate approaches by the possession of defensive slopes and forward bastions. In a word, the Swiss pursued, unconsciously but steadfastly, the conquest of their natural frontiers."[1] In 1422 they came into disastrous contact with the Visconti Duke of Milan, but repaired the repulse in victories that were followed by cessions of territory on the Italian slopes of the Alps in 1440, 1478, and especially during the French invasion of the Milanais in the years 1500–12. Eastward the confederation's influence expanded over Appenzell (1411), Saint-Gall (1412), and the Grisons (1497), in which local peasant leagues had been formed which later facilitated more perfect union. Towards the north the Aargau was annexed in 1415; in 1460 the Thurgau. In this area Basel, Schaffhausen, and Mühlhausen were united in a local league, which in 1501 joined the confederation. On the slopes of the French Alps the Swiss came into collision with France in 1444, which in an interim of the war with the English threw an army into the country, and defeated the Dauphin, later King Louis XI, on the bloody battle-field of St. Jakob, where fifteen hundred Swiss — only six of whom survived — withstood a French army of thirty thousand men. The wine from the vineyards on these slopes is known as "*Schweizerblut* (Swiss blood)." The Burgundian war (1474–89), the Swabian war (1499–1501), and the Italian war (1499–1512) crowned Swiss liberties. The first was precipitated by the ambition of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to englobe some of Swiss territory in his endeavor to establish a great middle kingdom between Germany and France, extending from the Alps to the sea. Defeated in the two engagements of Granson and Morat in 1476, in the next year Charles lost his treasure, his reputation, and his life — "*Gut, Mut, und Blut,*" as the Swiss saying ran — in the disaster at Nancy (1477). His death changed the political face of Europe. The second or Swabian war was due to the last endeavor of the Habsburgs to assert their ancient rights in the Alpine lands, when Maximilian I, having become emperor, sought to convert Swiss nominal dependence upon the German Empire into an actual fact. Three battles humbled the imperial pride, however, and in 1501, by the peace of Basel, the practical independence of the Swiss Confederation was secured. Basel and Schaffhausen united with the confederation in 1501, and in 1513 Appenzell entered. For the next three centuries thirteen cantons [Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zürich, Bern, Glaris, Zug, Fribourg, Soleure, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell] formed the confederation.

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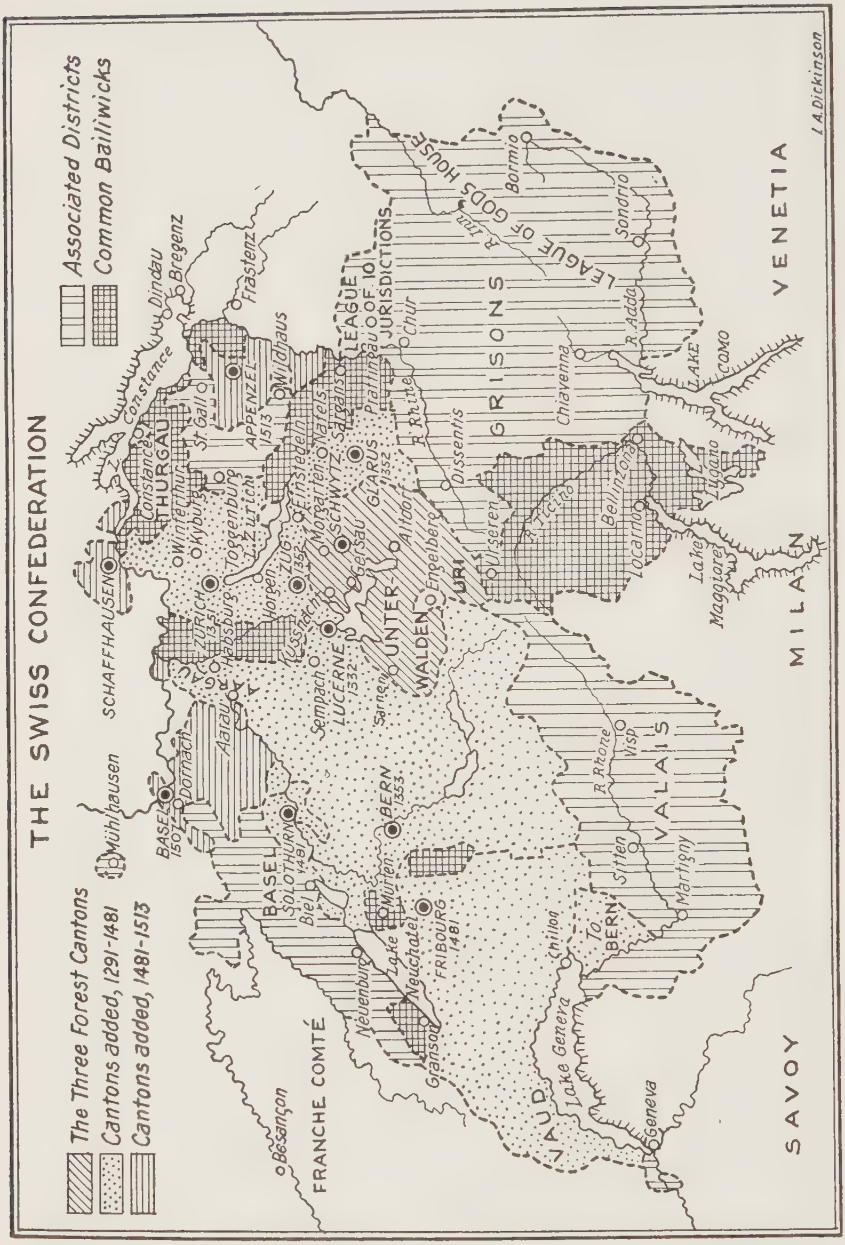
[1] Muirhead, *Switzerland*, p. xix.


THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
▨ The Three Forest Cantons
Cantons added, 1291-1481
Cantons added, 1481-1513
Associated Districts
Common Bailiwicks
I.A.Dickinson
SCHAFFHAUSEN
Mühlhausen
BASEL 1501
Dornach
Aarau
AARGAU
Habsburg
ZURICH 1351
Zurich
Winterthur
Kyburg
Constance
THURGAU
St Gall
APPENZEL 1513
Wildhaus
Toggenburg
Dindau
Bregenz
Frastenz
Horgen
ZUG 1352
Einstedeln
Morgarten
Näfels
SCHWYTZ
Gersau
Küssnacht
LUCERNE 1332
Sempach
Sarnen
UNTERWALDEN
Engelberg
Altdorf
URI
GLARUS 1352
Sargans
Prättigau
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Chur
R. Rhine
Dissentis
GRISONS
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
R. Inn
Bormio
Sondrio
R. Adda
Chiavenna
LAKE COMO
Ursern
R. Ticino
Bellinzona
Locarno
Lugano
Lake Maggiore
VENETIA
MILAN
SOLOTHURN 1481
Biel
BERN 1353
Murten
FRIBOURG 1481
Neuenburg
Lake Neuchatel
Granson
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Besançon
VAUD
Lake Geneva
Chillon
To BERN
Geneva
SAVOY
VALAIS
R. Rhone
Visp
Sitten
Martigny

By this time the military prowess of the Swiss made them much sought after as mercenaries by the princes. When Louis XII invaded Lombardy in order to execute his claim to the Milanais some thousands of Swiss were in the French army. But the king made the mistake of not paying them as he had agreed, with the result that they deserted to

Ludovico Sforza, the duke of Milan, who offered to detach Lugano, Locarno and Mendrisio from his territory and to deed them to the confederation. The French defeat at Novara in 1513 confirmed these annexations.

Vitality of town life in Germany

The later Middle Ages in Germany were marked by the most remarkable manifestation of town life to be found in medieval history. As everywhere else in Europe, this town spirit was nurtured by commerce and trade and further promoted by the break-down of central government in Germany after 1250, which compelled the towns to defend themselves against the land-hungry bishops and nobles around them, to say nothing of robber barons, who infested the roads, river thieves, and pirates on sea. Thus thrown upon their own resources, the German burghers displayed an astonishing capacity to take care of themselves. The anarchy of the interregnum in this particular proved a blessing in disguise, for it was the fruitful epoch in the rise of the German towns.

City leagues

League of the Rhine

Swabian League

The most general means of protection was the formation of local city leagues, especially in the west and north, where the anarchy was worst. Thus in 1254 "the judges, consuls (aldermen) and all the citizens of Mainz, Cologne, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, and Basel" formed the League of the Rhine, and as an addendum to the compact ordained a body of laws for the government of the members of the league. The purpose of this association was to destroy the castles of the robber barons along the Rhine, to clear the river of weirs and chains which these gentry established in order to mulct trade, to suppress river thieves, to convoy merchants by water or by road traveling up or down the Rhine. More than a century later, in 1376, the towns of Swabia and Alsace formed a similar league, called the Swabian League, into which the Swiss towns shortly entered. In countervention to these leagues the German baronage, particularly in Swabia, formed associations of the nobles, like the Martinsvögel (named after the day of their union), the Schlägler (Hammerers) and the Löwenbund (Lions). In 1377 the pitched battle at Reutlingen near Ulm over the Schlägler assured the power of the Swabian League.

Hanseatic League

But far and away the greatest of the German merchant leagues was the Hanseatic League.[1] Unlike the other leagues, the Hanseatic League was of double formation and international character. One nucleus of it is found in the alliance between Lübeck and Hamburg in 1230, which

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[1] The word *Hansa* was an old German word to denote any form of association, like a battalion of troops, a gild, etc. Linguistically it is akin to the word "hand." We still speak of a handful of men. In its particular application it first appears in 1358 in the assembly of associated merchants at Lübeck, when commerce with Flanders was forbidden. But evidently the word was far older.

Origins

adjacent towns like Wismar, Rostock, Stettin, and Bremen soon joined. The transit of trade across the Danish isthmus and the mouths of the Elbe and Weser rivers account for this formation.

The other element was three German merchant colonies abroad, one at Wisby in the island of Gothland in the Baltic; a second in London; a third at Bruges.

Tradition says that the Wisby group, which traded with the Swedes, the Finns, and the Russians, was founded as far back as the reign of Otto I, but the first positive evidence of it pertains to the reign of Lothaire II (1125–39). For nearly two centuries Wisby was the unchallenged center of the Baltic trade. As to that in England there is a charter of Ethelred II (978–1016) granting liberties to certain Cologne merchants resident in London, to which Henry II in 1157 granted the right to have their own gild-hall like that which they had in Cologne.

The Hanseatic League was formed by the union of the Lübecker group with these three groups established abroad. The first statute of the Hanseatic League, or at least the earliest that we know, was ordained between 1260–4 and provided for an annual "diet" or representative body of the cities comprised in the league.

By this time there were three German gilds in London: that of the merchants of Cologne, that of the merchants of Lübeck, and that of the merchants of Hamburg. At the end of the thirteenth century these three gilds were united into a single one, the Gild of the Teutonic Merchants. The center of this gild was the *Stahlhof,* not far from the tower of London. The name is significant. It proves that German iron (*Stahl*) was in the beginning the chief product which the Germans took to England to exchange for English wool.

These German merchants did not form a mercantile association at London only. They were numerous at Bruges. In the beginning they came by land. From Cologne an important commercial route via the Rhine ran to Flanders. Another passed through the bishopric of Utrecht and Holland. The Germans signed a series of agreements by which the collection of tolls was regulated with the bishop of Utrecht and the counts of Holland. But soon, in spite of the dangers of navigation, German ships appeared in Bruges. In 1262 the Countess Margaret of Flanders granted the merchants of the Empire a series of privileges: they could establish themselves at Damme; the right of wreckage was suppressed in their favor; the commissions of the brokers were scheduled, and finally German merchants could neither be arrested for debt nor imprisoned if they furnished bonds. Henceforth they were exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of the municipal authority of Bruges, and causes against them had to be settled within eight days. Their ships might not be seized except upon legal complaint. If war broke out between Flanders and any

German city, the citizens of that city alone were to be involved and even they were to have three months in which to leave the country and dispose of their goods.

Soon afterwards, on June 13, 1263, Lübeck, Rostock, Greifswald, Wismar, Stralsund, and Stettin convened at Rostock and signed a pact for ten years for the suppression of piracy with the Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Pomerania, the Count of Schwerin, and other nobles. The quota of men to be furnished for military purposes was fixed for each member. Those in the compact who failed to observe it were to be shut out and liable to have war made upon them. These commercial conventions prove that the Baltic towns were having a wonderful expansion.

In October 1293 Lübeck renewed the alliance of Rostock with the other cities, but demanded the supreme control of Novgorod, which hitherto had been governed by Wisby. It also succeeded in establishing that Lübeck should be final court of appeal for causes rising in Novgorod. Lübeck thus rose to be chief of the organization and even demanded that the merchant corporation at Wisby be dissolved. The Saxon cities, as well as Cologne and Reval, agreed, and in 1299 the seal of Wisby was broken. Lübeck and the towns allied with her became mistress of the Baltic commerce. For the association of merchants was substituted an association of city-states which controlled the monopoly of the Baltic commerce and took aggressive measures for its development.

But what as to the attitude of the German merchants in Bruges and London towards this Lübecker association? Here the Baltic merchants were becoming more numerous, and disputed business with Westphalian and Rhenish merchants. Cologne, for centuries the most important commercial city of Germany, found she was suffering from Baltic competition, but was unable to break the Hanseatic organization.

When the absorption of these foreign hanses took place is uncertain, but when it did, the Hanseatic League was founded. This formation occurred between 1350 and 1370, and it is therefore in this period that we *1350–70* are to look for the formation of the Hanseatic League. In 1366 it was declared that no one might participate in the privileges that German merchants enjoyed abroad unless he was a burgher of a Hanseatic city. Under this condition he could claim the benefits of the league. The allied towns engaged to deny protection to anyone banned by a city of the Hanse and not to purchase merchandise from pirates.

But while these German cities thus associated in the middle of the fourteenth century succeeded in substituting their organization and authority for the German associations abroad, they were being threatened from without by a great danger.

We must go back a little to be clear. In the thirteenth century there were formed along the Baltic strand the feudal states of Holstein, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, together with Brandenburg, the greatest of all, to the east. The growth of these feudal states threatened the Hanseatic League. But more dangerous still was Denmark. She early disputed dominion over the Baltic with Lübeck. The power of Denmark had begun in the twelfth century with Waldemar the Great (1137–82). He deprived ancient Roskilde of its title to be capital, to the advantage of Copenhagen, and conquered the islands of Rügen and Wollin. His two sons Canute and Waldemar the Victorious continued his conquests. In 1218 Lübeck was captured. Waldemar took the title of king of the Danes and Slavs. He attacked the pagans of Esthonia and founded Reval at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. But on the night of May 6–7, 1223 Count Henry of Schwerin took him prisoner with his son. To secure his liberty he was compelled to cede the six counties south of the Eider River, with the exception of the island of Kiggen. Once at liberty, he tried to get the Pope to absolve him from his oath, but was utterly beaten on St. Madeleine's Day, July 22, 1227, at the battle of Bornhöved, in Holstein. His death left Denmark a prey to internal dissensions.

Strife with Denmark

Eric IV (1286–1319) for a moment was successful in re-establishing Danish power, but at his death Denmark's development was arrested. The nobles became masters of the country, and Denmark was in a state of anarchy. From 1332 to 1340 there was no king in Denmark. This is exactly the time when the Hanseatic cities were organizing. They interfered in the troubles of Denmark with their ships and their money. Henceforth in most Danish towns the Lübeckers had warehouses and often a whole quarter. They freely imported their goods and were possessed of a special organization of their own, with special judges for the trial of their causes. The privileges acquired by the Lübeckers were rapidly extended to other members of the Hanse and thus the league both spread and consolidated.

Not every danger from Denmark was removed, however. In these very years when the league was perfecting its organization, it met a terrible crisis. A descendant of an ancient Danish family, Waldemar Atterlag (died 1362), was successful in recovering from the Swedes the southern point of Scandinavia, which had belonged to Sweden. The league in alarm made an alliance with Sweden and Norway. The Count of Holstein joined it, and a fleet of three thousand soldiers was sent to besiege Hellingberg in the Sund. But they met defeat, and in July 1362 the King of Denmark destroyed and captured the fleet. It was a dark day for Lübeck. The burgomaster of the city, who commanded the expedition, was beheaded. It looked as if the Hanseatic League were going to perish. In 1367 the diet was held at Cologne, far enough away from Denmark not to be disturbed. Every city promised to furnish men and arms in order to break the abominable tyranny of Denmark. In the issue

Waldemar was beaten. In May, 1370, he signed the peace of Stralsund, which opened all Denmark to trade; the Danish castles which dominated the Sund passed into the custody of the Hanse. At Waldemar's death the Hanse dictated who the next king of Denmark should be. It was the golden age of the League. Denmark did not secure real independence until 1397, when the three Scandinavian kingdoms were united in the Union of Calmar.[1]

Factories

The Hanseatic League spread its net of commercial control over the whole north of Europe. It established "factories," or trading-posts, at Novgorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, Bruges in Flanders, and London. In the two latter places it could not contravene the laws of the counts of Flanders and the kings of England; nevertheless, the league enjoyed large commercial privileges there. But in Denmark, Scandinavia, and Russia there was no political power capable of withstanding their high-handed operations, and for years the Hanseatic League was both the dominant commercial and political power in these countries.

Government of the Hanse

The administrative system of the Hanseatic League requires attention. The Hanse originally comprised all German merchants trading abroad. Little by little for these merchants were substituted the German cities from whence they came, which formed between them a league in the interest of commerce. The question therefore resolved itself into what cities were members of the league. It is difficult to give an exact answer to this question. The list of the Hanseatic cities varied much at different times. In the fourteenth century we find a series of towns seeking entrance into the Hanse. Bremen was a member from 1358; Rügenwald on the Baltic Sea entered in 1379, Nijmegen in 1402, and thus the league little by little extended. But in the fifteenth century some towns withdrew, Berlin and Cologne in 1462. Brunswick pleaded poverty in order to withdraw at the beginning of the century. The Hanse never was a fixed league. Towns entered it and left it at different dates; the league expanded or contracted continually, so that it is difficult to say how many cities were in it. When a foreigner asked the exact number, the Hanse always evaded a direct reply. However, in a general fashion, there were seventy Hanseatic cities. In Russia the Hanse was called "the Seventy Cities." In 1359 the bank of Bruges had sixty-two Hanseatic cities on its list. Often a single German citizen of a single town or a small locality was permitted to share in the privileges of the Hanse in memory of the old time when the Hanse was nothing but an association of merchants.

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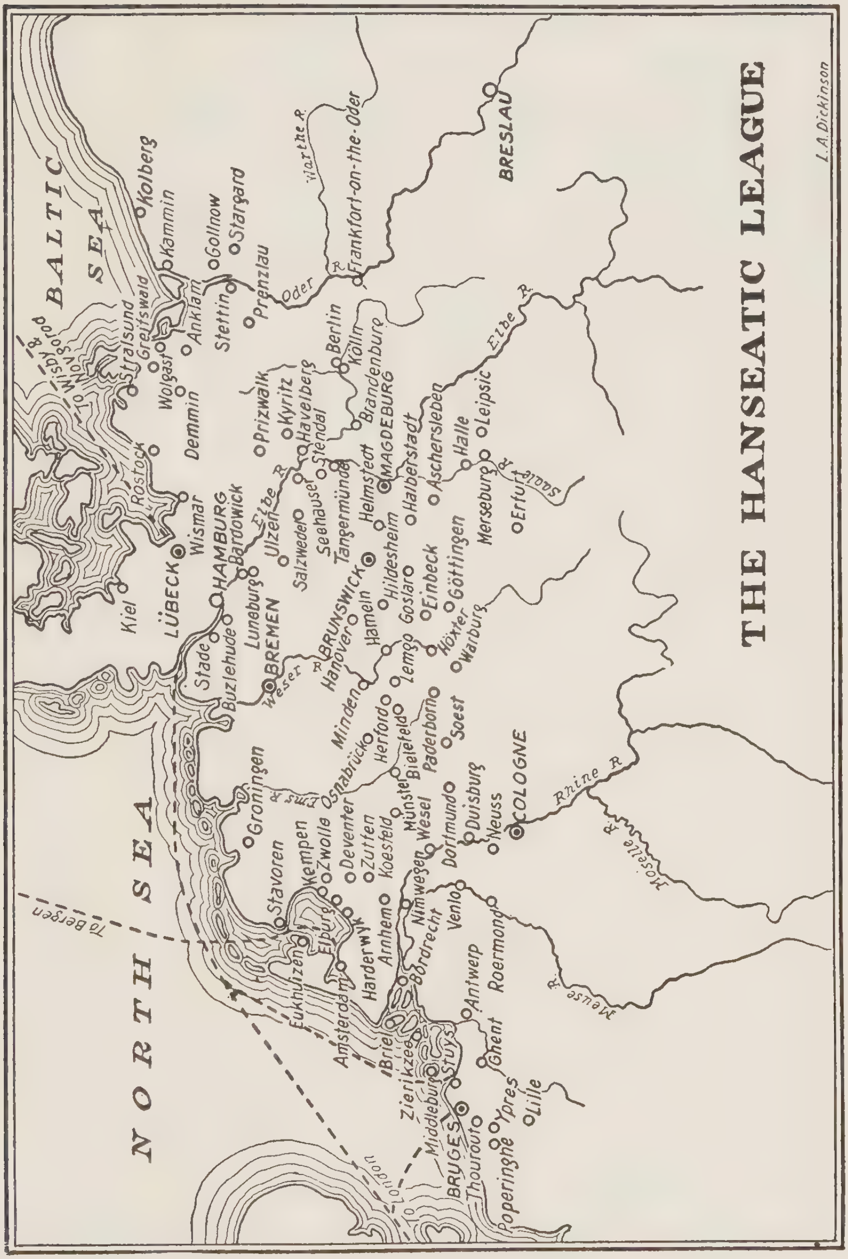
[1] The fourteenth century in all the Scandinavian countries was a period of unions — the union of Sweden and Norway in 1319; of Sweden and Scania in 1332; of Sweden, Norway and Denmark in 1397. These successive unions created a loosely agglomerated empire extending from the North Sea to the Russian lakes, from the Arctic to the mouth of the Elbe. The Baltic Sea almost became a Scandinavian lake except for its southern coast. But these unions encountered difficulty in holding together. Aside from the fact that this "empire" was without a natural physical centre, the political antagonism between the three formerly independent governments was acute and the three associated nations mutually opposed to one another. In Sweden the Union of Calmar (1397) rested upon a contradiction; for it presupposed a powerful kingship whereas the nobles had accepted it as a means of weakening the royal power. The conditions of the Union of Calmar were never definite. Three kingdoms were grouped under one sceptre, but it was a union without a legal basis. The act of coronation of Queen Margaret makes no mention of the union. It was a simple project formed by a commission after a conference with the queen and her councellors, and countersigned by the Swedish and Danish delegates. It was visibly inspired by the Swedes who were more interested in preserving the independence of Sweden than in creating a real union. After Calmar the Danish government treated Sweden and Norway as mere Danish provinces, everywhere appointed Danish officials, threatened local customs and liberties, and thus provoked a national feeling against Denmark. In Sweden the discontent grew rapidly. The political cleavage was between the aristocratic and unionist party sustained by the church and the national democratic or popular party and terminated in a triumph of the latter. The genius of Gustavus Vasa in 1521, perceiving the false drift of the Swedish nobles, created a faction among them in his favor and supported by popular sentiment finally overthrew the dynasty, the clergy and the "unreconstructed" nobles, and founded a new kingship based upon public sentiment, a strong national kingship and a protestant church.

To enumerate all the towns of the Hanse is therefore impossible, but we can make a geographical partition of them. First of all were the six towns that constituted the original Hanse—that is, the Wendish cities (*Die Wendischen Städte*): Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund. With Stralsund the small Pomeranian towns entered the Hanse. The small towns of Mecklenburg, on the contrary, had no relation to the league; but Kiel was dependent upon it from the thirteenth century and Holstein was attached to the Hanse down to the sixteenth century. Lüneburg in the southeast put the Wendish group into communication with the Saxon group, by which is meant the old duchy of Saxony, which extended over the whole plain of north Germany. Among these Saxon towns are to be distinguished first the Welf towns, Brunswick, Hanover, Goslar, Helmstedt, Nordheim; then the famous historical cities of Bremen, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg; third, the Westphalian cities, Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn; and, fourth, the Rhine cities. In the east we find the towns of Pomerania, like Stettin and Kolburg, etc. South of Pomerania were the cities of the Brandenburg Mark (Berlin) and Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, with a series of little towns dependent upon it. Farther east still lay Prussia, which the Teutonic Knights had conquered and brought under sway of German civilization. Here were Thorn, Kulm, Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Riga, Libau Pskov. In a word, the field of the Hanseatic League was north or lower Germany.

Circles

This mass of towns was divided into four administrative groups or "circles": (1) the Wendish Circle, to which were attached the towns of Brandenburg and Pomerania; (2) the Saxon Circle; (3) the Westphalian


THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE
L.A. Dickinson
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
To Bergen
To London
To Wisby &
To Novgorod
Kolberg
Kammin
Gollnow
Stargard
Greifswald
Stralsund
Anklam
Stettin
Prenzlau
Wolgast
Demmin
Rostock
Wismar
Kiel
LÜBECK
HAMBURG
Bardowick
Lüneburg
Stade
Buxtehude
BREMEN
Prizwalk
Kyritz
Havelberg
Stendal
Berlin
Kölln
Brandenburg
Frankfort-on-the-Oder
Warthe R.
Oder R.
BRESLAU
Elbe R.
Ülzen
Salzwedel
Seehausen
Tangermünde
Helmstedt
MAGDEBURG
Halberstadt
Aschersleben
Halle
Leipsic
Merseburg
Erfurt
Saale R.
BRUNSWICK
Hildesheim
Goslar
Einbeck
Göttingen
Hanover
Hameln
Minden
Lemgo
Höxter
Warburg
Weser R.
Groningen
Ems R.
Osnabrück
Herford
Bielefeld
Paderborn
Soest
Münster
Stavoren
Kempen
Zwolle
Deventer
Zutfen
Koesfeld
Wesel
Dortmund
Duisburg
Neuss
COLOGNE
Rhine R.
Moselle R.
Elburg
Harderwyk
Arnhem
Nimwegen
Dordrecht
Venlo
Roermond
Meuse R.
Eukhuizen
Amsterdam
Briel
Zierikzee
Middleburg
Stuys
Antwerp
Ghent
BRUGES
Thourout
Poperinghe
Ypres
Lille

Circle, including the Rhine cities and the Low Countries; (4) Prussia, Livonia, and Gothia. In each circle one city lorded it over the others. Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick and Danzig were the respective capitals of the four respective circles.

Predominance of Lübeck

Lübeck was the capital of the whole league. As early as the fourteenth century the control of affairs was centered here. In 1418 a diet of the Hanse officially so recognized it. It conducted all negotiations for the benefit of the league in the general interests of commerce. The other cities promised to assist Lübeck and to force observance of the measures that it took. Henceforth Lübeck was the executive agent of the league. The magistrates of the city became the officials of the league. Lübeck corresponded with foreign powers, received the complaints of towns or persons, forced protection, secured indemnities, etc. It sealed all the acts of the Hanse with its own special seal, bearing the imperial eagle. Naturally this pre-eminence excited jealousy. In 1441 the Prussian cities complained. Cologne in 1460 so effectually contested Lübeck's policy that the city was on the point of abandoning its headship in 1470. But the diet confirmed the statute of 1418, and Lübeck continued to be the seat of the executive power.

Such was the organization of the government of the Hanseatic League during the period of its splendor at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first two-thirds of the fifteenth. The Hanse was an important political power; it had ambassadors of its own and kingdoms in the north at its disposal. It was the Hanse that freed the Baltic of pirates; notably in the beginning of the fifteenth century of that society known as the "Vitalien Brüder," which had made Wisby a veritable nest of brigands. But even in these times of prosperity we can see the germs of decline, and the decline continues.

Beginnings of decay

First, within the towns of the league serious troubles broke out. The working-men demanded a place in the councils, which were exclusively composed of members of the merchant aristocracy. They grumbled against the weight of the city taxes. Thus in 1408 a revolt of the butchers' apprentices broke out. The local merchants, fearful of diminishing profits, always ended by yielding. But the league, on the contrary, tried to back the merchants against the rising democracy. Second, there were quarrels between towns, less acute it is true than those which troubled Italy. These towns, being especially engaged in commerce, rarely took up arms against one another as in Italy, but their commercial interests differed. Hence numbers of towns withdrew. The Prussian towns, the Dutch towns, and many of the German towns of the interior renounced the alliance.

Russia

But the greatest detriment was that some of the foreign factories were closed. The important market of the Far East, Novgorod, had enjoyed great prosperity. But in 1479 Ivan III, the founder of Russia, captured Novgorod, and the town lost its independence and its prosperity. Forty-nine German merchants were arrested and cruelly imprisoned, and in 1499 Ivan made a new series of arrests and confiscations. Thus the commerce of Novgorod diminished and in the sixteenth century it was lost to the Hanse.

About the same time Bruges began to decline. In 1450 Philip the Good admitted this commercial decline. In 1451 the Hanse, in order to compel Bruges to listen to their demands, removed to Utrecht, but returned in 1457 without having secured the favors asked. When the Flemish market was transferred from Bruges to Antwerp, the fixed habits of the Hanseatic merchants could not accommodate themselves to this change, whereas the Dutch merchants, on the other hand, freely entered the Sund. Thus the Hanse lost its commercial monopoly. The Dutch and the Zealanders were doing a greater business than the Hanse in German ports.

Flanders

England, which was exclusively agricultural in the Middle Ages, in the fifteenth century began to be industrial and mercantile. It now carded its own wool and wove its own cloth; it built its own ships, so that English merchandise was exported and foreign merchandise imported in English bottoms. Henry VII put heavy taxes upon the German merchants of the Stahlhof and established the Merchant Adventurers. Henry VIII continued this policy. Yet some German merchants still got rich. We have the portraits of merchants of the Stahlhof painted by Holbein.

England

The acquisition of Flanders by the French dukes of Burgundy, the gradual economic assimilation of the country with France, and finally the rise of Antwerp at last weakened the grasp of the Hanseatic League in Flanders. In Scandinavia, however, the power of the Hanseatic League was not broken until the rise of the powerful national house of Vasa, on the verge of the Reformation.

By the seventeenth century the Hanseatic League had shrunk to the proportions of a local north-German commercial association. One by one its cities were absorbed by the various German states, except Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, which even Napoleon spared as free cities.

We have followed the political and social changes in central Europe from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century. It is now necessary to study the transformation that took place in eastern Europe during the same period.

Eastern Europe included the great area situated east of Germany — that is, east of the Vistula River, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Adriatic, including the Balkans. These countries were occupied in the late Middle Ages by various barbaric peoples, semi-agricultural and warlike, all of which, except the Letts or Lithuanians, and the Hungarians, were of the Slavonic race. There was no unity among them except that of language, with very important dialectical differences. This great mass of people has always been divided into independent and unequal groups.

Border states to Germany

Lithuania

In order to study them they may be classified in five groups, some corresponding to certain peoples, others to simple geographic names.

To the northeast and beyond the Vistula River were situated the Letts. Their language was Indo-Germanic, so old that it is the nearest approach to Sanskrit. They were pagan until late in the Middle Ages. Adjacent to them were the Borussians or Prussians, who were pagan Slavs.

Poland

Upon the upper Vistula and the upper Dniester lay the Poles. They did not form a single state until late in the fourteenth century. In the eleventh century the Poles had but recently been converted. They were ruled by many petty princes. The most powerful was that of Grand Poland, in which the center of the Polish nation was to be found. This prince was a true sovereign and took the kingly title (1025). Poland comprised three great regions: Grand Poland, the basin of the Wartha; Little Poland, around the sources of the Vistula; and the intermediate country, with its center at Warsaw.

Bohemia

The Czechs or Bohemians formed the group of the center. The main trunk was in Bohemia and Moravia. They disputed Silesia and Moravia with the Germans. The Bohemians were the first Slavonic people to be converted, in the tenth century. They preserved their own language.

Russia

The Slavonic Russians formed the most numerous group. They were converted to the orthodox religion of the Greek Church and the Byzantine civilization. The most important regions of Russia were those around Novgorod and Kiev until Moscow displaced Kiev during the Mongol occupation.

The Balkan peninsula was a medley of nations, a motley of peoples.

Slav peoples

The Slavonic peoples of the Balkan peninsula were organized into petty kingdoms. The Bulgarians, the oldest in point of civilization, were south of the lower Danube; the Serbs were in the center; the Croatians on the Adriatic coast, as far south as Dalmatia. These were the three Slavonic peoples of the Balkans. In the great plain north of the Danube there was also a scattered and unorganized Slavonic population, as the Slavonic names of villages and localities attest.

These groups of peoples were disputed between the two churches east and west. The Bulgarians in the tenth century formed an actual kingdom, with a czar. The nobles were called boyars. The Bulgarians were attached to the Orthodox Church. Their history is very imperfectly known. The Serbs were also converted by Byzantium to the Greek Church. Our information of them comes, not from national documents, but from foreign sources, especially those of the popes and the Adriatic cities of Venice and Ragusa. In Serbia a powerful king, Stephen Dushan, united Epirus to the Serbian lands and consummated a fusion with the Bulgarians. In 1356 the title "Czar of Serbia and Roumania" first appeared. The Croatians were converted to the Roman faith and in consequence were turned towards the West. They formed also a petty kingdom, with a *rex Croatorum*. The dynasty died out in the twelfth century, and the Croats passed under the domination of Hungary, though preserving a certain autonomy of their own language and their own law. The Croats of the Adriatic were pirates.

Roumanians

The Roumanians were divided into two branches, the Macedo-Roumanians, who lived as shepherds in the mountains of Macedonia; and across the Danube the Daco-Roumanians in ancient Roman Dacia. This distinction of the groups from the very origin of this people is the object of bitter dispute. The Roumanians had preserved the language that Latin civilization had introduced among them. But were they primitively one or two groups? Their adversaries say that there was only a single group of them. Roumanian patriots, on the other hand, contend that there have been two groups from of old. The group of the south in the mountains, and the group in the north, which reappeared in the twelfth century. The latter make much of the argument that there exist in the two groups different words of the same sense.

The Albanians of Epirus had preserved themselves through centuries of invasion without even being Romanized. Their language antedates Latin. The Albanians were orthodox and nominal subjects of the Byzantine emperor. The Greeks were mixed with the Slavs and the Albanians.

Thus eastern Europe formed an immense territory from the Baltic to the Ægean and Adriatic, without precise limits, which was peopled by Slavs, politically and religiously divided. They were not conscious of any racial solidarity, nor did they possess race consciousness. Interspersed with them were other peoples who spoke other languages and had little dealings with the Slavs.

All these peoples are to be found in exactly the same place at the present day, with this difference: that the Roumanians have enlarged their territory.

Finns

At the extreme north dwelt the Finns, an old people, dark, yellow-skinned, with black hair and black eyes, and speaking an Asiatic tongue. They were divided into loose tribes, without power. They were collected into various geographical groups — Finns, Carelians, etc. — and were under the sway of the neighboring peoples. Some were totally absorbed by the Letts. Others preserved fairly well their inferior condition of peasants under the victorious aristocracy of their conquerors. By remaining a peasant people, however, without a history, they retained their language and their traditions.

Hungary

On the Danube and the Theiss lay the Magyar people of the yellow race, a Turkish nation that was converted to Christianity about A.D. 1000 and organized into a powerful kingdom. They had subjected the Slovaks of Moravia and the Croatians down to Transylvania.

This widespread and amorphous Slavonic world in the last centuries of the Middle Ages was attacked by powerful and conquering foes. In the northeast, along the Baltic, a new German expansion and conquest took place under the Teutonic Knights. In the southeast appeared the Ottoman Turks. Only the three kingdoms of the center — namely, the Poles, the Bohemians, and the Magyars — maintained themselves, and that precariously.

Teutonic Knights in Prussia

While the expansive energy of the north-German folk had found expression in commercial expansion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, new urge was also given to that older form of expansion — the conquest and colonization of the Slavonic East Border. The territory between the Elbe and the Oder had been conquered and settled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the Vistula River had been reached. But beyond that great stream lay a vaguely known and barbaric land peopled by heathen Prussians, which beckoned land-hungry and ambitious barons and bishops, monk missionaries, adventurous merchants, hardy pioneer farmers. For about seventy-five years the Vistula had remained the boundary between the expanding Germanic and the shrinking Slavonic worlds. Then came new energy with the entrance of the Military Order of Teutonic Knights into this field. The failure of the crusades had left the order without a cause. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century came a call to them for assistance in subjugating the Prussians, a Lithuanian, not a Slav people.

Before entering on this crusade the Grand Master, Hermann von Salza secured from Frederick II in 1226 a grant to the order of the district around Culin and of all future conquests in the region extending from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland. In this grant were included the right of coinage, mill rights, fishing rights, exclusive control of salt, metal, and other mines and of the fur trade, and the privilege of acting as escort to merchants and traders on land and in the Baltic. In exchange for these privileges the order was to establish a mark on the eastern frontier against " the heathen Lithuanians and the heretic Russians." This grant secured the independent rule of the order. The support of the papacy was secured by persuading Gregory IX to claim all lands of the heathen as property of St. Peter and to grant them to the order on the payment of a nominal tribute.

In 1231 the first detachment of the Knights entered Prussia and commenced their work of conquest and colonization. By 1346 their rule extended to the Gulf of Finland. As each district was conquered, a fortress was built to enforce obedience and serve as a base for further operations. German colonists were induced to come in and people the devastated lands. Agriculture was encouraged, especial attention being paid to the planting of fruit-trees and grape-vines. The energy of the Knights in building towns was remarkable. By 1400, ninety-three cities and fourteen hundred villages had been founded and were prosperous. Charters granting freedom of self-government were freely given to the larger towns. This founding of towns was prompted as much by the need of commerce as by a desire for protection. The Knights practically controlled the trade of the Baltic and of eastern Europe, and this control, combined with protection, enabled the smaller towns to develop their industries. Artisans were encouraged to come in, wages and prices were regulated, inland trade was facilitated by the building of canals and roads, rivers were made navigable and their usefulness further increased by costly dams and dikes. An economic work like this meant much to that barren land.

Tannenberg (1410)

The decline of the order began with the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1387 and the acceptance of Christianity by the Lithuanians. The inhabitants had no part in the government and had lost faith in the "missionary" professions of the order. In 1410 the army of the Knights was badly defeated by the Poles at Tannenberg, near the same spot where Hindenburg so terribly routed the Russians in 1914. Moreover, the economic policy of the Knights alienated the traders and the Hanseatic League, to which several of the Prussian cities belonged, for they had levied a heavy duty on all exports of Hanseatic merchants. Revenues from rents, entirely feudal in their nature, were changed to forced taxation. In order to protect their common interests and liberties, twenty-one towns and a number of the nobles formed the Prussian League in 1440 and offered the suzerainty of Prussia to Casimir of Poland. He accepted the offer. By 1461 the order had been deprived of all its vast possessions except East Prussia, which was held as a Polish fief. The order was practically dissolved in 1525, when the Grand Master, Albert of Hohenzollern, confirmed the cession of West Prussia to Poland and received East Prussia as an hereditary duchy. Finally, in the sixteenth century, the rise of Russia under Ivan the Terrible and of Sweden under the house of Vasa completed the ruin of the Teutonic Knights. Most of their territories were lost between 1558 and 1561. Livonia was annexed to Poland, Esthonia to Sweden, Osel to Denmark, and the residue to Russia, except that Master Gotthard Kettler became hereditary duke of Kurland and Semgallen, and the Hohenzollern retained Prussia. Yet the Teutonic order "had secularized itself to a large extent before Albert's day; each of its three provinces, the Livonian, the Prussian and the German had claimed a practical autonomy; each knight treated his commandery as an independent fief; the conversion of the Baltic lands to Christianity deprived it of its raison d'être, and the union of Poland and Lithuania

Decline of the Order

raised up a powerful foe. Even the loss of Prussia failed to galvanize its decaying spirit, and it declined the offers of emperors to transplant it into Hungary where it might have recovered its prestige by resuming its function of defending Christendom against the Turks."[1]

Greatness of Poland in fourteenth century

Charles IV had cherished the vision of founding a great agglomerated family state in the east which would include Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The prospect of success seemed great, for in both Poland and Hungary the ancient reigning dynasty was on the verge of extinguishment in the fourteenth century. But Poland escaped from German control. The capital of Poland was Cracow. The last of the Piast kings of Poland was Casimir the Great. The King sought to aggrandize his power by territorial extension, especially towards the southeast, where the anarchy was complete, for Old Russia was in dissolution, and Poland conquered Ruthenia, the country of the Red Russians. Casimir encouraged trade, especially with Germany, whose merchants had colonies in the Polish towns. In 1364 the University of Cracow was founded. When Casimir died, in 1370, a short union followed of Poland with Hungary under Louis the Great (1370–82), and then his daughter Hedwig married Vladislav II, Yagello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in 1386.

Union of Poland and Lithuania (1386)

In Lithuania a great state had been formed, which remained pagan. It was made by the union of all the elements of the Lett people that survived. They extended at the expense of the Russian lands. First White Russia was conquered by the Lithuanians; then came the turn of Little Russia. Lithuania spread thus from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It hesitated between the Greek and the Roman Church. The decisive act that influenced its choice was the marriage of the Prince of Lithuania with the heiress of Poland in 1386, which resulted in a general conversion to Catholicism. This personal union prepared the fusion of the states. The aristocracy were Polanized and a rupture with the Russians followed. Many of the Russian people thus passed under the domination of foreign kingdoms. Those of the east were concentrated little by little under the rule of the Prince of Moscow. In 1380 this concentration came to an end, to begin again slowly later.

Bohemia

Charles IV had not lived long enough to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by these changes in the kingdoms bordering Germany, for he had died in 1378 and his worthless sons had not their father's sagacity. Poland wholly escaped from German influence. In Bohemia the rebellion of the Hussites, the protestant sect created by the reformer John Huss, ruined the power of Sigismund, Charles IV's last surviving son, even before his death, in 1437; and when the civil war ended, it found a native Czech ruler upon the throne in George Podebrad (1458–71). Bohemia, which had been Germanized, reverted to Slavonism again, under the heretic Hussite movement. Attacked by the Catholic crusades at the time of the Council of Constance, it fiercely resisted and in the end the Czech people stayed Slavonic and heretic.

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[1] POLLARD, A. W., *English Hist. Rev.* XXVII, p. 780.

Turks invade Hungary

In Hungary after 1382 first Habsburg and then Polish influence was ascendant. But when Vladislav III of Poland-Lithuania fell at Varna (1444) in battle with the Turks, Hungary found a national leader in John Hunyadi, hero of the siege of Belgrade by the Turks (1456), whose son Matthias Corvinus was king from 1458 to 1490. His reign is a brilliant chapter in Hungarian history, both for military prowess against the Turks and for the promotion of the Italian Renaissance in his dominions. In the last decade of the fifteenth century the succession in both Bohemia and Hungary was assured to Maximilian of Habsburg, and only Poland continued to be independent.

Thus German territory was extended at the expense of the Slavs. But outside of the Germanized territories a great number of German colonies were established in the towns and in the mining regions, in Prussia, Poland, Moravia, Hungary, and Transylvania. In Livonia the Germans formed the upper class, and in the Germanized lands the Slavonic peasantry were utterly dependent.

To conclude: at the end of the fifteenth century we find in the center of eastern Europe three independent states.

1. Poland-Lithuania, formed of a Polish-Lithuanian core, with two Russian appendages. Society there was warlike and aristocratic, the king very weak, the peasantry much exploited, the nobility powerful. The kingdom had neither national nor religious unity. The upper classes were Polish and Catholic.

2. Hungary. Here the kingship was elective, the country Catholic and aristocratic, like Poland.

3. Bohemia, nationalized anew by the Hussite revolt. The radical religious and democratic group of the Taborites had been exterminated. But it was a precarious kingdom, threatened because it was heretical, and of indefinite natural frontiers, and so it had great difficulty in protecting its nationality.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY. THE GREAT SCHISM AND REFORMING COUNCILS

Prologue to the Reformation

THE HISTORY of the Church and the papacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is the prologue to the Reformation. For that revolt was the culmination of a condition within the Church of long duration, which increased in volume and gathered head with the years until the storm broke at last in the sixteenth century.

Periods

The crisis began when the papacy was transferred to Avignon in 1309, six years after the fall of Boniface VIII. We may distinguish four periods: (1) the French papacy at Avignon (1309–78); (2) the Great Schism (1378–1417); (3) the reforming councils; (4) the papacy in the Italian Renaissance.

Avignon (1309–76)

The removal of the papacy from Rome to Avignon had been wholly due to politics. At the time it occurred it was regarded by all as a temporary expedient. The Pope was an Italian prince badly served by his subjects, and Rome was in such a state of political turmoil that it was unsafe for him to reside there. The evidence for this opinion is found in the fact that the first three French popes continued to reside in the archiepiscopal palace in Avignon. They ruled neither the city nor the county of Avignon, which had pertained since 1290 to the house of Anjou as counts of Provence, whose prince was also, as we have seen before, king of Naples and Sicily. But in 1348 Charles of Anjou's great-granddaughter, Queen Jeanne of Naples, sold the suzerainty of Avignon, which she had inherited, to Pope Clement VI for eighty thousand gold florins. Then Avignon became a new papal patrimony, a new Rome. Then, too, the erection of the great papal palace, whose massive and imposing structure still crowns the hill over Avignon, was begun. This was in the time when that Roman leader Rienzi had carried through a seemingly successful revolution in Rome and organized the Eternal City as a Roman republic, so that Rome seemed politically lost to papal rule. But Rienzi proved to be a mock-hero. Intoxicated with his brief success, he acted like a mountebank, and the bubble of his brief authority burst. The papal legate Egidio Albornoz, a man of iron, subjugated the States of the Church, broke the local tyrants, restored the papal administration, reformed the Roman statutes. But Urban VI (1352–62) could not be persuaded to return to Rome. Thus by a series of imperceptible gradations and not by a sudden event the papacy became a fixture in Avignon.

The French popes have been given a bad name in history, but the malign attribution may not be unreservedly accepted. In any case, the popes themselves may be exculpated from blame. The evil of church corruption is to be found in the general conditions of the age. Actually neither the Church nor the papacy was more corrupt than secular princes and governments of the same time. But the evil seemed to be the more heinous because the Church was also a spiritual institution. There is no valid reason for thinking that the French popes of the fourteenth century were morally worse than their predecessors in the thirteenth; and, indeed, they were better men. Benedict XII was an austere ascetic; Clement VI was a distinguished theologian, of a benevolent disposition; Innocent VI was a severe prelate; Urban V was half a saint; and John XXII was a mystic imbued with the spirit of St. Francis.

Character of the French popes

The ill fame of the French papacy is primarily due to the slanders of the poet Petrarch, who was Latin secretary to one of the popes, but who, an Italian to the core, deplored the loss to Rome and Italy of their most historic institution and poured out the vials of his wrath in screeds of vituperation and invective, which his literary reputation made too effectual. But protestant writers of the sixteenth century must share the obloquy of historical mendacity; for when the Reformation broke, these writers found fresh sources for their attack upon the contemporary popes by harking back to the epoch of the Avignonese popes, whose character and conduct they basely misrepresented. Again, it must be borne in mind that the fourteenth century was an era of intense national feeling, and the antagonisms produced by that state of mind, notably in the protracted war between France and England, bred a spirit of rancor against the papacy because the popes were French, and the seat of the popedom a French city.

The real and general grievance of Europe against the papacy at this time was an economic one. The profound economic, social, and political revolution wrought in Europe in the thirteenth century had diminished the temporal power and the temporal revenues of the Church everywhere, and, having no less need of money than before, the Church repaired its losses by capitalizing its spiritual authority, notoriously in the sale of indulgences. Having no temporal subjects, the popes taxed their spiritual subjects. Once begun, the practice grew by leaps and bounds, for it proved a lucrative means of raising revenue.

Financial operations

In process of time a whole series of fiscal expedients were devised, which filled episcopal and papal coffers to overflowing. These practices may be classified under four heads, according to the principle upon which each rested:

Corrupt practices

1. Practices based upon the law which the Pope possessed of appointing to church benefices and church offices. These were known as

"reservations," because the popes reserved the right of nomination, of granting grace, of filling vacancies, of granting commendations.

2. Practices derived from the old feudalized nature of the Church, like investiture. The popes regarded bishoprics and abbeys as fiefs from which services could be exacted in the form of money payments and which, when vacant, might be disposed of as fiefs. Thus the annates or "first-fruits" — that is, the entire annual revenue of a bishopric — was required of a new episcopal appointee as a fee for qualification. Naturally the bishop passed on the burden of this expense to his flock, so that the ecclesiastical obligation in last analysis was paid by all the faithful of the diocese. The result was that the whole population of Europe increasingly groaned under this weight of church taxation.

3. Practices arising from the pope's power of jurisdiction, or as a judge sitting *in curia* for the adjudication of ecclesiastical causes. As far back as Gregory VII the appellate jurisdiction of the pope had proved a lucrative source of revenue, for the fees attached to appealed causes were heavy. But the French popes enormously widened the sphere of appellate causes, with the result that every important ecclesiastical case ultimately was remanded to the Curia.

4. Practices resting on the authority that the pope possessed to grant "dispensations," or to suspend the enforcement of the canon law. Perhaps no feature of the fiscal policy of the popes in the fourteenth century exhibits more juggling than this practice. By this means the popes — for a liberal fee — might permit "plurality" (which was forbidden by the canon law), by which a single churchman might hold many offices, only one of which he actually served, hiring an understudy at a low price to perform the duties of the other offices he held. Or the reverse practice might be followed and several ambitious candidates be pyramided upon the same office, only one of whom was the actual incumbent, who exercised the authority of the office and drew the revenues thereof, the others being mere titular incumbents who had paid heavily for the ecclesiastical title. Many a bishopric had two and even three titular bishops, usually sons of some rich and influential family, which had paid for the honor. Dispensation could also be granted for non-residence and for marriage within prohibited degrees of relationship. It was even employed as a curiously inverted form of indulgence, papal dispensation suspending the penalties of the canon law.

Europe in the fourteenth century was a richer Europe than ever before, thanks to the development of commerce and industry, so that the papal revenues were prodigious. The court at Avignon became a maze of financial bureaux, each staffed with an army of officials, and the pickings and stealings from the incomes of every one of these bureaux were enormous. Hence the prodigality, the luxury, the gay and licentious life of the multitude of clergy there assembled.

It would be a narrow view, however, to hold the popes responsible for this state of things. The whole Church must be indicted. The condition was wrong, the system a vicious one. In the last analysis, all Europe was responsible for this condition. This new fiscality rested upon a general necessity of the time and was not a phenomenon either peculiarly ecclesiastical or French. In the transition from the medieval and feudal age to the modern epoch the landed aristocracy of Europe had lost wealth, lost political power, lost social prestige, and no longer were able as of yore to support the Church as the feudality had done in the great age of feudalism. On the other hand, the newly risen burgher class in the towns, although many of them were rich, had no such tradition of service towards the Church and kept their purses tight shut. Moreover, the Church, which had always been the greatest of landowners, found itself in the fourteenth century possessed of extensive but unprofitable holdings of land. It could not profit directly by the new commercial and industrial activity. The old episcopal and abbatial markets had passed into the hands of the towns. With the fall of feudalism the temporal resources of the Church had fallen, too. Its only recourse, in order to pay the expenses of its administration, was to capitalize its prerogatives.

Economic conditions

This is what the secular rulers, the secular governments of Europe, had done. Recourse to new and onerous financial expedients was characteristic of all the governments. Had not Philip IV and Philip VI of France, Edward I and Edward III of England, the counts of Flanders, the German princes, when the older feudal sources of revenue dried up, invented new forms of taxation in order to provide themselves with revenue? Why should not the Church do likewise? What else could the Church and the popes do? But, unfortunately for the Church, it had spiritual, not political prerogatives, like the kings. It could not evade the charge that it was debauching religion, selling the things of the altar and shamefully utilizing the grace of God, which it alone had the power to dispense, for mercenary ends. Let it not escape the reader that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the whole system of Europe, secular and ecclesiastical, of the states as well as of the Church, was in a condition of transition from a feudal to a monarchical regime. In the history of institutions it was an age of maladjustment and readjustment. The old leather bottles could not hold the new wine. The old forms of government had to become adjusted to the new conditions in Europe.

Spiritual decay

One may understand and be tolerant of the Church in this epoch. Naturally the spiritual character of the Church suffered deterioration. Naturally the people murmured, complained; and the zealots among them, like Wiclif and Huss, broke with her. The dissatisfaction was greatest in England and Bohemia, but in each place the phenomenon cannot be separated from political grievances and national feeling. Everywhere the princes fished in the turbid ecclesiastical waters, while heretics multiplied and heresy increased. The purest and clearest and cleanest of all dissidents and sectaries were the Spiritual Franciscans, who still were led by the mystical vision of St. Francis, who would not worship the idol of money, who inveighed against wealth and the abuses thereof, who deplored the spotted garment of the Church and even said that the pope was Antichrist. But the Spiritual Franciscans were more dreamers than fanatics.

St. Catherine of Siena

Instead of the plight of the Church improving, time aggravated the evil of its condition. Curiously enough, the immediate occasion of the trouble was one of the purest and most ardent souls that breathed, St. Catherine of Siena (1347–80). This intensely religious and mystical woman, whom "no one ever approached without becoming wiser and better from her presence," whose devotion to the sick and afflicted had made her name a household word in Siena long before it became known to all Europe, who saw seraphic visions and had seraphic dreams, had earnestly entreated Gregory XI to return to Rome, both in letters and in personal appeal when she was sent to Avignon as an ambassadress by Florence in 1376 to sue for removal of the papal interdict that had been imposed upon the republic. The cultivated pontiff shrunk from the thought of returning to Rome, which since Rienzi's fiasco had degenerated into the foulest spot in Christendom, which the fierce nobles filled with their castles and where they fought out their feuds with hired banditti, where pilgrims were fleeced and murdered by the lowest and most depraved populace in Europe. Finally, however, overcome by St. Catherine's entreaties, the Pope set out for Rome and entered the Holy City in January 1377, although probably entertaining no thought of making more than a visit to his Italian vineyard.

Origin of the schism (1378)

But Gregory XI unexpectedly died in Rome, and his decease precipitated the second stage of papal and church history, the Great Schism (1378–1417). The origins of the Great Schism, for a long time obscure, have been made clear by modern historians. It was due to an untoward combination of things, circumstantial but not organic in their nature. The turbulent Roman populace, with the dead Pope in their midst, determined to compel the cardinals in the papal entourage to elect a Roman or at least an Italian to be pope and make permanent the removal of the papacy to Rome. At this time the college of cardinals was composed of eleven Frenchmen, four Italians, and one Spaniard. The late Pope had been accompanied by his Italian cardinals, but few French ones. These were seized by the Romans, and shut up in conclave, which amounted to incarceration, and threatened with violence if they did not elect a Roman to the vacant papal office. Afraid to ignore the menace, yet fearing French opposition if they did not elect a French pope, the imprisoned cardinals compromised by electing the Archbishop of Bari, an Italian prelate who was a subject of the half-French Queen Jeanne of Naples. He took the name of Urban VI. The lucky — or unlucky — recipient of the pontifical honor, however, soon lost his head in the excitement of the situation, quarreled with the cardinals, and even intrigued to make away with some of them. He was as violent of temper as Boniface VIII before him, with far less power. Thereupon the cardinals issued a public manifesto declaring that Urban VI's election had been owing to intimidation and corrupt practice, retired to Anagni (of all ominous places!), and elected the Bishop of Geneva, a Frenchman in birth and language, although not a French subject. He assumed the name of Clement VII.

Effects

The antagonistic state of European politics at this time almost at once converted the double election into that cleavage of wide dimension and long duration known as the Great Schism.

The schism divided Europe. England, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the princes of northern Italy recognized Urban VI; France, Spain, Naples and Sicily sustained Clement VII. Christendom was divided between two obediences. The ecclesiastical cleavage closely followed the political cleavages of Europe. However, the alignment was not so clear-cut as implied. Germany and Italy especially were divided in obedience, and even cities were split into two camps. The protracted conflict turned, not upon dogma or anything pertaining to religion, but upon the personality of the rival popes. The venom emitted by each partisan descended to each succeeding pope in each camp. For it may truly be said that Europe became a camp-ground of warring church factions and their political backers. But the battles were polemical conflicts. A flood of propagandistic literature was poured forth by each side. It was a battle of books.

Neither of the rivals possessed actual sway save in the countries where he was recognized. In these he appointed to vacant bishoprics, collected ecclesiastical revenues, and governed as pope. But each pope claimed sole and universal jurisdiction, so that, having excommunicated the supporters of his antagonist and declared all bishops and lesser clergy deposed who served his rival, each antagonist proceeded to fill church offices in the field that was not in his "obedience." The result was that Europe had a double system of ecclesiastical administration and two popes, each claiming exclusive jurisdiction, but actually only half-operative.

Moral consternation soon followed upon the heels of this scandal. Which one was the true pope? In which group did salvation lie? The sacramental system could not be valid for both ecclesiastical parties, for the Church was one in faith and doctrine. Half of Europe was spiritually outlawed by the other half. Each pope declared that any sacrament performed outside of his obedience was profanation and ineffective; that baptism, confirmation, eucharist, extreme unction, administered by any priest not of his obedience was without grace; that everyone would die in his sins; that marriage was unlawful and the children thereof bastards. Titles to property, too, became a tangled maze, for the making of a will was an ecclesiastical formality. All the monastic orders were rent in twain by the schism. For example, the mother house of Citeaux in Burgundy and the four eldest daughter-houses, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, were within the kingdom of France and adhered to Clement VII at Avignon. On the other hand, the Cistercian monasteries in Italy — except in the kingdom of Naples — Germany, Hungary, England, with Wales and Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden adhered to Urban VI at Rome. The military Order of St. John of Jerusalem was split under divided allegiance to a grand master and an anti-grand master. The Dominicans had to choose between two masters, one at Nuremberg and the other at Bergerac. The Carthusians kept neutral in the fray for two years; but as soon as the prior of the Grande Chartreuse declared for the Avignon pope those of the Roman obedience chose another prior general at Zeitz in Saxony. In the Benedictine abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer one of them, looking upon the others as schismatics, ran off with what property of theirs he could, sold all of it for three lives to the English and lived in England on the proceeds. In Northern Italy the cities of Forli and Bologna withdrew themselves from submission to the Church altogether. In Liège the people had decided for neutrality, but broke into the cathedral of St. Lambert and the houses adjoining, plundered the relics, stole the canons' property and sold it in the market-place to the highest bidder.[1]

New spiritual forces

The spiritual dismay of Europe increased. Distrusting each organization, indifferent to or flouting each spiritual authority, bold or radical self-made preachers arose everywhere proclaiming that they knew the way of salvation. Heresy grew rampant, heretics multiplied. While some of these leaders were ignorant upstarts, and some of them unscrupulous fakirs battening on credulity and religious emotionalism, there were many among them who were pure and ardent souls, like Wessel Gansevoort and John Tauler, who were great popular preachers, preaching repentance with the fervor of a John the Baptist. Others were gentle mystics like Thomas à Kempis, by some believed to be the author of *The Imitation of Christ,* still a classic of religious literature and one of the earliest books to be printed. Still others were fanatical zealots like Henry Suso. The most radical broke utterly with the Church. The less radical hoped for ultimate reform from within. Such were St. Thomas à Kempis and Berthold of Regensburg, whose scathing utterances frightened, yet entranced, Germany. Here and there one descries the towering form of some bold Dominican or Franciscan preacher.

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[1] Wylie, *Reign of Henry* IV, III, pp. 9–10.

The writings of the age are filled with complaints of the corruption of the clergy at this epoch, whence the prevalent opinion that the Church of the fourteenth century was notoriously corrupt. In point of truth, there is no reason to believe it. It is true that the Church was richer at this epoch than before, but that is because, in a general fashion, society itself was richer. In fact, the canon law had been violated by the Church as much in former centuries as in the fourteenth, because its regulations were too ideal for average human nature and were based upon the assumption of education, austerity, and high morality in the clergy at a time when these virtues did not exist with either laymen or clericals. But before the fourteenth century none but idealists perceived this state of things and complained of it. Utopian literature was a novelty in the fourteenth century, and the contrast between the illusions it created and the actual Church is really what shocked the mind of Europe, not the actual state of the Church itself, although it so seemed.

Church statistics refute the accusation of spiritual deadness and appalling corruption. It is often asserted that religious life and Christian belief were of diminished influence in this time. On the contrary, in this very age we find the great mystics of the Low Countries, the Friends of God, the Fratres Bonæ Voluntatis, the Brethren of the Common Lot, and works of wondrous spirituality, like the *Imitation of Christ*.

This period of confusion and conflict in the Church was also one of remarkable religious fervor. In manifestations of religious psychology the fourteenth century is an important epoch. Intense emotionalism, intense revivalism, were phenomena of the age. Far from being irreligious, the fourteenth century was profoundly religious, but much of its religiousness was spasmodic and irregular, without gravity and of crude expression. A striking characteristic of it is its popular nature. The number of sects was legion. Most of them were little local systems with trivial leaders which soon had their day and passed — broken lights of the great light of Christianity.

Heresies

Wiclif

But two such movements were of greater depth and broader scope. These two were the Lollard movement generated in England by John Wiclif (died 1384) and the Hussite movement in Bohemia, generated by John Huss. Each movement resulted in secession from Rome and the establishment of separate and permanent heretical organizations. Before Wiclif there had been similar attempts — for example, that of the Waldensians in the twelfth century. But it had not succeeded. What distinguishes the Lollard and Hussite movements is that both of them survived all coercion and persecution. In this sense they anticipated the greater religious revolt of Luther and Calvin in the sixteenth century.

Huss

As John Huss largely owed his ideas and incentive to the English movement, an analysis of Wiclif's teachings will avail for understanding both movements. Wiclif, who was an Oxford man, founded his teaching upon the mystical principle that the true Church was composed of the "elect" and "predestined." The Church was not to be found in the clergy (as was the doctrine of Rome), but in the body of these elect, who constituted the *Secta Christi,* or Sect of Christ. There was no religious authority outside of one's own heart. It is obvious that these doctrines of the right of private judgment in religion, of election and predestination, were a body-blow to the Church's doctrine of authority and the peculiar nature of holy orders. The clergy as intermediaries between God and sinful man thereby lost their office, or at best became no more than mere religious teachers and preachers. They had no authority, no efficacy in matters of religion. The Bible was the sole and ultimate source of authority. The pope might have greater dignity than other priests, but he had no supreme spiritual authority. Indeed, popes and bishops were useless. The canons were empty verbiage. Faith, not ecclesiastical authority, reconciled man with God. The Church was not an outward entity, but a spiritual organism, invisible to the naked eye and only visible to the eye of faith. Ecclesiastical organization was merely an administrative convenience, not a fundamental necessity of religious society. In truth, it was but a human institution, as the nominalist philosophers like William of Ockham and Marsiglio of Padua contended. Wiclif translated the Latin Vulgate Bible into English — the earliest important monument of English prose — for the instruction of his followers, and preached to the masses, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, in the vernacular language. The importance of the bold move of putting the actual text of scripture into the hands of the people may be appreciated when it is said that the Church had for centuries regarded the Bible as a closed book, forbidden to be read by the common people. Innocent III in 1200 had ordered a French Bible current in Metz to be burned.

There is no doubt that part of the popularity of Wiclif's teachings was due to English enmity towards France at this time. The Bohemian reformation was not of an original nature, but owed its stimulation to Wiclifism, whose doctrines were introduced into Bohemia as the result of the marriage of Richard II of England with the Princess Anne of Bohemia-Luxemburg and the intellectual exchanges that took place between Oxford University and the University of Prague. It was also furthered by the resentment of the Bohemians against German rule over Bohemia. In a word, Hussitism became the vehicle for the expression of Bohemian political discontent and national aspiration.

But, independently of these two important heretical movements, the Church was rent by another dissident teaching. In 1387 a monk named

Jean de Montesson issued a tract in which he contended that the doctrine of the original sinlessness of the Virgin was contrary to the evidence of the Bible. It was a clash not only between Holy Writ and the philosophic formalism of the age, but a cleavage within the Church itself. This is the germ of the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, which was not formally declared to be dogma until 1870. At a time when Lollardry and similar religious movements were widespread, this cleavage within the Church was of great significance.

Gerson

The controversy brought forward the greatest spiritual and intellectual leader of the epoch, John Gerson (1363–1429). A poor country boy by birth, he tramped to Paris and became a student in the College of Navarre, whose grand master, or president, was a remarkable man, Pierre d'Ailly, whom we shall come upon again in another capacity. From the first, Gerson proved to be a brilliant student. The antipope Clement VII at Avignon appointed a commission to consider the new teaching put forward by Montesson, and the University of Paris was represented by Pierre d'Ailly, who associated Gerson with him. His progress from that time was steady. But Gerson was something besides a theologian.

> "He viewed with a clear and piercing mind the terrible evils of the time and he saw that they were social as well as religious. He felt in the air, so to speak, two new forces, the revival of classical learning and the revival of mysticism; and he saw that these two forces in a popular form — education and religion — alone could save Christendom. He was, in fact, a Christian socialist [and] threw himself heart and soul into a movement for popular education. . . . He introduced the use of the vernacular into education and religion in various works such as *De scavoir bien mourir* and *L'A B C des simple gens* (*To know how to die well,* and *The A B C of simple folk*) . . . while in his tract, *De innocentia puerili* (*On childhood's innocence*) he attacked the corruption of childhood through bad pictures and bad books."[1]

John Gerson had become rector of the University of Paris in 1398. "In those times a university was a scientific and political power of the first rank, and had an importance equal to that possessed by the press and the universities combined at the present day."[2] The University of Paris urged 'subtraction' of neutrality, i.e. not to recognize either pope and to withhold payment of aids, first fruits tenths or fees until the schism was healed and "hell fire died out for lack of fuel." The notion of salvation without any pope at all was shaping permanently in many earnest minds.

In the interest of church reform Gerson published an influential pamphlet entitled *De unitate ecclesiæ* (*On church unity*), and received able support from another great Frenchman, Nicholas de Clemengis, papal secretary. The situation within the Church was alarming. The suggestion that each pope should abdicate had been repudiated by each principal. Each pope had entered into a secret agreement to resist all interference, whether from kings or universities. A second suggestion that each party should name arbitrators, and that both claimants should accept the decision, likewise had failed. Gerson's way out of the impasse was to reassert the old "conciliar theory" of the ninth century, according to which the authority of the Church was vested in the whole Church represented by a general council, and not in the pope. It was harking back to the days before the rise of the papal monarchy.

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[1] London *Times Literary Supplement,* July 11, 1929.

[2] Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe,* p. 43.

> "It had been believed that nothing short of a miracle could heal the schism and now the wished-for moment seemed to have arrived in natural course. Both popes (in 1408) were isolated and deserted by three-fourths of their colleagues. . . . The universities of Paris and Bologna . . . pressed for immediate action. About the beginning of June, 1408, four of Gregory's disaffected cardinals met four of the Ultramontane or Gallican cardinals . . . at Leghorn to arrange for a united effort. Here the cardinals issued a joint manifesto dated June 24, 1408 summoning a General Council to meet at Pisa on March 25, 1409 with a view to the repudiation of both Gregory and Benedict and the election of one pope who should represent the whole united catholic world. . . . If salves would not heal the sore they must try the branding-iron and the knife. . . . The breach between pope Gregory and the cardinals grew wider and amounted soon to open war, to the huge amusement of Jews, and heathen and profane onlookers. . . . In pursuance of their determination the cardinals at Leghorn had braced in earnest for the inevitable struggle. They satisfied themselves that they were right in law by quotations from Aristotle's *Ethics* and they argued that they could call a general council without emperor or pope because Christ had sanctioned the meeting of two or three together — not in Peter's name but 'in My name'. . . . On July 1, 1408 they issued an order calling upon the faithful to withhold all dues that had previously been paid to Gregory XII believing that when he found himself stripped of these supplies his obstinacy would soon break up."[1]

Counter-popes and councils

As the result of this teaching the self-constituted Council of Pisa convened in 1409. "The speeches of the delegates may still be read in the casual words in which they were delivered, forming a mine of racy anecdote and smart repartee. It is one of the greatest curiosities of medieval reporting. One or two of the speakers complain that they have a cold in the head, or that they were not so much at home in French as in Latin." For three weeks the talk flowed on. Neither Benedict XIII at Avignon nor Gregory XII at Rome answered the summons to appear. Accordingly the council deposed them and elected (without sanction of the college of cardinals, which, of course, was divided) a Franciscan, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan, Pietro Filargo, as Alexander V. But he died before reaching Rome, and the Council of Pisa then chose Baldasarre Cossa, Cardinal-Bishop of Bologna. He took the name of John XXIII. "The new pope was an active politician, of good family and long experience, a Neapolitan about fifty years of age, with plenty of life in him yet, but a man of the helmet rather than the tiara. Keen after money, hard, shrewd, unbending, merciless, he had been a pirate in the Mediterranean, had lived in incest with his brother's wife at Rome, had debauched 200 women, including married ladies and nuns."[1]

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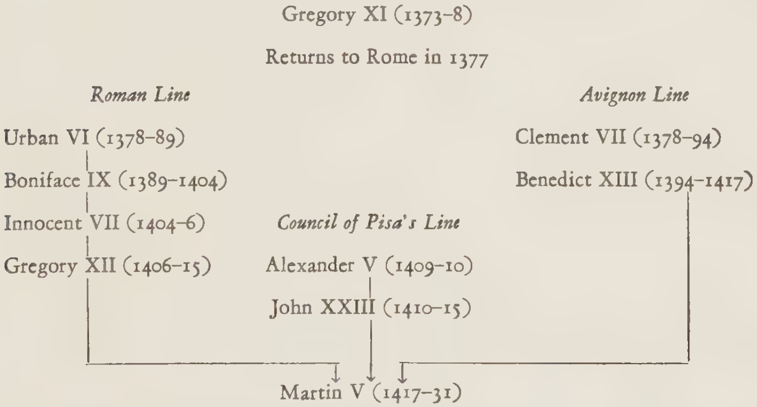
[1] Wylie, *op. cit.*, III 344, 358.

Afraid of the proposed General Council, John XXIII called a 'snap' council in Rome in Dec. 1412. It was called a "hole-and-corner" council [*angulari concilio*]. An owl which had got into the church perched on a cross beam and hooted. There were now three popes. This would never do. Accordingly the reformers labored to assemble a council with more authority than that of Pisa. But who was competent to summon such a council? Again recourse was had to tradition. Emperors aforetime had summoned councils, and even presided over them. Constantine had done so in 325 at Nicæa; Charlemagne and Henry III had done so. Obviously the solution was to have the Emperor Sigismund call a new council without the medium of a papal summons. This was held at Constance in 1414. Its first resolution was to the effect that it represented the Church; that supreme ecclesiastical authority was vested in it; that it was superior to the papacy.

THE POPES DURING THE GREAT SCHISM


Gregory XI (1373–8)
Returns to Rome in 1377
Roman Line
Avignon Line
Urban VI (1378–89)
Boniface IX (1389–1404)
Innocent VII (1404–6)
Gregory XII (1406–15)
Council of Pisa's Line
Alexander V (1409–10)
John XXIII (1410–15)
Clement VII (1378–94)
Benedict XIII (1394–1417)
Martin V (1417–31)

Council of Constance

Before passing to a consideration of the deliberations of this famous body it is important to observe that the Council of Constance was a remarkable experiment of representative government within the Church, and the more so because representatives of the emperor and the kings sat side by side with clergy from both orders. In a word the council was a European congress to consider the general state of Europe, religious and political. In the words of Professor Emerton:

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[1] Wylie, *op. cit.*, III, 392.

> "The Council of Constance, called by a pope on compulsion of an emperor who was acting in obedience to the best opinion of Christian Europe, was something more than an assembly of the Church. To understand it we must compare it rather to . . . that series of great European congresses beginning at Münster in 1648 and extending at intervals down to our own day. It was the first expression of the common interests of the new family of European states. That clerical questions were the excuse for its existence shows only that in these questions were found the subjects of most immediate importance to all the nations."[1]

Organization

When the Council of Constance convened, in 1414, the university element at once dominated it. Never before — and perhaps never since — was academic authority so high. The influence of university pattern is seen in the organization of the council, like the universities, by nations: France, Germany, Italy, England. Each "nation" deliberated separately. When it had reached an accord, a general session was held and action passed. But there was also another reason for this form of national units. It was done to check the preponderance of Italians in the council; for if the voting had been made by individuals instead of by "nations," the Italians would have had a majority, and John XXIII would have run the council. This form of *bloc* voting frustrated Italian control.

Program

The program of the council was included in three heads: (1) destruction of heresy; (2) restoration of the unity of the Church; (3) church reform. John Huss, who had come of his own free will, relying upon a safe conduct of the Emperor Sigismund, was tried before the bar of the council, condemned as a heretic, and burned alive. The same fate overcame his student and fellow-countryman Jerome of Prague a year later. Unlike Charles V a little over a century afterwards, who kept his word to Luther, Sigismund repudiated his safe conduct.

Execution of Huss

The Council of Constance marks the highest point of Gerson's career. But his admirers cannot but regret that he did not there throw his great influence upon the side of religious toleration. The Reformation of the sixteenth century might have been prevented if the Wiclifite and Hussite movements had been given a hearing at Constance. The festering sore within the Church, instead of being healed, was made worse by the fiscal exactions of the popes of the Renaissance until it became a running and incurable wound.

In regard to the schism the Council of Constance acted resolutely. All three of the popes had been summoned, but only John XXIII appeared.

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[1] *The Beginnings of Modern Europe*, p. 321.

He presented a strong brief in his own behalf, but the legal experts of the council, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly and Fillastre, both Frenchmen, discomfited him at every point. In March, 1415 John XXIII took refuge in flight. He was summarily deposed and since he was an ex-soldier and had been a *condottiere* in Italy before he forsook arms for holy orders, he was given into the hands of the Count Palatine of the Rhine to keep in custody, who imprisoned him in Heidelberg castle. As for Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, they too were promptly deposed. The way to unification of the Church was thus opened and the council elected Cardinal Colonna, Martin V (1417–31), to be pope, by whom the seat of the papacy was removed to Rome again.

End of the schism

In so far the Council of Constance had done its work well. But the reformation of the Church proved a long and tedious and impracticable policy. The new Pope revealed his disposition in his first official act, which confirmed the rules of the papal chancery as they had been formulated at Avignon.

Attempts at reform

> "They contained the whole system of papal finance based upon control of the clerical machinery all over Europe, which had been the chief source of complaint by the 'nations,' and the chief reason for reforming zeal at both councils. In giving to Christendom an undoubted pope the Council of Constance had thrown away its own weapons. . . . It had been working on a theory of a papacy that would *represent* the Church. In a moment it found itself face to face with a pope who proposed to *rule* the Church."[1]

But the European kings must also bear their share of responsibility for the frustration of the reform program. Behind the back of the council the sovereigns secretly negotiated with Martin V and his successors for specific division of church patronage within their own realms.

If the ideals of Pierre d'Ailly expressed in his tract, *De ecclesiastica potestate,* published in October 1416, had been carried out — an ideal of a church in which the cardinals should rule with the pope and under him, but should temper the "plenitude of power," the whole subsequent history of the Roman Church might have been different. The papacy made a violent reformation necessary because it would not make a mild and wise one.

The half-discomfited Council of Constance adjourned in 1418 after passing a decree requiring the summons of a council every five years. The Pope was too diplomatic to defy this regulation, and too shrewd to let conciliar authority prevail over him. The aim of the conciliars was to convert the papacy into a constitutional monarchy. The cardinals who had suffered from the resolute ways of Martin V, before they elected the new pope, Eugenius IV, bound every one of their number by oath to such restrictions as would have made the apostolic chair little more than the presidential seat of a cabinet. As a result of these prolonged bickerings of the council there were not wanting many men who were convinced of the futility of the conciliar principle. The councils regarded the papacy as the usurper of many rights that were vested in the Church, especially those of property.

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[1] Emerton, *The Beginnings of Modern Europe,* p. 331.

Later councils

In 1431 another council convened at Basel and sat for seventeen years. Eugenius IV, while feigning to sympathize with the concilar theory of ecclesiastical polity, in reality intrigued to nullify every action of the council. It is to be said, however, that the Council of Basel proved to be an incalcitrant assembly, which the two greatest men in it, worthy of admiration, were unable to control. These were Cardinal Cesarini, who for all that he was the papal legate, was a broad-minded and honest churchman, and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, one of the most learned scholars and loveliest personalities of the fifteenth century. The Council of Basel was a council of opposition, which cherished inoperative and radical notions of ecclesiastical government. Eugenius IV at last dissolved it, whereupon the council declared the Pope deposed. A Colonna rising ensued in Rome against the Pope, who immediately reversed his course, withdrew his bull of dissolution, and implored the council to take him under its protection. It was a tragi-comic situation, and one that tickled the wits of the Italian Renaissance.

Pope Eugenius IV

Hussite war in Bohemia

But new rupture between Pope and council soon impended. Bohemia had flamed with war when word of Huss's execution arrived, a war at once religious and national in character and of double animosity. In 1421 the Pope had proclaimed a crusade, but the invading armies were badly beaten by the Bohemian general Ziska. After his death the war ran to wild and fanatical excesses, for an extreme radical wing of the Hussites gained the mastery. Finally it terminated in civil war in Bohemia between the " Taborites " and the moderates, led by the nobles, who while loyal to the Hussite faith, were willing to compromise on non-essentials. In 1434 the Taborite party was cut to pieces in the battle of Lipan and the moderate Hussites then made overtures to the council for peace with the Church. This offended the Pope. Nevertheless the Council of Basel, after sending a delegation to Prague, resolved in favor of the Bohemian demand for administration of the wine of the eucharist to the laity as well as the clergy and to curtailment of the temporal power of the Bohemian bishops. Thus the *Compactata* was instituted, which made the Bohemian Church a separate Church, largely independent of both pope and emperor. It is the first example of an accord between the Roman Church and a heresy. It was the repudiation of this compact in 1618 that started the Thirty Years' War.

Proposed union with Greek Church

Another source of friction between the Council of Basel and the Pope arose over the question of union with the Greek Church. The Turks by this time had a strong foothold in the Balkan peninsula and the days of Christian Constantinople seemed numbered. The desperate Greek clergy sought assistance from the Western Church as the desperate Greek Emperor sought assistance from the Western princes. Rome refused to consider the matter at all unless the Greek Church recognized the papal supremacy, a most unpalatable demand to the Greeks. The enormous difficulties inseparable from the original question were aggravated by the mutual suspicions, jealousies, and enmities of the Pope and in the council. The council, however, was more complaisant, and willing to effect Christian union on less exacting terms. Consequently the Pope and the council again fell out. It was a new test of strength between the conciliar and the papal theory of church government. Eugenius IV tried to have the council transferred to Ferrara, on Venetian territory, since Venice was wise in the ways of Greek politics. The council refused to budge, and when the Pope insisted, "suspended" him from office, although what the difference was between suspension and deposition it were hard to say.

Futile endeavors

The Pope ignored the deposition, and the Council of Ferrara was convened (1438), but soon removed to Florence because Venice had her own ax to grind in the council, and both Pope and clergy grew suspicious. After tedious and protracted confabulation absolutely nothing was accomplished. The Greek Church and the Greek Empire were left to approach their impending doom without Western assistance against the Turks. Meanwhile the Council of Basel fell at loggerheads with itself, and the European princes deftly played faction against faction, and Pope and council against one another, for their own ends. This is the time when Charles VII of France negotiated the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), by the terms of which the administration of the Church in France in all except questions of faith and doctrine was yielded to the French crown. The whole ecclesiastical patronage, the entire fiscal management of the French Church, passed into the hands of the French king.

Pragmatic Sanction

This second crisis in the Church in the middle of the fifteenth century also produced a remarkable man, one comparable to John Gerson, in Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. Like his great predecessor, Nicholas of Cusa, too, was of peasant birth. His surname was Krebs, and his father was a boatman on the Moselle River. The boy was sent to the school of the Brethren of the Common Life, a remarkable community of pure religious spirits, at Deventer in Holland, where Thomas à Kempis had been master. Later he was a wandering student at various universities and finally returned to Treves. Nicholas of Cusa attended the Council of

Nicholas of Cusa

Basel in 1431, having attracted attention by his encyclopedic learning, his pureness of heart, and a tract he had written in the spirit of Gerson before him, entitled *De concordantia catholica* (*On catholic concord*). All his life he labored for the peace and unity of the Church, a noble and a lonely soul. Yet all his efforts failed. He died in 1464.

> "In his zeal for the authority of General Councils and for the reinstatement of the imperial power, weakened by its long struggle with the papacy, Cusa uses very strong language about the latter. Both in the *De concordantia* and in a supplementary treatise on the right of presiding at General Councils, . . . he elaborates a theory which would make the pope little more than the servant of the council, dismissable at will. He begins by practically denying the right of the Bishop of Rome to be head of the Church. His power is episcopal merely like that of any other bishop, differing in degree, not in kind: he derives his eminence from the eminence of the city in which his seat happens to be placed; and if the Council chose to substitute the archbishop of Trier for the Bishop of Rome, the former would be the true successor to St. Peter's principate. Then the powers of the General Council are set forth. The pope has the right to preside *in* a council, but not *over* a council, and if he fail to do so, either per se or by legates the assembly has a right to act for itself and to pass canons binding on him: for whereas the pope's ordinances are only valid if accepted, those of a General Council are of universal force. Nevertheless the decrees of a council must be unanimous. . . . But once unanimous they can even depose a pope, and that not merely for errors of faith, but for immorality or negligence. This power proceeds not from any hierarchical privileges possessed by the prelates who sit in a council, but form the sacred power of the priesthood, the power to bind and loose. For the priesthood is the real foundation of the Church and is infallible. . . .
>
> The obvious logical result of all this is that it is only necessary to establish a permanent General Council — a Parliament of the Church — to reduce the pope to the position of a prime minister removable at will. This seems to have been the actual intent of the famous constitutions '*Frequens*,' passed at Constance which provided for another council in five years, the next seven years after, and then one at least in every decade. It was a complete Declaration of Right on behalf of the Church."[1]

The breach between the Pope and the Council of Basel continued to widen. But the council lost its temper, while the Pope kept his poise and that imperturbable and immemorial calm which is a distinguished characteristic of Rome, to whom time and eternity are one. The council abolished the fiscal claims of the papacy without indemnification; it appropriated commendations and abbeys to itself, and finally made the grave error of again deposing Eugenius IV and a worse one by electing as pope Duke Amadeus of Savoy, a layman, a widower with grown children, who lived, records Æneas Sylvius (who later became Pope Pius II) "days more pleasant than penitential, in a great house, half fortress, half palace." He took the name of Felix V. Europe distrusted and was impatient.

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[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, XLII, 125.

The Council of Basel, which set out to reform the Church, had miserably failed to do so, and now it had established another schism. There could be no doubt of the issue. The conciliar theory of government, conciliar supremacy over the Church, was doomed to be thrown into the discard, ruined more by its friends than its enemies by reason of its own radicalism and excess. The majestic papacy, which had been great when the smoke of pagan incense still ascended through the impluvium of the Pantheon, which was magnificent during the barbarian invasions and had risen to stupendous and terrible heights of power in the reigns of Gregory VII and Innocent III, again like a splendid sun rose augustly above the wrack of cloud and storm engendered during the conciliar period. The monarchical principle of church government triumphed.

Church councils as European congresses

But if the councils of the fifteenth century failed in their primary purpose, nevertheless the result of their deliberations and doings was immensely fruitful. The stimulation given to political theory during this epoch makes it one of the most interesting and most important periods in all history. The international nature of the councils gave Europe a new ideal of government as well as a new instrument of government. Again, the councils were not organized by classes after the form of the parliaments and diets and estates-general of the age, which were assemblies of representatives of the three classes of feudal society and therefore reflected the old medieval social structure, but instead were organic legislative assemblies composed of representatives of equal right and equal voice, no matter to what particular class in society they were attached. Debates on the floor of the councils were conducted with the utmost freedom of speech, and the findings and proclamations of the councils were scattered broadcast over Europe to the awakening of the minds of intelligent, thinking people. Moreover, the growingly national governments of Europe had served notice that never again might a pope assume to lord it over Europe as Boniface VIII and Innocent III had once tried to do, and that if the nations were expected to support the Church, they must have a hand in the management of its temporal affairs at least.

Finally the influence of the councils upon the development of parliamentary institutions in Europe was very great. The political feeling, which often ran high in the course of the debates, the hot arguments that took place, called for skillful control by the presiding officer, sometimes a papal legate, sometimes a bishop, so that parliamentary law was given a large development in these councils. Most interesting of all, however, was the method developed for the dispatch of parliamentary business. Modern parliamentary or congressional government is committee government, as everyone knows. But it is not so widely known as it should be that the inception of this practice goes back to the reforming councils of the fifteenth century. After Constance the organization by "nations" was supplanted by organization into "deputations," or, as we would call them, committees. These were those of (1) faith, (2) peace, (3) reform, and (4) other business. The membership of these committees was carefully distributed so as to represent both the various national groups in the council, and the several grades of the clergy. Further to insure just representation in each committee and in order to give every deputy voice and experience in the promotion of business, the membership of each deputation was changed every four months, so that in the end every member of the council had had his turn in each deputation.

All proposed legislation was referred to one of these four delegations. These committees after due consideration of the matter in hand framed a proposed action, or, as we would say, reported out of committee, and laid the matter before the whole house for debate. The "order of the day" was prepared by a special committee. All deliberations were held in public, and freedom of speech prevailed. In a word, these councils were representative, democratic parliamentary bodies. There can be little doubt that parliamentary government owes its spirit and form, if not its origin, at least as much to these church councils as to secular parliamentary bodies like the English Parliament, the French States-General, the German Diet, and the Spanish Cortes. For the hundreds of representatives who sat in one or another of these church councils, when they returned home, had seats in their own national parliaments and must have utilized the parliamentary experience they had learned abroad to the promotion of parliamentary government at home.

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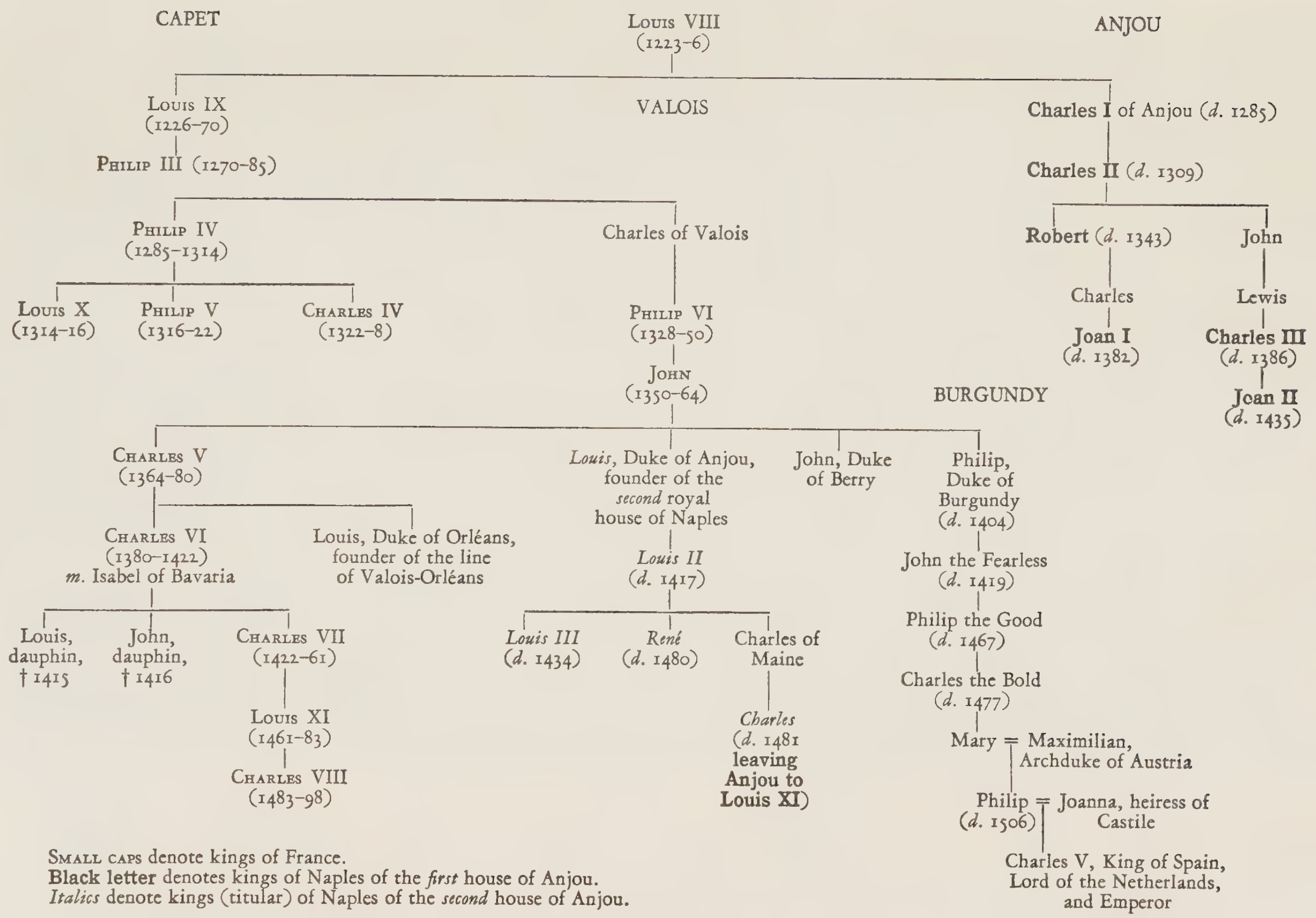
France, Burgundy, and Naples


CAPET
Louis VIII (1223–6)
ANJOU
Louis IX (1226–70)
VALOIS
Charles I of Anjou (*d.* 1285)
Philip III (1270–85)
Charles II (*d.* 1309)
Philip IV (1285–1314)
Charles of Valois
Robert (*d.* 1343)
John
Louis X (1314–16)
Philip V (1316–22)
Charles IV (1322–8)
Philip VI (1328–50)
Charles
Lewis
Joan I (*d.* 1382)
Charles III (*d.* 1386)
John (1350–64)
BURGUNDY
Joan II (*d.* 1435)
Charles V (1364–80)
Louis, Duke of Anjou, founder of the *second* royal house of Naples
John, Duke of Berry
Philip, Duke of Burgundy (*d.* 1404)
Charles VI (1380–1422) *m.* Isabel of Bavaria
Louis, Duke of Orléans, founder of the line of Valois-Orléans
Louis II (*d.* 1417)
John the Fearless (*d.* 1419)
Louis, dauphin, † 1415
John, dauphin, † 1416
Charles VII (1422–61)
Louis III (*d.* 1434)
René (*d.* 1480)
Charles of Maine
Philip the Good (*d.* 1467)
Charles the Bold (*d.* 1477)
Louis XI (1461–83)
Charles (*d.* 1481 **leaving Anjou to Louis XI**)
Mary = Maximilian, Archduke of Austria
Charles VIII (1483–98)
Philip (*d.* 1506) = Joanna, heiress of Castile
Charles V, King of Spain, Lord of the Netherlands, and Emperor

Small caps denote kings of France.
Black letter denotes kings of Naples of the *first* house of Anjou.
Italics denote kings (titular) of Naples of the *second* house of Anjou.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SECOND PERIOD AND END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1380–1453)

France in 1380

France, which Charles V had left restored and prosperous when he died in 1380, soon fell upon evil days. Charles VI was a child of twelve, and his unprincipled uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy seized the regency and began a policy of administrative corruption and extortionate taxation which became all the bolder when the unfortunate King lost his reason when he was twenty-three years old, never to recover it except for few and fitful intervals.

Ominous events

For two years the rapacious practices of the King's uncles went on in spite of ominous riots in the great cities on the part of the lower working-classes, who by this time had been shut out of the gilds by the masters and had become mere wage-earners, too often oppressed by their employers. A tumult in Paris on March 1, 1381 showed what might come to pass, for these disorders in Paris were imitated in other towns, such as Rouen and Lyons. In January 1382 the storm burst in a wild fury in Paris known as the rebellion of the Maillotins from the circumstance that the mob was armed with hammers and sledges (mallets). The prisons were broken open, the shops and stores of innocent merchants and tradesmen were wrecked, tax officials wherever found were murdered. The retaliation of the regents was military occupation of the city, marshal law, and hundreds of arbitrary imprisonments and executions. In February alone over a hundred persons were sent to the scaffold. The example of what Paris had done in 1358 undoubtedly hardened the government's policy. Paris again lost its liberties, which were not restored until twenty-nine years later.

Universal economic and social discontent in Europe

It would be an error, however, to regard this rising as a merely local expression of popular discontent. As a matter of fact, all Europe at this time was seething with such disturbances. Florence, Cologne, Mainz, Lyons, Rouen, and the cities of Flanders suffered. In Florence the rioters were called "Ciompi," in Languedoc "Tuchins." In England in 1381 there was a great rebellion of the peasantry in the eastern shires.

Rebellion of Flanders (1382)

The rebellion in Flanders touched France nearly, for the duke of Burgundy was also count of Flanders, and was the more formidable because it was a recrudescence of the old Flemish spirit of the days of Jacques van Artevelde. The parallelism was made complete when Philip van Artevelde, son of the former, put himself at the head of the insurrection and, like his father before him, tried to effect an Anglo-Flemish alliance against France. It was fortunate for France at this juncture that the situation in England was so nearly like that across the Channel that English intervention in Flanders was impracticable. For Richard II, too, was a minor under the unprincipled sway of his uncles, John of Gaunt (Ghent), Duke of Lancaster, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and Edmund Duke of York. On November 27, 1382 the French army in the bloody battle of Roosebeke, under command of the constable Oliver de Clisson, Du Guesclin's successor and like him a Breton, utterly destroyed the militia of the revolted Flemish towns. Ghent, Ypres, Tournay, and Bruges were converted into shambles by the terrible reprisals. This rebellion and conquest of Flanders marks the end of the old medieval liberties of the Belgian towns, and the complete establishment of French political domination in the Low Countries.

English hostility

This prospect stirred England at last — and too late — to intervene. In 1383 Henry Spenser, the Bishop of Norwich — the art of war was still an episcopal accomplishment — made an unsuccessful expedition in Flanders, which was absurdly called a "crusade" because alleged to be in favor of the pope whom England recognized, whose obedience England now undertook to impose upon Flanders. For this was the time of the Great Schism. "He assailed the most industrious community in Europe, laid waste their lands, reft their goods and destroyed their cities. At Gravelines he pillaged a monastery and spared not a soul in the town. At Dunkirk 3000 of the schismatics were killed and the murderous business would have been much prolonged had not the heroic defence of Ypres given time for the French to come up. . . . It was calculated (in 1406) that the Schism had already caused the death of 200,000 Christians."[1] Two years later the French sent aid to the Scots, who invaded England, in reprisal for which Edinburgh was captured and burned, with Melrose Abbey. Then, contrary to the advice of Lancaster, Richard II led his army back, in the early part of September, to find that the Scots had penetrated to Carlisle and carried off more plunder than he had from their capital. While this was happening, disturbances of the Gantois detained the French fleet at Sluys. In 1386 France made formidable naval preparations at Sluys, as before in 1340, for an attack on the enemy coast, but the fleet was detained by contrary winds and never sailed. One may see in all these events belated and abortive continuations of the Hundred Years' War. Even in Spain this is manifest. Ever since the overthrow of Pedro the Cruel, England had labored to restore her former prestige in the Spanish peninsula. Hence in 1385 John of Gaunt formed an alliance with John I of Portugal with the hope of getting possession of Castile, to which he laid claim as husband of Pedro's daughter Constance. But within

English and French alliances

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[1] Wylie, *op. cit.*, III, 4–5.

three years the Duke gave up the design as hopeless and in 1388 married his daughter Catherine to Henry, son of the King of Castile, and thus closed his Spanish wars. That chapter of Anglo-Spanish history was terminated. But ever since 1388 England and Portugal have had an alliance. It is still effective and is the oldest alliance of any two European nations. These events finally led to the signature of a truce between France and England in 1396 to last for twenty-five years, which was intended to be made doubly sure by the marriage of Richard II with Charles VI's daughter Isabel, although she was a child of eight.[1]

Lapse of war with England

For the next two decades the history of both France and England was domestic. The dominant politics and issues were internal, and in course of time permanent peace between the two countries ought to have naturally and normally ensued. Why this expectation was foiled we shall see later on. Meanwhile, what were these internal issues in France? For a time France seemed to have a rosy outlook. In 1388 Charles VI reached his majority. Four years yet remained before he lost his reason. The Duke of Anjou went off to Naples to assert his claim to the throne as the nearest heir male of the house of Anjou, the direct line of which had died out in 1382. Fortunately for all concerned, the Duke died in Italy. The Duke of Burgundy found his hands full in administering his Flemish lands, and the Duke of Berry was sent to the government of Languedoc. Charles VI was a free man. Counseled by his brother Louis, Duke of Orléans, the King recalled the ministers of his father, Bureau de la Rivière, Jean de Noviant, and Oliver de Clisson. His one error was in marrying Isabel, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, who became the evil genius of her adopted country.

Factions

The end of four years of happy and prosperous rule came in 1392, when the constable was assassinated by a hired agent of the Duke of Brittany, who was English in his sympathies. Less than a year later the King's mind gave way; he became a maniac whose violence was so great that he had to be confined in a padded cell. The Queen proved faithless and became the paramour of her husband's brother, Louis of Orléans; Philip, Duke of Burgundy, came back to court, and the former days of maladministration and plundering of the revenue returned.

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[1] Richard II's first wife had been Anne of Bohemia, a sister of the Emperor Wenzel. Charles V of France had intended to marry her to his son Charles VI, as he and her father, the Emperor Charles IV, were old friends. But English diplomacy forestalled the French design. However, the Pope of Rome, rival of the French Pope at Avignon, had also a hand in the matter, for he used all his diplomatic and spiritual influence at Prague to induce Wenzel to break off his relations with the French Pope and ally himself with the English instead. England backed up her overture by promise of fifteen thousand pounds to Wenzel in event of the marriage. Wenzel, who was a spendthrift, took the advice of the Pope of Rome and the English gold and sent his sister oversea. This was the beginning of that attachment between England and Bohemia which spread Wiclif's ideas in the latter country and made John Huss a disciple of Lollardism. Not one of the purposes of this match was ever fulfilled. No heir was born to Richard II to settle the succession; Bohemia belied her promise to support England in the war against France; and Pope Urban VI never succeeded in stirring up the Germans to a "crusade" against the French schismatics.

The kingdom was made the prey of the rapacity of Burgundy, the King's uncle, and Orléans, the King's brother. The feud speedily widened into a factional strife. Philip died in 1404 and was succeeded by his son John, who was not called "the Fearless" for nothing. Then the enmity between the partisans broke out in civil war. But the issues were deeper than mere rivalry of two factions for control of the crown and the opportunity to plunder the government. It had in it the rancor of an Italian vendetta. In order to understand this it is necessary to go back in thought to the dark days of France after the capture of King John in 1356. For then the French King had sold — there is no other word — his daughter Isabel to the son of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, for five hundred thousand gold florins as one of the means used to raise the immense sum of money required for his ransom. The little French Princess had left her homeland in a state of desolation. In Milan and Pavia was the magnificence of the Italian Renaissance. Of this marriage was born Valentine Visconti in 1366.

Valentine Visconti

The old Visconti Duke was a terrible man in spite of his patronage of art and letters. He and his brother Bernabo had poisoned a third brother in order to divide his inheritance. Valentine's father feared the fate of his uncle and ate of no dish that had not before been tasted. The child was a true child of the Renaissance; she spoke Latin, Italian, French, and German; she had a library of eleven books of her own; she wrote a clear hand; she could indite a courtly letter; she even wrote verse. Gian Galeazzo II, no less ambitious, no less unscrupulous than his father, wanted to rule all Italy north of Rome, to found a new Italian kingdom to be called the kingdom of Adria. As the first means to that end he murdered his uncle Bernabo and so united all the Milanese lands. He was thirty-three, immensely rich, immensely powerful. Bernabo's eleven sons found service with Sir John Hawkwood fighting for the cities that the Visconti Duke conquered in pursuance of his ambition to establish a kingdom — Verona, Padua, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, Bologna, Spoleto. The grandiose Italian dream of the Visconti was Naples for Anjou; Rome for the French Pope, Clement VII; a kingdom of Adria — that is to say, central Italy from Spoleto to Ferrara and from Massa to Ancona — for the Duke of Orléans; Lombardy for Visconti.

The Avignonese Pope, whose adversary sat in Rome, saw in this project a means to form a powerful pro-French party in Italy and urged Charles VI to effect a marriage between his brother Louis, Duke of Orléans, and his cousin Valentine Visconti, which came to pass in 1387. This "subtraction of Italy from the Empire" alarmed the Duke of

Bavaria, who had a big stake in the affairs of northern Italy and had married a daughter of the late Bernabo Visconti. But the prospect also alarmed the Burgundian party in France and it was with the purpose of neutralizing the growth of the Orléanist power that the Duke of Burgundy, who had already married two of his children into the house of Bavaria, prevailed upon the weak French King to marry Isabel, the offspring of the marriage of Bernabo's daughter with the Bavarian Duke. The tenseness of the situation in France due to these two dynastic marriages may be appreciated when it is perceived that now Isabel of Bavaria, grand-daughter of the murdered Bernabo Visconti, was queen of France, while Louis, Duke of Orléans and rival of the Duke of Burgundy in the government, was the husband of the daughter of Bernabo's murderer. To deepen the feud, unless Charles VI had a male heir, his successor would be his brother, Louis of Orléans, a possibility that the Burgundians regarded with fury. It was said that when the Visconti Duke bade good-by to his daughter, he said: "When I see you again, fair daughter, I hope that you will be queen of France."

Isabel of Bavaria

Rivalry of Burgundy and Orléans

Louis of Orléans was formidably rich, formidably powerful, and had much more to gain by the incapacity or death of his royal brother. The people did not love Burgundy, but they hated Orléans, though they loved the lovely Valentine. For whereas the frivolous Queen left her husband to the care of his keepers, in spite of the fact that the King was sometimes violent — he killed four men in armor at one time in a maniacal paroxysm — Valentine would spend hours with the poor, pitiful man playing cards, painted Saracen devices from the East, first known in Europe in 1379.

Grandiose policies of Orléans

The ambitious political designs of the Duke of Orléans and his father-in-law continued to aggravate the feud between Burgundy and Orléans. In order to save herself from being englobed by the Visconti-Orléans combination, Genoa surrendered her suzerainty to the King of France, it may well be believed at Burgundy's suggestion, although there was in France a strong current of popular opinion running in favor of French colonization of the Italian Riviera. Even the operations of the Turks in the Balkans entered into this plot and counterplot. Visconti was the only prince in Europe who was friendly with the Turks, for in alliance with them he could terrify Venice, which was trying to checkmate his policy in northern Italy. It was not for nothing that a viper was the heraldic device of the duke of Milan.

Expedition against the Turks

The political situation in Italy and the rivalry in France between Burgundy and Orléans give us a new slant on the great expedition in 1396 against the Turks, which met disaster at Nicopolis. The Duke of Burgundy's son John was in command of the French contingent in that army. A French victory over the Turks would put a spoke in Visconti's wheel, and a victorious French army might easily return home via Lombardy and Milan and so doubly crush the designs of Visconti and his son-in-law in Italy. Aware of all these things, Visconti secretly advised the Sultan. The terrible French defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 was a Visconti-Orléans victory. From the bloody field of his triumph the Sultan dispatched a courier to congratulate the Duke of Milan!

Battle of Nicopolis (1396)

The apprehension and the hatred of the Duke of Burgundy were reaching a pitch, as were also the hopes and ambitions of Louis of Orléans. It would seem that the Burgundian Duke seriously feared that Orléans would depose the mad Charles VI in his own favor. The signs of the times were not propitious. In 1399 Henry of Lancaster dethroned Richard II in England; in 1400 the Germans deposed the drunken Emperor Wenzel. In the year 1399 Charles VI had six relapses. Why might not such an event happen in France? In 1404 in a moment of sanity Charles VI married his eldest son — for a dauphin had been born — to Burgundy's daughter, and his daughter to the son of Burgundy. In 1405 the Queen, John of Burgundy, who succeeded his father in 1404, and the Duke of Berry made an alliance against Orléans formal enough to be put in writing.

Unpropitious signs of the times

> "Meanwhile the people groaned under the tyranny of Orleans. . . . In 1403 he laid upon them an impost of 300,000 crowns. Out of this be builded for himself two famous castles, Pierrefonds and Ferté-Millon. . . . In 1407 not content, he levied a new tax. . . . John the Fearless declared that, in *his* domains at least, the impost would not be collected. . . . The tax was levied all the same. . . . In this way a vast sum was raised — 27,000,000. It was lodged in a tower of the Louvre. One night, when the town was quiet, Orleans with a band of armed men entered this tower and carried off at least two-thirds of the treasure."[1]

One clear voice of protest rang out against all this manner of things. It was that of John Gerson, rector of the University of Paris, in a brave sermon preached in October 1405 before the royal and noble families of France. It might have been preached as boldly in 1789. It was a terrible word-picture of the sufferings of the peasantry, a scathing arraignment of the manners and morals of the noblesse of the court. "How can the King, seeing such servitude, call himself Rex Francorum, the King of the Free?" he exclaimed. There was new and dangerous political theory in that phrase, the germ of the doctrine that government rests upon the consent of the governed. He went on: "You, Prince, do not do these things, but you permit them to be done." So the indignant preacher, ironically looking down on his amazed congregation of lords and ladies, finished: "May God by His grace will it that these conditions be remedied through you, very excellent and noble seigniors, that the King may live his civil and political life: *vivat Rex*." The sensation was immense. The sermon in manuscript circulated far and wide in France.

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[1] A. M. F. Robinson, *The End of the Middle Ages*, pp. 156–7.

The King implored Burgundy, who was away from Paris on his own estates, to return. He came back with six thousand men-at-arms. Louis of Orléans was growing bolder because of the desperate condition in Italy. Gian Galeazzo died in 1404. "A score of captains were soon fighting for his kingdom. That vast territory, whose coherence existed only in the brain of one man, fell rapidly into fragments. City after city threw off the unwilling yoke of the union. . . . Italy reverted in a few weeks to the old conditions of fragmentary independence."[1] Marshal Boucicault, the hero of Nicopolis, was sent to Genoa to block any designs Louis of Orléans might have to seize it. Pisa at this time put herself under the protection of France. Louis was furious. Behind the action of Boucicault he knew was the inspiration of Burgundy. But Louis of Orléans never let the pot of his wrath boil over. He was too calculating for that. Burgundy had interfered with his plans abroad; he would interfere with Burgundy's plans at home. Already in 1401 he had married his niece to the Duke of Guelders, an enemy and neighbor of Burgundy. In 1402 he had bought from the German Emperor the duchy of Luxemburg. Possessed of enormous wealth, with thousands of soldiers in his service, Louis of Orléans now had, via the Oise and the Aisne rivers and the county of Soissons, which he also owned, a corridor through his own possessions into Luxemburg. An examination of the map will show how Luxemburg split the territories of the Duke of Burgundy like a wedge, separating Flanders from the duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comté.

"Backed by the populace, the university and the preachers of Paris, the duke of Burgundy and his two brothers drew up a plan for excluding the duke of Orleans from the government and securing a reform in their own hands. . . . As to war with England they noted the great poverty of the country and the misery caused by the constant ravage on the Flemish, Picard, Norman and Breton coasts. They cried out against the shameful misappropriation of the taxes, and the loss of the golden moment for striking a blow when England was torn with dissensions from within and threatened by the Scots from without."[2]

Burgundian troops poured into Paris (1405). "The bishop of Liege's company alone took two hours to file in and by the end of August 1405 there were 20,000 mounted foreigners in the city. Stakes were driven into the river-bed. Chains were stretched from the island of Notre Dame to either bank to bar the passage of boats, and across the streets and squares to break the fury of gathering mobs. Springalds (siege engines) and arblasts with hauspecs (attachments to same) for the strings were mounted on roofs over-looking the walls, and gates were closed which had stood open since the beginning of the reign a quarter of a century before. The duke of Orleans was at Charenton with a vast force from central France, while Flemish, Dutch and German musters were massing round to hold the fords and bridges over the Seine and Oise, ready to rush in as soon as a chance spark should kindle the blaze of civil war."[1]

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[1] A. M. F. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 162.

[2] Robinson, *loc. cit.*

Murder of Louis of Orléans (1407)

By 1407 civil war in France seemed imminent. It came with tragedy and suddenness. On the night of November 23, 1407 Orléans was dining with the Queen. A page entered and handed him a message purporting to be from the King, who was at the palace of Saint-Pol. The message was a ruse. The Duke rode forth into the night accompanied only by two squires. It was the coldest winter of the century, if not the coldest winter ever in Europe. Near the Temple Louis was suddenly attacked by eighteen hired assassins of John the Fearless, dragged from his mule, killed, and horribly mutilated. The Duke of Burgundy promptly acknowledged the deed, and the half-mad King on March 8, 1408, signed letters patent granting him pardon, "who for the public good and out of faith and loyalty to us has caused to be put out of this world our said brother of Orléans." The real reason was fear lest he "go English." The Paris mob was with him, but the upper classes, the clergy, the university were hostile. A Dominican preacher, Jean Petit, justified the murder from the pulpit, giving currency to the Italian theory of tyrannicide, a doctrine that was to distress the European kings thenceforward until the end of the Reformation epoch. Paris was jubilant, "because," says the chronicler Monstrelet, "they believed that if Burgundy undertook the government, he would put down throughout the kingdom all salt taxes, imposts, dues, and subsidies which were to the prejudice of the people."

Armagnac party

But the wind began to turn against Burgundy. His six thousand men-at-arms in Paris were not drawn from his French possessions, but were Flemings, Zealanders, Hainaulters, Picards, all except the last of Low Dutch speech whose dialect seemed uncouth to the Parisians. Moreover, with that mercurial temperament that has always distinguished the Parisian populace, they began to regard Louis of Orléans as a martyr; they remembered his gayety, his debonair ways, the brilliant *cortèges* which followed him, his *bon mots,* the impudent things he used to do which gave the people something to talk about; moreover, the pathetic figure of his wife, the widowed Valentine Visconti, with her three children and her faded beauty, made an appeal to their hearts. This inchoate anti-Burgundian feeling at last coalesced around a leader. This was Bernard, Count of Armagnac, already connected with the royal family, a powerful noble of the far south and a great captain. Gradually the cleavage between the Burgundian and the Armagnac parties became clear. The south and southwestern provinces were aligned against the northern and northeastern. Except for the duchy of Burgundy itself, the Burgundian provinces were commercial and industrial in their nature, especially Flanders, whereas the central and southern provinces of France were still predominantly agricultural. It was the yet feudal provinces of France against the bourgeois provinces, in which even the peasantry had become small tradesmen. It was a fight for control of the crown, for control of Paris, for control of the great rich basin of the Seine, situated midway between these two great and hostile sections of the country.

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[1] Wylie III, *op. cit.,* 39, 41–42.

What finally fixed the Armagnac party as the national party was the attitude of the rivals towards the war with England. Henry, Duke of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, as has been said, had seized the throne in 1399. France, then guided by the Duke of Orléans, refused to recognize Henry IV and maintained officially a state of war with the ancient enemy. Henry was addressed by the French crown as "*Henry de Lancastre, soy-disant Roy d'Engleterre*." The Channel was full of French privateers, which preyed upon English shipping and the English coast. The Welsh and the Scotch both received sympathy and occasionally some military or financial support in their chronic warfare with the English. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy, with an eye to the commerce of Flanders and mindful of the past intimate commercial relations of Flanders with England, favored Henry IV. The English ruler, constantly compelled to watch the Welsh and the Scotch, with many of his own subjects on the verge of revolt because of the Lancastrian usurpation, not daring to impose heavy taxes for fear of rebellion and compelled to resort to forced loans from the nobles to no effect, bent all his diplomacy to prevail upon France to recognize him and to make peace. France would none of it.

War of partisans in France

Louis of Orléans's policy of hostility to the national foe began to bear fruit after his death. It was counted unto him for righteousness and helped to crystallize the Armagnac party into the national French party. In the great feud that divided France Henry IV prolonged the contest which was draining the strength of France, with the hope of bleeding France to death. Meanwhile the war of the partisans grew more embittered, with the odds in favor of the Armagnac party, which possessed Paris. Finally in 1411 in his exasperation the Duke of Burgundy made overtures to England for military assistance. Henry IV responded by sending a body of English troops oversea, and with this support Burgundy succeeded in capturing Paris. One may measure the fury of the factions when it is said that these English troops had to interfere to prevent the victorious Burgundians from massacring their Armagnac prisoners. But the spectacle of Englishmen in Paris was too much for either French party to endure, and for a brief moment both factions were reconciled and united against the English, who in turn ravaged

Normandy from Calais. The death of Henry IV, however, on March 20, 1413, divided them again.

Henry V renews the war with France (1414)

Events now moved rapidly towards a renewal of the war by the English. With enemy and plot at home, the hostility of the Scotch and the Welsh on his borders, Henry IV had been too cautious — or too timid — to get into war abroad. His policy towards France had been one of " watchful waiting." But his son Henry V (1413–22) was a man of different character — bold, warlike. He estimated that a revival of the war with France would draw off much of the bad blood at home, and, what was a weightier argument, make the Lancastrian house popular, especially if another series of victories like those of Crécy and Poitiers could be achieved. This is neither the first nor the last instance in history of a ruler's seeking to silence domestic opposition by stirring up a war abroad. The complacent privy council expressed their hope "that in so important a matter the King would undertake nothing excepting it were the pleasure of God, and to save the effusion of Christian blood; but that if he did so it would arise from the denial of his just right." France having repudiated the treaty of Bretigny, the pretensions of Henry V as the great-great-grandson of Edward III to the crown of France were still valid. War was declared by Parliament in April 1414. Formidable military preparations were made and much shipping provided.

Battle of Agincourt (1415)

The English expedition landed at the mouth of the Seine and laid siege to Harfleur, a siege remarkable for the use of cannon in siege operations. Henry V, as the English chronicler — writing in English, and not Norman French, be it observed — " commaunded his gonners to bete down the wallis. Alas, that eny soche ballis [round stones, which elsewhere are called 'gon stonys'] were made, and cursid the tyme that ever they were begon." Meantime, the distorn French government had made what preparations it could to repulse the invader. Numerically the French army far outnumbered the English, so much so that Henry V endeavored to fall back upon Calais and hoped to avoid an engagement, as Edward III had done in 1346. But the French were overconfident, and, worse, they were badly commanded. Henry V was compelled to make a stand and fight, with the result that the battle of Agincourt (French, Azincourt) on October 25, 1415 was another Crecy. Again, as before, the longbow men did fearful execution. Two brothers of the Duke of Burgundy, the constable d'Albret, and the Duke of Alençon were among the slain; the dukes of Bourbon and Orléans, the latter the son of Louis of Orléans, were made prisoner and were confined in Pontefract Castle for twenty-five years. During the British occupation of France after Waterloo a British army officer made excavations on the battle-field. One trench, estimated to be the grave of six thousand dead, was opened and an immense amount of armor, weapons, money, etc., removed to London and deposited in the Agincourt Museum.

The French government was almost in a condition of collapse, and the situation was all the more perilous because of the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, with whom Henry V intrigued and whom he finally won over to an alliance with England (1416), a piece of treachery unparalleled in history until the treason of the constable Bourbon, who deserted Francis I and went over to the Emperor Charles V in 1527. But the infamous French Queen Isabel must bear part of this opprobrium, for she was now hand in glove with Burgundy against the Armagnac party. Late in July 1417 Henry V crossed the Channel with a new army. The English conquest of France began in earnest. The King landed at Touques near Honfleur (August 1), captured Caen (September 4), and Bayeux soon afterwards. The French nobles in Normandy forsook their estates, which were confiscated and bestowed on the Duke of Clarence and others. In the meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy acquired possession of Rouen, Dieppe, and other places in Normandy for his English ally. Turmoil prevailed in Paris. The factions fought desperately. The Armagnacs attempted to expel the Burgundians, but the Duke sent three bodies of troops into the city, and the Armagnacs were slaughtered by thousands. The Dauphin — the future Charles VII — withdrew to Melun, and Burgundy seized the government (1418). From Melun the Dauphin made overtures to Burgundy — sincere or feigned? — for peace, and at a conference held upon the bridge at Montereau on August 12, 1419 the Duke of Burgundy was murdered by the French guards. It was a criminal and foolish act, for Philip the Good, his father's successor, immediately cemented the Anglo-Burgundian alliance more firmly than before.

English conquest in France

Murder of Burgundy (1419)

The calculating shrewdness of the Duke of Burgundy and the evil hand of Isabel of Bavaria were shortly manifested in the humiliating "treaty" of Troyes (May 21, 1420), by the terms of which — without the consent of Charles VI, who was mad, or the estates — France yielded to England all the provinces north of the Loire river, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and the Île de France, with Paris, and consented to the marriage of Henry V with the French Princess Catherine of Valois, sister of the Dauphin. Theoretically Henry V was merely the consort of his wife, who was nominally regent, but the treaty provided that if a son was born of the marriage, he was to be king of England *and* France.[1]

Treaty of Troyes (1420)

Henry V marries Princess Catherine of France

Within five years England had recovered all the provinces that Philip Augustus had taken from her in 1204, and in addition the Île de France and Paris. The Somme divided the English sphere of influence from Burgundy's possessions. Unlike Edward III, who was a swashbuckler, Henry V was a statesman. He did all in his power to make the English conquest of the French provinces effective without violence or injustice. The danger to France lay in that his policy might reconcile the population to English domination.

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[1] Readers of Shakspeare's *Henry V* may have been amused at the "comedy" scene therein in which Henry V courts Catherine in broken French, which makes her laugh merrily. But could such a courtship have been amusing to her? The tears must have been raining down her heart.

Policy of the English government in France

"The conquest of Normandy by Henry V was marked throughout by great clemency. Though severe in punishing all who continued to resist his authority, the King was most lenient in the terms he offered to those who submitted to his rule and swore fealty to his cause. Every convent that did homage to him had its temporalities at once restored; every landowner who gave in his adherence to the representatives of the sovereign had his estates returned to him; every citizen who surrendered to the English captains at the conquest of the town in which he was an inhabitant was confirmed in the possession of such property as he then held; whilst every widow who took the oath to the King continued to draw unmolested her income from her husband's estates. . . . The greater portion of the Norman Rolls is taken up in recording these acts of mercy and generosity.

"In certain of the large towns coiners and money-changers were nominated to superintend the operations of mint and to uphold the purity of the currency. . . . One class of appointments constitutes an important feature in these rolls. The endowments of the Church in Normandy were among the most wealthy in France. The patronage in the gift of the cathedrals of Rouen, Bayeux, Avranches, Evreux, Seez, Lisieux, and Coutances was as princely as it was extensive, and only equalled by that of the numerous abbeys, convents, and priories scattered throughout the duchy. Compared with the estates of the clergy, the property of the Norman aristocracy and landed gentry occupied a very secondary position. On the conquest of the duchy Henry, in spite of the temptations which the wealth of the Church offered to an independent victor, declined to sanction spoliation or confiscation. Provided the clergy did homage, they remained undisturbed in their possessions; the bishops were permitted to enjoy their revenues, and convents and abbeys had their temporalities restored to them."

But there is another side to this picture:

"On the invasion of Normandy by the English, numbers of the Norman knights and gentry refused to do homage to Henry V for their estates, and remained in open rebellion. The most powerful stayed within their castles until they were forced to surrender, whilst others, abandoning their chateaux and lordships, fled from the duchy and sought shelter in Paris and the neighboring provinces. The castles thus reduced and the estates thus deserted were confiscated and freely parcelled out by the King amongst his faithful followers. . . . Grants to the English of the lands of rebels and absentees form no inconsiderable part of the calendar. . . . Comtés and vicomtés were entrusted to the hands of the English nobles and the more distinguished knights. Knights and esquires ruled the different towns and castles as captains, bailiffs and mayors."[1]

Birth of Henry VI

On February 23, 1421 Catherine of Valois was crowned queen of England in Westminster, and on December 6, 1421 she gave birth to a son, Henry VI, destined in less than nine months to succeed his father as king of England and nominal ruler of half of France. The unhappy country, however, had not utterly succumbed. The Duke of Clarence was defeated and killed at Baugé in Anjou (March 22, 1420) by a body of Scottish troops in the French service, in consequence of which reverse Henry V raised fresh forces. In June he captured Dreux, but was obliged for want of provisions to quit the siege of Orléans — the only place of importance north of the Loire which the French crown still possessed. In the spring of 1422 Meaux surrendered after a desperate resistance, and three months later the hero of Agincourt died at Vincennes (August 31, 1422). Eight weeks later poor Charles VI died and the Dauphin was crowned as Charles VII of France at Poitiers, for Burgundy possessed Reims, while Henry VI was acknowledged as king in Paris and northern France.

Battle of Baugé (1420)

Death of Henry V (1422)

Duke of Bedford regent of France

By the terms of his will Henry V made his brother John, Duke of Bedford, regent for the infant Henry VI in France, and his other brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, regent in England. The sky over France darkened still more. In 1423 the Duke of Brittany became an ally of England; in July the Earl of Salisbury defeated the French and Scotch at Cravant in Burgundy; and in August of the following year the Duke of Bedford nearly destroyed the French-Scottish forces at Verneuil in Perche. The heroic resistance of the Scotch in this engagement was rewarded by Charles VII, who constituted the residue of the force into the Scotch Guard of the French kings, a regiment that lasted down to 1559, when the Scotch fell under suspicion, owing to the spread of Calvinism in Scotland, and were supplanted by Swiss Guards instead, the last of whom were destroyed in the rising of the mob of Paris on August 10, 1792 during the French Revolution.

Battles of Cravant and Verneuil

For the next three years the war was a stalemate, with nothing but desultory local actions. The court of Charles VII was torn by faction, the King himself was disheartened. Even by the French he was derisively called the "king of Bourges," for the court divided its residence between Bourges and Chinon in Touraine, while the French parlement sat at Poitiers, beyond the reach of the English.

Humiliation of France

But in the autumn of 1428 things took a turn. The Earl of Salisbury resumed the siege of Orléans, and although he died soon, it was con-

Siege of Orléans (1428–9)

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[1] *Calendar of the Norman Rolls. Henry V. Public Record Reports,* XLI (1880), pp. 671–2.

tinued through the winter by the Earl of Suffolk. Except for a new defeat at Roveroy, near Orléans, on February 12, 1429 the French government took no action. Apathy reigned at Chinon. If Orléans were taken, the English would be able to cross the Loire and carry the war into the still free provinces of France — the only "France" yet left.

Jean Darc

At this critical moment of French history the romantic and dramatic rôle of Jean Darc[1] began. It was the darkest hour in French history. The dominions of the French crown in 1429 embraced only the Languedoc, Dauphiné, the Lyonnais, Poitou, and Provence. Normandy, Anjou, Guyenne, and Gascony were in English hands. Artois, Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne, through Burgundy's treason, were at the disposal of the national enemy. To crown the French humiliation, Paris itself, with the immense moral effect implied in possession of it, was lost to France. It remained for the English to force the barrier of the Loire at Orléans and end the struggle.

The true Jean Darc different from popular conception

Modern emotionalism, modern nationalism, modern clericalism, has enshrined the memory of Jean Darc. She is a national heroine and a saint. But all such recognition is *post hoc*. The current and popular impression of the Maid of Orléans little accords with the historical facts of the time. For France was not yet a nation in the fifteenth century, and the sentiment of patriotism did not then exist. Jean fought for her King, not her country, for the King in his own person and privileged blood most nearly, but incompletely, symbolized France. The key to an understanding of Jean Darc is her deep religious feeling, which itself was an expression of the spirit of the age. The one person in history most like her is St. Catherine of Siena in the previous century, in whom, as in her, was a remarkable union of religious emotionalism with practical energy. Jean Darc, like St. Catherine, was a devotee, an *exaltée,* at once a religious mystic and a level-headed, eager girl. Such enthusiasm transcends intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion. She was mystical without being hazy, supernatural without being superhuman. There was nothing morbid about her; she was no religious starveling, no ascetic. To the last she remained a buoyant, healthy peasant girl, with no deviation from a normal person except in her fixed belief that God had sent her to liberate her King, and her faith in the "voices" that spoke to her. No pathologist can explain her,[2] but a profound student of varieties of religious experience may, although always in such characters there is an element that escapes analysis.

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[1] This spelling is preferable to Jeanne d'Arc, or the English form, Joan of Arc.

[2] A French pathologist has written that "Jeanne would appear to have been subject on the right side of her brain to unilateral hallucinations of sight and hearing which are common in cases of hysteria," but reluctantly admits that "nervous pathology can cast but a feeble light on Jeanne d'Arc."

Of learning Jean had none; she could neither read nor write. She showed her sense of humor after the siege of Orléans was raised, when some English soldiers, wearing priests' costumes, which they had stolen, sought to pass through the French lines. She pretended to believe them to be what they pretended themselves to be, and took them with outward piety, but inward amusement, to her own house for refreshment. " One should never question priests," she said.

" You tell us," said William Aymery, in the preliminary examination at Poitiers, " that God wishes to free the people of France from their distress. If He wishes to free them, there is no need for the soldiers which you ask for." " In God's name," she rejoined, " the men-at-arms will fight, and God will give us the victory."

In the assault upon Jargeau, when the Duke of Alençon held back, she said to him: " Ah, gentle Duke, are you afraid? Do you not know that God helps those who help themselves? "

" Child as she was," it has been truly said, " and as ignorant of war as of life, there was that within her which turned away disaster." She wrought greatly, not because she knew more, but because her heart was nobler. She had supreme confidence in the divine nature of her mission. It was not arrogance when she wrote to Talbot, the English commander at Orléans, and a soldier so redoubtable that French mothers frightened their children with his name:

" Ye men of England, who have no right in the realm of France, the King of Heaven enjoins and commands you by me, Jean the Maid, to leave your forts and return to your own country. *If ye will not, I will make so great a noise as shall remain forever in the memory of man.*" It was white-hot confidence in her mission. And then, with a truly feminine touch, she added a postscript: " I should have sent to you with more ceremony, but you keep my heralds."

This was true, and Jean, to prevent such mean conduct by the English in the future, fixed this missive to an arrow and shot it over into the English camp, crying: " Read. This is my message." When wounded in the shoulder by an English arrow, she went to the rear, poured some wine and oil upon the wound, and was back at the front in less than half an hour. She had physical pluck as well as great moral courage. Jean's keenness of wit and sense of humor make her an intensely human person. A friar who believed the English report that she was a child of the devil — or, as the Duke of Bedford, the English regent in France, described her to the home government, " Ye limbe of ye Fiend " — fell to crossing himself vigorously at sudden sight of her, at which she laughed merrily. Believing heartily in her mission as one divine (even at the last hour, when the torch was about to be applied to the faggots, her words were: " My voices were from God. All that I have done, I have done by the order of God. My voices have not deceived me.") Jean Darc never pretended to possess any miraculous power. For the Church as an institution she had the deepest reverence; but the hard and worldly priest-class of that day she abhorred. " My Lord has a book wherein no clerk ever read, were he never so clerkly," was her comment upon their hypocrisy and pretensions.

Morale of the French army

But to return to Orléans upon the Loire, the farthest outpost of France against the English, whither Jean bent her steps after she had received the King's support. Orléans was a city of perhaps twenty thousand inhabitants, who lived in a strongly fortified territorial circumscription of about one hundred acres in extent. The French army, when its new leader appeared, was demoralized — an insensate rabble without order and discipline, brawling, licentious, and cruel. La Hire's notorious witticism: " If God should turn man-at-arms, He would be a cut-throat," illustrates the moral situation.

The coming of the Maid changed the spirit of the army. La Hire himself ceased to swear by anything greater than his marshal's baton. The morale of the army, under the fire of her enthusiasm, was purged of its dross. Its courage rose in degree. " Before she came," wrote a French chronicler, " two hundred Englishmen used to drive five hundred Frenchmen before them. After her coming, two hundred Frenchmen could chase five hundred Englishmen."

Jean as a soldier

Jean knew nothing of the tactics or strategy of feudal warfare. Her only theory of the art of war was to hit hard and often — a practice, simple as it was, that was at variance with the desultory military methods of the time, when weeks were occupied in a languid siege. Orléans was saved. The campaign of the Loire was followed by the triumphant recovery of Reims, in whose cathedral Jean stood with her banner waving behind Charles VII at his coronation, tears of gladness raining down her face.

Coronation of Charles VII (1430)

Brave and enterprising as her achievements were, it is a pity to have to record that they were doomed to futility. For her policy was fundamentally an erroneous one from the military point of view. In her deep religious devotion, Jean's whole aspiration was to see her King crowned " by the grace of God," thinking in her simplicity that victory *must* follow upon such an event. Hence she wasted precious months in fighting her way through Burgundy's territory to Reims and thus gave the English time to fortify Paris and other places in the basin of the Seine. The whole year spent in the touch-and-go fighting east of Paris between the coronation and her capture by a Burgundian trooper before Compiègne in May 1430 was time and effort lost.

Capture (1430)

The Duke of Burgundy sold Jean to the English for ten thousand pounds, and she was imprisoned in a tower of Rouen castle. It is pathetic to be compelled to relate that from the time of her capture until her death no word came to her from her King or any of her former captains or from her family. She was left alone to face the ordeal. Charles VII's memory is forever stained with this black spot, and it is no palliation to say that any overture for her release would have met with failure. The English were resolved to destroy the singular moral influence that Jean had wielded, and the obvious way to do so was to try her and condemn her as a witch -- to prove that she had had demoniac, not divine, power. There is no doubt of the sincerity of this belief among the English, and among some of the clergy, too. The clergy were more keenly interested than the English government in seeing her condemned. For Jean's claim that she was sent of God and that her mission was of divine origin struck narrowly at the prerogative of the Church, which from remote time had asserted that it alone had the authority to communicate and interpret the will of God. The charge of witchcraft was only an additional indictment. Accordingly, Jean was handed over to the Inquisition for trial. She was tried by the ecclesiastical authority; the English government merely executed the sentence of death, since the Church could not shed blood.

The truthful historian is in duty bound to take all the conditions of a time into account, and this means the institutions, the laws, and, above all, the mind of the epoch. Given the time and the conditions, the condemnation of Jean Darc was inevitable. No middle course, no compromise, was possible. The opprobrium that lies upon the clergy who tried her is for their conduct as Frenchmen, not as clerics. For the inquisitors were all French churchmen; the presiding judge was the Bishop of Beauvais; there were French Dominicans and French university professors on the bench, all of whom had forsaken their country's cause and become advocates and supporters of the English domination in France. These are to be condemned less for their conduct as clerics than for their self-interested policy in becoming instruments of the English conquest.

Imprisonment

It is not true that the English abused Jean when in prison. She was far too important a captive for that. One of her jailers was punished for his conduct towards her. She suffered from confinement, as was natural to a country girl used to active life in the open air, and, above all, she suffered from loneliness, mental anxiety, and suspense. When she was ill, the court took a long recess. Her health was carefully guarded. But the long confinement — she was captured in May 1430 and was not brought to trial until the following Lent — told on her.

Trial

When brought to trial, she profoundly impressed her judges by her winning manner and quiet dignity, her *naïveté,* her native peasant shrewdness. At the close of a long day's session of the trial, when three and four inquisitors had exhausted themselves in trying to entrap her, she could say with a wan smile: "My good lords, I beg you, one at a time." Her keenness of intelligence foiled her adversaries time and again. Urged to give details regarding the character of the vision that pointed out the King to her at Chinon, she caustically suggested that the English might send to the King, from whom doubtless they would get an answer. When asked if she knew she was in the grace of God, she replied: "May God bring me into His grace if I am not in it; if I am in it, may He keep me there." Even the examiners were filled with admiration at the answer, for the question was a dilemma: if the answer were *Yes,* it might be construed into blasphemous presumption of the authority of the Church. If the answer were *No,* out of her own mouth she would have been condemned. Her retaliation to this double-edged query came when, in reply to the question whether St. Michael, who appeared to her, were clothed or not, she turned it by asking: "Do you not think that God, who taketh care of the lilies of the field and clotheth the fowls of the air, has the wherewithal to care for His saints?" The judges badgered her much because she had donned man's clothes in the camp, and professed to find in that conduct an offense to God and man. She put them aside by observing: "Dress is but a little thing, less than nothing." Asked to tell what revelations she had made to the French King, she loyally answered: "That you shall not hear from me." The first question on the fifth day of the trial was: "What say you of our Lord the Pope, and whom think you to be the true pope?" She parried a commitment by naïvely asking: "Are there two?" Her faith in the ultimate liberation of France never wavered. "Before seven years have passed," she said to them, "the English shall lose a greater wager than any they lost at Orléans. They shall lose everything in France." Later on she said again: "Those who wish to banish me from this world may very likely leave it before me. . . . I know that my King will win the realm of France." Asked what the secret of her power over the French soldiery was, she said: "I told them to go on boldly against the English, and at the same time I went forward myself." The petti-fogging of these clerical casuists taxes our belief. One of them solemnly charged her with the crime of once catching butterflies in her standard as in a net. Now, be it known that the butterfly had an evil reputation in the Middle Ages. Doctors in theology knew for a certainty that witches and necromancers sacrificed butterflies to the devil. In France in the early thirteenth century a Carmelite monk at Pamiers was put to death by the Inquisition upon this charge.

The trial was interrupted by her serious illness. Her physical strength collapsed, but not her courage. When she returned, like the maid of Neidpath, so pale and thin that "through her wasted hand at night you saw the taper shining," and was solicitously asked by one of the judges how she felt, she dryly replied: "You can see for yourself. I am as well as it is possible for me to be."

The lips of history are not dumb, like the stone lips of the Sphinx, but there is a riddle in the life of Jean Darc not yet divulged. The facts of her life are like letters scattered upon the ground—the message is, and is not. Jean Darc is the only person in history of whom it may be said that every known fact pertaining to her has come down to us under oath, from one or another of the three trials. And yet the whole truth of her eludes our understanding.

"I believe that she was led by the spirit of God, and that there was in her a virtue divine and not human," was the comment of a lawyer who had seen her at Orléans; and human ingenuity has not added anything essential to, or taken anything essential from, this verdict, from that day to this. After four hundred years, in spite of the attentive study of scholars, the inquiry of science, the devotion of admirers (who have conspired to make a cult of her memory), all explanations are tentative and imperfect and themselves require explanation.

Hour after hour, day after day, through the long and tedious trial, the intrepid girl foiled her enemies by the ingenuous candor of her speech, or disarmed them by the shrewdness of her retorts. But she was between hammer and anvil and could not escape, although it required the last device of the examiners to incriminate her.

> "Jean had asserted that she was God's messenger, commissioned by Him through the voice of the saints and angels. It was possible, to say the least, that her inspiration was from the devil. Was she willing to leave the question to the church? If she refused submission, her guilt was established, for to deny the authority of the church was at once the commonest and the deadliest of heresies. If she submitted, then the ecclesiastical tribunal before which she stood was ready to assume the functions of the Church, and to decide the question against her."[1]

But conviction was not enough to satisfy the judges. If she died unrepentant, the French might still believe in her—that she was put to death unjustly. Every appearance of martyrdom had to be guarded against. Torture was evidently the only means that could break the spirit of the girl who had triumphantly stood out against those trained advocates at canon law.

The Inquisition strained its last cord in order to send her to the stake confessing the justice of her punishment! For months Jean had been denied the eucharist; her soul shrank from going to death unattended by its holy influence. But the eucharist could only be administered to a contrite penitent. If, therefore, she partook of it, it would seem the confession of the sin whereof she stood accused. Never perhaps in all history has the ingenious moral torture of man by his fellow-man been pushed further than this.

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[1] Lowell, *Joan of Arc*, p. 203.

Execution

Weary, deserted, heart-sick, home-sick, in pain of body and in mental anguish, weakened by a year's imprisonment after a lifetime spent in the open air, worn out by the strain of the long trial during the Lenten fast, which she had faithfully kept even upon meager prison fare, the sensitive girl shrank from the white-hot brazier that was shown to her with threats and gestures whose meaning could not be mistaken. As she sat in the chair, she could feel the intense heat from the glowing coals upon her. For a moment the brave spirit wavered. The strain was more than nature could endure. The flesh cried out for relief — she recanted. It is certain that she was unaware of the exact character of the document to which she tremulously affixed her mark. Her after statements indicate that she had no intention of retreating from her essential position. Her retraction was of the lips and the hand, not of the heart. In the quiet of her cell, to which she was returned after this desperate scene, when down on her knees in prayer her brave spirit rallied for the supreme test, she protested: " Whatever I have said was from fear. To the best of my knowledge I told you the truth of everything at the trial. . . . I did not understand what was in the deed of abjuration."

" It's done," said the Earl of Warwick. " We have caught her." It is added that he laughed, although that is not certain.

The chief responsibility for her death must be lodged with the medieval Church. There were not wanting a few voices who protested against the illegal nature of the process, even while it was proceeding. The objections were all of them technical in nature. The gravest offense against justice was this: Jean had the right of appeal to the pope and made such appeal, but it was disallowed, or rather ignored, by the judges because not made in due legal form. But how could an ignorant girl do so, especially when she was denied counsel, as even the Inquisition allowed? It may be argued that the court was intimidated by the English government. The Inquisition could have acquitted her, but would not. What the English government would have done in that event is a matter of conjecture.

The end was come. On May 30, 1431, in the market square of Rouen, the courageous spirit was released. She was given to the fire, from whose arms the winds, as was finely said of Shelley, " took her and shook her broadcast to the world." Like Shelley's, too, her heart remained unconsumed. One incident of mercy alone relieved that scene. Amid the brutal jests of the bearded soldiery of Burgundy and of Bedford gathered around, a nameless soldier took compassion on the Maid. While his comrades laughed and jeered, he hastily improvised a cross by binding two faggots together by means of his belt upon the end of a lance, and through the flame and smoke, which half obscured her form, pressed the emblem of redemption to her tortured lips. The last word she uttered was "Jesus."

Napoleon, who admired Jean Darc "because she beat the English," said of her that "she proved that there is no miracle which the French genius is incapable of working when national independence is at stake." It was finely said, but it did not express the truth. For if her mission had been the overthrow of the English domination and the liberation of her country, then it was an utter failure. Jean's victory was a wholly personal one, a wholly moral one; her career had no military or political effect. From first to last Jean Darc was an episode, an incident of little historical importance, although of enormous personal, moral, religious, psychological significance. Admiration for the girl herself, sentiment, romanticism, must not blind the eyes to these cold facts.

During her campaigning and for several years after Jean's death the English grip on France remained firm; and as long as Burgundy maintained his adherence to England, it bade fair to be fixed. There was real danger in that the intelligence, the justice, the efficiency of Bedford's government in the conquered provinces would permanently alienate the French population from their King. It seemed only a question of time before the English subjugation north of the Loire would be made complete. John of Bedford, one of the forgotten great statesmen of England, was a greater man than his brother Henry V. But he was committed by birth and office to a cause that was unjust from the beginning. He failed in the end because of the triumph of right over might, the victory of France over an enemy that sought her destruction, the right of a great nation to be free.

Administration of Bedford in France

But Bedford did his duty as regent in France like a man. The reconstruction of the desolated provinces wrought by him is little short of marvelous. Even in 1358 France had been in no worse condition than in 1422, when Henry V died. Bands of armed ruffians harried the countryside, says the Chronicle of Saint-Denis:

> "Treading underfoot the fear of God and man, they swept over the land with the fury of a tempest; their only thought was of plunder, fire, and bloodshed."

Some of these bands were well organized, like the free companies in the previous century. The leader of one of them was no less a person than Enguerran de Monstrelet, the historian, who made a fortune as a freebooter and retired to private life and took to letters. Another notorious gang was called the "*Écorcheurs*" (Flayers). The *Journal of a Bourgeois of Paris* in the years 1419–29 graphically relates the hardships and sufferings of the time, when wolves even invaded Paris. Thomas Basin, the Bishop of Lisieux, relates that

> "from Chartres on the West to the frontiers of Hainault on the East, and to the North as far as Abbeville, all was a desert. A few patches of cultivated land or vineyard might here and there be seen, but rarely, and never but in the immediate neighborhood of a castle or a walled town. Whenever the laborer ventured out into this enclosure, a watchman took his stand upon the watch-tower that he might blow his horn on the approach of the enemy, never far distant. So familiar had the sound become, so thoroughly was its meaning understood that even the oxen and the sheep hurried homewards when they heard its first warning note."[1]

The Bishop of Bayeux addressed to Humphrey of Gloucester "a complaint on the lamentable state and probable imminent destruction of the duchy of Normandy, with a most exact requisition for speedily applying a remedy to the same, illustrated by many very notable examples."

Bedford grappled manfully with these terrible conditions. He hanged hundreds of brigands; he established police patrols along the roads; he called in the base money with which France was deluged; he opened the Norman ports to free trade; he imported Flemish weavers to revive the textile trade and settled them in Beauvais, Rouen, Évreux; he established a colony of Italian silk-workers in Paris; he regulated markets and the hours of work required by the gilds of their employes; he sent across the Channel to England for farmers and artisans and settled them in the depleted towns and the wasted rural areas. In short, Bedford did everything an honest and able man could do in the circumstances. His want of success arose from the bad nature of his cause.

Unpopularity of the war in England

The English domination in France was crippled at home by the growing unpopularity of the war, owing to its cost, and parliament's refusal to make appropriations in sufficient support thereof, and the bitter feud between Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester. In 1433 Bedford crossed to London to endeavor to make head against the opposition and abate the feud between his brother and his uncle. Within Normandy the condition was even more filled with foreboding. A significant symptom of the waning power of England in France and evidence of papal sympathy with that afflicted country is in the fact that during the period of English occupation not a single instance is found in which the English nominee to a French see was accepted by the Pope. The University of Paris bitterly resented Bedford's establishment of the University of Caen lest it diminish its prestige and draw students away from Paris. Moreover, Burgundy, who naturally was aware of the state of English politics, began to waver in his alliance, the more so because Charles VII was holding out

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[1] Stevenson, *Wars of the English in France,* I, xl.

Congress of Arras (1435)

Burgundy returns to French allegiance

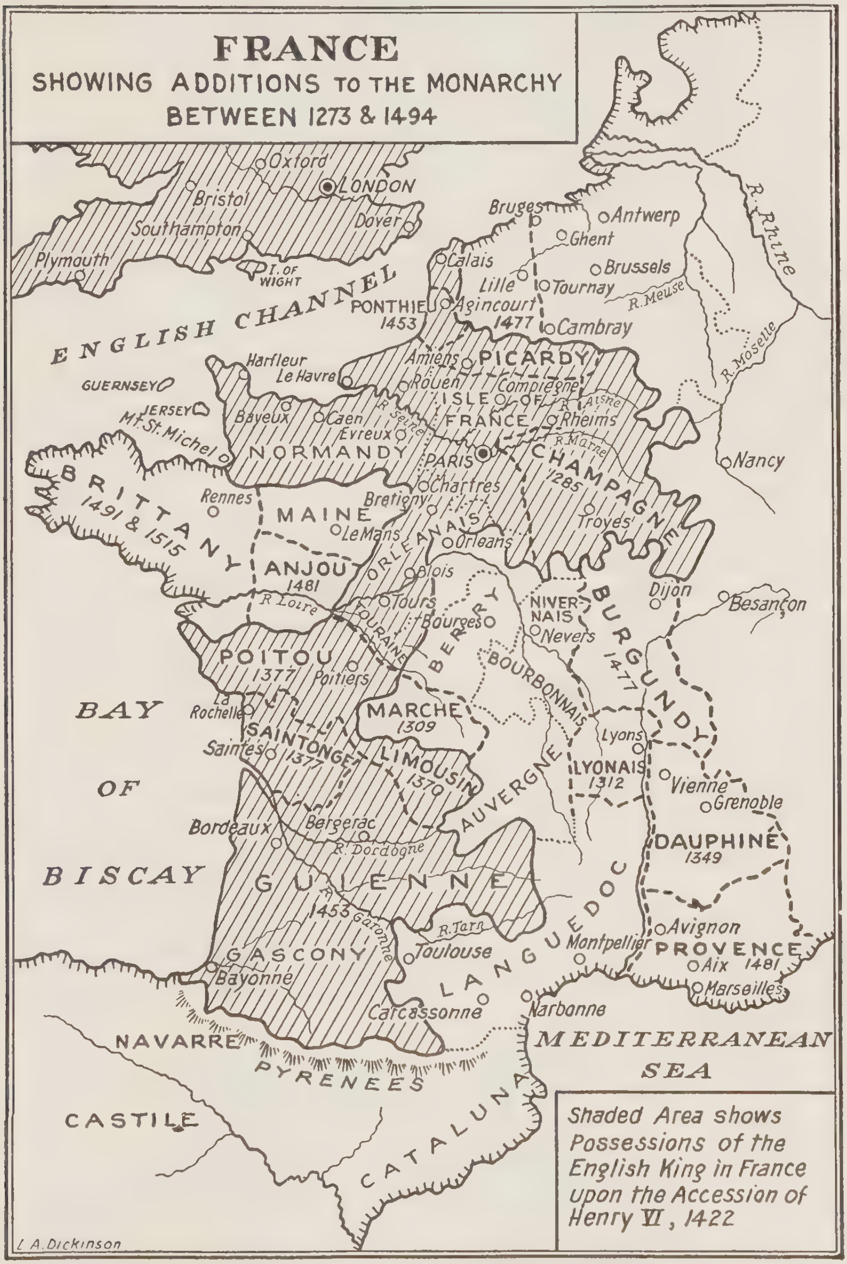
Bedford's death (1435)

to him substantial rewards for his return to French allegiance. Finally, foreign princes now began to intervene, notably the Pope, for now that the schism was over, the papacy was recovering its old influence as the arbiter of Christendom. On August 20, 1435 a great congress convened at Arras, where, besides the representatives of England, France, and Burgundy, were also the papal legate and ambassadors from Castile, Aragon, Naples, Portugal, Poland, Denmark, Milan — but no imperial ambassador! The French government was willing to make a reasonable settlement, to compromise, and offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to be held by ordinary homage on condition that Henry VI renounced all claim to the throne of France. It was a marvelous concession — Normandy! But the English ambassadors obstinately claimed the crown of France for their sovereign and would leave to Charles "of Valois" only what he already possessed on each side of the Loire River. In vain the papal legate argued that it was unjust to deprive Charles VII of his crown, but the English remained obdurate. The heraldic motto of the English sovereign, *Dieu et mon Droit,* survives to this day as a reminiscence of this claim. On September 6 the English ambassadors withdrew from the conference. It was a fatal act on their part, for France and Burgundy now came to an understanding. On September 21 Burgundy abandoned his alliance with England on condition of receiving Auxerre, Mâcon, Péronne, Montdidier, and the towns on the Somme and being released from feudal homage. Exactly one week before, Bedford had died, one may almost believe of a broken heart, and was buried in Rouen Cathedral. Years afterwards, when the French recovery was complete, Louis XI was petitioned to destroy his tomb and replied: "No, he did his duty. I war with the living, not the dead."

The year 1435, not 1429, the Treaty of Arras, not the relief of Orléans by Jean Darc, was the turning-point in the long war. Yet even with the desertion of the English cause by Burgundy it still required eighteen years of war to drive the English out of France, and the feat would have been impossible if there had not been a remarkable revival of energy on the part of the French government, and a remarkable series of administrative and military reforms.

Administrative reforms of Charles VII

Charles VII awakened from his lethargy and surrounded himself with able ministers and able military commanders. The progressive pacification of the country enabled the King to reorganize the central and local administration, the army, the forms of taxation, the treasury. His chief minister was Jacques Cœur, a rich merchant of Bourges who had acquired a fortune in the Mediterranean trade. The signature of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1438 threw a great amount of ecclesiastical patronage and control of much revenue into the King's hands. But the greatest reform was the establishment of the taille, a permanent tax of royal imposition, non-feudal in its nature, which enabled the government to abolish the ancient and uncertain feudal military service and in place of it to establish


FRANCE
SHOWING ADDITIONS TO THE MONARCHY
BETWEEN 1273 & 1494
Oxford
LONDON
Bristol
Southampton
Dover
Plymouth
I. OF WIGHT
ENGLISH CHANNEL
GUERNSEY
JERSEY
Mt. St. Michel
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Brussels
Calais
Lille
Tournay
R. Meuse
R. Rhine
PONTHIEU
1453
Agincourt
1477
Cambray
R. Moselle
Harfleur
Le Havre
Amiens
PICARDY
Rouen
Compiègne
ISLE OF FRANCE
R. Aisne
Rheims
R. Seine
Bayeux
Caen
Evreux
NORMANDY
PARIS
R. Marne
CHAMPAGNE
1285
Nancy
BRITTANY
1491 & 1515
Rennes
MAINE
Chartres
Bretigny
Le Mans
Troyes
ORLEANAIS
Orleans
ANJOU
1481
R. Loire
Blois
Tours
TOURAINE
Bourges
BERRY
NIVERNAIS
Nevers
BURGUNDY
1477
Dijon
Besançon
POITOU
1377
Poitiers
BOURBONNAIS
BAY OF BISCAY
La Rochelle
MARCHE
1309
SAINTONGE
1377
Saintes
LIMOUSIN
1370
Lyons
LYONAIS
1312
Vienne
Grenoble
AUVERGNE
Bordeaux
Bergerac
R. Dordogne
DAUPHINE
1349
GUIENNE
1453
R. Garonne
R. Tarn
LANGUEDOC
Avignon
PROVENCE
1481
Aix
Marseilles
GASCONY
Toulouse
Montpellier
Bayonne
Carcassonne
Narbonne
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NAVARRE
PYRENEES
CASTILE
CATALUNA
Shaded Area shows Possessions of the English King in France upon the Accession of Henry VI, 1422
L. A. Dickinson

fifteen regular companies of soldiery, the famous francs-archers. Many of the freebooters and wandering soldiers who infested the provinces were recruited into these regiments. Best of all France found in the constable Arthur Richemont, the Duke of Brittany, in Dunois and La Hire, who had served with Jean Darc, effective military leaders.

French recovery of Paris (1436)

On April 13, 1436 Paris opened its gates to Richemont; in July the Duke of Burgundy attacked Calais, but was forced to retire; and the Duke of York and Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, ravaged the country nearly to Paris. In the next year (1437) Talbot, England's most formidable soldier, devastated some of the Burgundian territory; Harfleur was recaptured by the English, but lost in a short time. In 1439 the French took Meaux. In 1441 Charles VII took Creil, but was driven from Pontoise; in 1442 the war was carried into Gascony, where the French conquered the territory of the Landes south of Bordeaux and the Agenais. England was ready at least for a truce, to which Charles VII acceded, for in 1440 the rebellion of the Praguerie, a rising of malcontent nobles led by the Duke of Bourbon, who looked askance upon this great development of royal power, temporarily embarrassed the King's efforts against the foreign foe. Accordingly, a truce between France and England was concluded on May 28, 1444 to endure until April 1, 1450, and in the next year it was cemented by the marriage of the English King, Henry VI, with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, titular King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, but in fact dependent upon the bounty of the King of France. To obtain her hand most of the remaining English possessions in France were given up. But the truce was ruptured in 1448, before it expired, over the county of Anjou, which the English withheld in contravention of the agreement, so the French claimed.

Truce

France and Switzerland (1442–4)

In the interim of this truce, so great was now the excess surplus energy of France that she had the strength to interfere in Switzerland. In 1442–4 the Emperor Frederick III, in league with Zürich, made the last memorable effort of the Habsburgs to recover their former sway in the Alpine lands, but the cantons rose in arms, and French soldiery, left unemployed in France by the temporary cessation of hostilities with England, under the Dauphin, later Louis XI, invaded Switzerland with the double purpose of ridding France of them and enlarging the " natural " frontiers of France. But this was merely a diversion.

Patriotic ardor of French

English driven out of France

By this time the patriotic ardor of all classes in France, cleric, noble, peasant, was so awakened that nothing could restrain the French arms from pushing the war with England until the English were driven into the sea. The conquest of Anjou and Normandy in 1449–50 is a thrilling tale. Peasants cheered the King as he rode along the roads at the head of his francs-archers; they patted his horse, they kissed the royal boots, the skirt of his riding-coat. Even today we can feel the new air that was breathed abroad in France at this time in the *vaux-de-Vire* or popular songs which have come down to us. They are lyrical of love, of wine, of love of nature — but some of them are ballads telling in patriotic vein the story of a national recovery, expressing a national sentiment. For at last Norman and Picard, Angevin and Poitevin, Gascon and Burgundian, had come to realize that they were peoples of French blood, that they were not citizens of a province, but of a country, *la patrie, la belle France,* that theirs was a romance tongue, the speech of a great nation. A nation does not sing when it is despondent; it is in a hopeful mood.

The capitulation of Rouen, Caen, and Falaise terminated the brilliant French recovery of Normandy. Without a stay the field of the war was shifted to Gascony and Guienne. The capture of Blaye brought about a general rising in all the territory that the English still possessed; the last town that held out except Bordeaux was Bayonne (August 25, 1451); before long only the Bordelais remained to them. And England was in no condition to avail. The rebellion of Jack Cade took place in 1450; the dragon's teeth of the War of the Roses had already been sown and soon were to spring up as men fighting for one another's throats. The prospective loss of Bordeaux was too much for England to contemplate. An outcry arose that it must be saved, and so in 1452 Talbot, England's greatest war-dog, a veteran of Agincourt, when he was sixty-eight years old was sent out to Bordeaux. It was a forlorn expedition. On July 23, 1453 Talbot was defeated and killed at Castillon (Châtillon). It was England, not France, that was now unprogressive in the art of war. The English longbow men and men-at-arms might have been a match for the French francs-archers, but the French had field-guns, too, and their batteries mowed the English down like hay. When the battle was lost, Talbot, blinded with sweat and blood, flung one arm around the shoulder of his son John, the other around that of a faithful comrade, and together the three faced the French guns until slain. When the battle was over, his herald sought his master's body and when he found it, cried: " Alas, it is you. I have been your officer of arms forty years. It is time I should surrender it to you," and while the tears coursed down his cheeks he stripped himself of the coat of arms and reverently laid it upon his master's corpse. Many years afterwards the old hero's sword was found in the Dordogne River, the very sword of which Shakspere wrote:

Battle of Castillon (1453)

Valiant Talbot above human thought
Enacted wonders with his sword.

Bordeaux was invested by the French on August 1, and on October 17, 1453 was taken by them. The Hundred Years' War was ended.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE YELLOW PERIL IN THE MIDDLE AGES. GENGHIZ KHAN AND THE MONGOL CONQUEST. TAMERLANE. THE CONQUESTS OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS

The Asian hordes

WHEN the Avars, that Tartar people akin to the Old Huns, were assailing the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century, a strange prophecy appeared which became widely current in after centuries, of the eventual triumph of Christendom over the hordes of Oriental barbarian nations that beset the eastern frontier of Christian Europe. There was need of such comforting assurance in view of the successive waves out of the East of the yellow nations — Avar, Magyar, Petchenegs, Kumans, Seljuks, Mongols, Turks. The Avar was destroyed, the Magyar became Christianized and civilized, the Petchenegs and Kumans were formidable for a time and then vanished in the welter of things in Russia in the eleventh century. The Seljuks were overcome by the Mongols. The Mongol and Turkish conquests and domination, however, were of wider dimension and more permanence. It is of these movements in particular with which we have to deal in this chapter.

Rise of Genghiz Khan

Let us in imagination transport ourselves back into the twelfth century and drop down in the meadows of the valley of the Amur River. Here is a vast camp of nomad barbarians, composed of tents made of felt, of which some are of richly ornamented stuffs and silk, surrounded by palisades; a *lager* of wagons with felt tops protects the camp, while in the distance immense flocks are to be seen grazing. On all the avenues to the camp are coming and going troops of riders and wagons. The warriors are of fierce visage, swart skins, high cheek-bones, black hair, and bright black eyes. Their round skulls are covered with fur caps or casques; their bodies are protected by a leathern armor, hardened in water; over their shoulders are draped capes of brilliant colors, and some of them wear leathern jerkins. Their saddles are high; and for weapons they carry bows and lances.

They are met together to celebrate the funeral of the chief of their confederation, Yesu-Guei, the Valiant, head of the great family of " Avalanches with Piercing Eyes," who had often led them to victory and to pillage on the frontiers of the Celestial Empire, along the Great Wall, which protected the treasures of Chinese civilization.

But when, around the body of the Valiant lying within the largest of the tents, the funeral lamentations were over and the slaves and horses had been slain in order to serve him in the next world, the grave filled up, and a pile of stones raised over it, a sudden excitement arose in the crowd. The horsemen hastily mounted and in squadrons rode from the camp. The warriors had sworn fidelity to Yesu-Guei, but they had no mind to accept the orders of his five sons, of whom the youngest (according to Mongol custom, heir of the tent and the paternal riches) was but five years of age, while the eldest, Temud Jine, was but thirteen. Thus this agglomeration of thirty thousand nomad families disintegrated piece by piece. Every day new lines of wagons, guarded by horsemen, followed the herds and moved towards the desert, all seeking a new chief who was capable of leading them to fortune.

At that time a woman, the widow of the Valiant, and mother of Temud Jine, undertook to stop the secession. In long draperies of mourning she mounted her horse with the emblem of battle in her hand; escorted by a group of braves, she set out in pursuit of the fugitive tribes and regathered them around the cairn where slept the Valiant. Persuaded by her, they consented to fight under the standard of nine white sprays, the symbol of the confederation, and under the standard of four black sprays, the heraldic device of the protecting genius of the Avalanches. The woman was the mother of Genghiz Khan.

The youth of this chief of the united Mongol tribes was hard and miserable. His warriors were surrounded by warlike tribes, which sought to enlarge their power. Until the age of thirty-two Temud Jine led an adventurous life in the mountains of the Kentei, between Keroulen and Okhon. Pressed by his enemies, he was oftentimes compelled to flee into the Gobi Desert there to live the life of a *kazak* (banned). One day he was compelled to conceal himself in a swamp, another time to escape his adversaries in a wagon loaded with wool. But, thanks to his energy, he overcame all reverses and slowly enlarged his power. His forces began to increase, and everywhere he went he was strong enough to impose taxes in cattle or in produce, a tenth of the horses, camels, cattle, and sheep, and to exact a man from each family by conscription. Soon he was strong enough to give battle to the rival tribes, and in time he became a powerful chief and, like his ancestors, resolved to put his forces at the service of the Chinese Empire, which lured the imagination of the Tartars as the Roman Empire had that of the Germans. Temud Jine was given a commission as "commander against the rebels" and the academic title of "Dai Ming," or Doctor of Letters. He ranked among the hierarchy and received a salary from the imperial treasury.

After some obscure wars Genghiz Khan successively subjected all of the Turkish tribes of the north, enrolled all of them in his army, and penetrated into Chinese Turkestan. In 1206 he planted the standard of his family at Karakorum, the old capital of the ancient Mongol Empire, situated on the upper Okhon. A general assembly of his subjects conferred upon him the title of Genghiz Khan, or Autocrat. Before the representatives of nineteen Turkish peoples and twenty-six Mongol clans he swore to observe the "Yassak" or code of Mongol customs.

Conquests of the Mongols

This establishment of a Mongol Empire was equivalent to a declaration of war against China, at that time divided into two kingdoms. In 1206 Genghiz began the attack upon the kingdom of North China and cut it off on the west by seizing Turkestan. The conquest was difficult and lasted eleven years (1206–17). After his victory he left in China an army of occupation of thirty-three thousand men and returned to Karakorum. New interests invited his activity. The possession of Turkestan had made him master of the two great trans-Asian highways to the west: the northern road across Asia to Astrakhan, and the southern road by Kashgar, Bokhara, Merv, and Baghdad.

China

Central Asia

Genghiz Khan resolved to penetrate into this mysterious world and concentrated a hundred and fifty thousand men upon the Irtish. With them he crossed the Red Desert (Kizil Kum) and attacked the powerful Turkish Empire of Kharesm, the realm of Prester John, according to the Westerners, which extended beyond the Oxus. The conquest was frightful. Two battles in five months sufficed to conquer the country, and the four great Mongol armies which had divided the work reunited at Samarkand.

Russia

The Sultan of Kharesm had fled to the west. Genghiz Khan sent two of his sons in chase of him. Then began a fantastic pursuit on horseback, which in three years carried the Mongols from Samarkand to the banks of the Don River in Russia. The two princes in this pursuit crossed Afghanistan and Persia, passed near the oasis of Merv, took by assault Nishapur, and captured the fugitive sultan in an island in the Caspian Sea. There they hesitated and asked for instructions. Genghiz Khan ordered them to penetrate into the west as long as they found Turkish peoples to conquer. In a short time Georgia was conquered. The Mongol army entered Tiflis, crossed the Caucasus in spite of great difficulties, and fell upon the Turks of southern Russia, the Kipchaks, who awaited their coming along the classic route of Asian invasion between the Urals and the Caspian. The Kipchaks fled to the Don and made an alliance with the Russians. In great fear of the Mongols the Russian princes armed all their forces, eighty thousand Russians. But they divided themselves into two bodies and were separately subdued in 1223. The victors pursued them to the Dnieper and finally returned to Turkestan.

Death of Genghiz (1226)

Before his death, which took place in 1226, Genghiz Khan suppressed in a terrible manner a revolt of Kharesm and sent an expedition beyond the Indus. The impulse that he gave the Mongol race lasted for generations. Towards all the points of the compass his sons and grandsons increased the extent of the Mongol Empire. The Bulgar Empire was conquered in 1238. In the year following, the Mongols attacked the Russians, marched straight upon Moscow, defeated George, the Grand Duke of Russia, and pushed upon Novgorod, which an unlucky accident prevented them from taking. Then turning to the south, they captured the holy city of Kiev in 1239. The Kipchaks fled into Hungary, where the Magyars welcomed them. This was a monstrous crime in the eyes of the Mongols, who considered all Turkish peoples as their subjects. The conquest of Hungary was therefore decided upon and a host of spies was sent to prepare the way. The year 1241 is the most critical period which eastern Europe in the Middle Ages experienced. Two Mongol armies threatened it from the north and south. The first fell upon Poland, beat Duke Henry of Silesia at Wahlstat, captured Breslau, and in a month subjected all the country as far west as Saxony, its advance guard riding over Lusatia and Moravia. The second army crossed the passes of the Carpathians, beat the Hungarian army at Mohi, and arrived at Budapest on March 17, 1241. Hungary was conquered. The Mongols threatened Vienna and Venice. Their advanced horsemen rode as far as the Adriatic. These swarms of nomad cavalry were regarded as the children of hell, and hence were called Tartars, since they were reputed to have come from Tartarus. But the term has no ethnographic significance and was loosely applied to all the peoples of the southern and eastern steppes.

Poland

Battle of Wahlstat (1241)

Hungary

The Mongol conquests were as redoubtable in western Asia as in eastern Europe. In 1258 Hulagu, grandson of Genghiz Khan, destroyed the Khalifate of Baghdad and starved the Commander of the Faithful to death in the midst of his treasures. The capture of Aleppo, then of Damascus, followed hard upon that of Baghdad. The Christian King of Armenia became a vassal of the Mongols and aided them in conquering Russia. Western Europe in terror asked what was to become of it in the face of these new and terrible enemies. They were inaccessible to negotiations and spared the Arabs as little as the Christians. The crusaders at St. Jean d'Acre made ready to withstand a siege, but, fortunately for them, for the first time the Mongols were compelled to beat a retreat before the Kharizmians who had established themselves in Asia.

Baghdad (1258)

In eastern Asia they also found limits to their power. Another grandson of Genghiz Khan, the great Emperor Kublai Khan, reigned at Peking and annexed southern China to his empire. In 1274 a maritime expedition prepared against Japan failed completely. On the other hand, Mongol generals penetrated into Indo-China and occupied Yunnan, Burma, and Tonkin.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Mongol Empire had reached its maximum extent. Its area was as great as that of the late Russian and Chinese empires combined. In less than a century the Mongols had cov-

Extent of Mongol Empire

ered with their army a great portion of the old continent of Asia, seized the trade routes, destroyed ancient empires, absorbed Chinese civilization, and scattered the forces of Mohammedanism and were camped in eastern Europe. At no epoch in history was Asia more threatening for Europe. Until this period two grand civilizations had developed during thousands of years, one around the Mediterranean, the other on the Pacific, with no other tie than vague and intermittent relations. It had been given to the Mongols to unite them together in a terrible fashion. The first contact fortunately, however, had failed to destroy European civilization. Contemporaries themselves, in spite of the horror which the Mongols inspired, failed to perceive the danger that they ran. Involved in their own territorial and dynastic wars, the princes of Europe were not moved by the Mongol invasion until their own territories were invaded.

Kublai Khan

What saved Europe was not itself, but the Mongol conquest of China, which fixed Mongol interest and the Mongol capital in the Far East and made Asia and Europe merely remote dependencies of the Mongol Empire. In contact with the high and refined civilization and culture of the Chinese, the Mongols themselves became civilized. A single generation was sufficient to accomplish this transformation. When Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghiz, became emperor, he chose as his capital the Chinese city that is today Peking. Today in the midst of this ancient imperial city still rises the Forbidden City, a double wall of stone enclosing an enormous palace, which possessed a hall of such vast extent as to accommodate six thousand banqueters, and parks filled with animals, gardens filled with flowers and fruits, and even an artificial lake. To the north of the palace an artificial mountain was planted with the rarest species of trees. In summer the Emperor moved there with all his court, north of the Great Wall, where gigantic hunting parties were organized in the midst of immense preserves.

About 1277 Kublai Khan completely adopted Chinese customs and compiled a "Book of Ceremonies," which yields in nothing to that remarkable and complicated book of etiquette put forth by Constantine Porphyrogenetus, at Constantinople in the ninth century. His costume henceforth was that of the ancient Chinese emperors. He wore the high bonnet of black silk, bordered with pearls and jade and other precious stones; a silken robe of azure color, broidered with cloth of gold, which represented the imperial constellation, the sun, moon, dragons, mountains, tigers, monkeys; a girdle stiff with precious stones, and a sash over his shoulders, similarly decorated; a scarlet robe decorated with water-plants and tiger-lilies broidered in precious stones; shoes of red leather, or silk enriched with gold buckles and pearls. Twelve thousand soldiers who formed the personal guard of the Emperor and belonged to the high nobility received each thirteen sumptuous uniforms of different colors, like those of the sovereign; one of these costumes was for each festival. On New Year's Day all were attired in white and the Emperor received tribute in white silks, white horses, diamonds and pearls. Nothing can give us an idea of these festivals, worthy of the *Arabian Nights,* in which immense cups of gold, filled with the most precious wines, passed from guest to guest, where the Emperor was served by the highest dignitaries, on plates of gold, his face covered with a golden veil. After such dinners there were hunting parties of twenty thousand huntsmen, clad in scarlet and blue liveries, that were like military expeditions; ten thousand falconers accompanied the court of the Emperor, who was borne on a throne carried by four elephants.

At the same time, along with this etiquette, the Mongols took from the Chinese the principles of public administration and bureaucracy, with its special ministers, its councils, its inspectors, its provincial governors, and a host of local officials, divided into classes. After the manner of his Chinese predecessors Kublai Khan gave great attention to public charity, granted exemptions from taxation to provinces devastated by the plague or flood, built public granaries, established free drug-shops for the poor, and made distribution of bread to the hungry every day in his palace. A protector of letters, with the aid of a Buddhist priest from Tibet, he made a curious attempt to substitute an alphabet for the multitude of Chinese characters. Finally, like a modern sovereign, he issued paper money and between 1260 and 1294 put millions of government bank-notes into circulation. Compared to the Western kingdoms of the Middle Ages, the Mongol State was a highly civilized organism the perfection of whose government would have changed the peoples of Europe, so long habituated to feudal anarchy.

Government of Mongols

To keep the vast Empire together, the government had a splendid postal system; thanks to ten thousand relays and four hundred thousand horses stationed at all important points on the imperial road the Great Khan every day had news from provinces as far away as ten days' journey from his capital. The fiscal system reflected this organization; it exacted a tithe of all products, and the wealth of the Mongols was fabulous. Moreover, in every country they exacted a methodical requisition of all those who could be of use, soldiers, workmen, scribes, etc. Many Westerners found themselves thus transported against their will into the heart of Asia. St. Louis's ambassador, the Franciscan Rudbruck, at Karakorum saw a French girl from Metz in Lorraine, named Paquette, who was the wife of a Russian architect who had been captured during the war in Hungary. She introduced him to a Parisian goldsmith, a certain Master William, who was married to a Hungarian woman and had been made prisoner at Belgrade; also an Englishman in Mongol employ.

At this moment the Christian and Mohammedan states were weakened by religious conflicts. The Mongols, not knowing these difficulties, practiced a real neutrality. Little attached to their own shamanism, they easily embraced the religions of their subjects. The Nestorian churches which had taken refuge in the east made many adherents among them. The wife of Hulagu, the conqueror of Baghdad, as well as one of his chief generals, belonged to this Church. The Christians obtained from the Great Kahn rescripts that exempted their churches from taxation. But a great number of the Mongols had embraced Buddhism and the khans traveled with a double body of Nestorian priests and Buddhist lamas. There were also mosques established in their court. No one of these faiths was the official religion, and all were equally protected. This religious toleration was not one of the least subjects of astonishment to Europeans.

Religious tolerance

Mongol army

But the most remarkable phenomenon of the Mongol State was their army, in which they had a redoubtable instrument, which made them far superior to the West. It was the first type of a regular permanent army in Europe since the Roman Empire. It was recruited by conscription of all the fighting men of the continent. This was the origin of that formidable cavalry which excited the fear and astonishment of the west. The decimal system of enumeration prevailed — detachments of ten, companies of hundreds, and regiments of a thousand men. Promotion was regular and the prestige of rank was vigorously observed. An officer would not take orders except from his immediate superior. Discipline was terrible and desertions punished with death. The equipment was simple and practicable and reduced to strictest necessity. The armor was made of boiled leather, varnished, and was preferred to iron on account of its not rusting; each man carried a bow for fighting on horseback and a larger one for fighting on foot, three quivers of arrows, and a short half-curved sword. No obstacles stopped these riders. They crossed rivers by hanging to the tails of the horses, and capturing fortresses was sport to them. Not only did they have a light artillery, easily transported, but they never hesitated to sacrifice thousands of lives to secure success. In a siege they made their prisoners work in the intrenchments and, when this preliminary work was done, scaled the ladders and took the place. The mobilization of the army was rapid and its commissariat carefully looked after. At fixed points were magazines of provisions for the troops. Each man was estimated to consume a thousand pounds of flour and a case of wine. In hostile country the army knew wonderfully well how to draw resources from the region it crossed. There was no pillage except in case of military execution. Everywhere systematic exploitation was practiced and the crops carefully garnered. When they conquered Hungary, for example, the Mongol commander formed a Magyar chancellery with the aid of clerks whom they had captured, sealed public acts with the seal of King

Bela, caused bailiffs to be elected in every town, requisitioned vegetables, wines, grain, etc. — in a word, instituted a regular government. It was therefore less a horde than a modern army that was represented by the Mongols of the thirteenth century.

Consternation of Europe

What could Europe do in the face of such a formidable power? Not only had there not been for centuries political unity; but, far from defending their common interests, her princes were absorbed in territorial conflicts. The Pope and the Emperor were fighting for Sicily, England for the French provinces. There were always crusades projected, but there was no general movement. They took the character of private enterprises, almost armed pilgrimages of individuals. The Byzantine Empire, which had been destroyed by the crusaders in 1204, could offer no front against the East. To this political anarchy must be added the lack of military organization. Bands of feudal knights serving for limited days of service, of mercenaries levied for a campaign, did not form an army. The cavalry of the west lacked flexibility and, above all, had no tactics or organization.

Still other circumstances favored the Mongols. Thanks to their diplomacy, they had allies even in Europe itself and it is probable that the Venetians, faithful to their mercantile policy, had favored their progress. In return the Mongols destroyed the Genoese commercial post in the Black Sea which competed with the Venetian colonies. They provided slaves for the Venetian galleys plying between the Adriatic and the Black Sea and Egypt. It is remarkable that, when the Mongols reached the Adriatic on the frontiers of the Republic of Venice in 1241, they did not dream of advancing farther. While the Mongols had good knowledge of Europe, and spies everywhere, Europe had only the vaguest and most puerile notions regarding the invaders. On the eve of the invasion of his country a Hungarian bishop wrote to the Bishop of Paris that this people were the Gog and Magog of scripture.

Before such a tempest the west knew no resistance was possible. If the hundred thousand men of Batu had continued to push on after the conquest of Bohemia and Hungary and had not stopped at the Theiss (1241), the Renaissance might have been extinguished in its germs, and the history of the Middle Ages been continued two or three centuries longer. The history of Russia illustrates this, for it was retarded for three hundred years by the Mongol domination and only emerged into modern times at the end of the seventeenth century.

It is not necessary to seek the causes of Mongol retardation in an attempt of the western peoples against the Mongols. It is true that a crusade was preached throughout all Germany, but without success. The attitude of the European peoples of the thirteenth century shows among them such profound division that anything like a European concert was impossible.

In the face of the yellow peril the kings and the people hesitated and waited. From whence was the safety of Europe to come? It came from the Mongols themselves and their political theory. The purpose of Genghiz Khan was to subdue the whole world, but in the world there was for him but one race which counted, and that was the Tartar. Therefore he forbade his sons and grandsons to go beyond where they found peoples of the Turkish and Finnish race. The Magyars were the most western of the yellow race. When Hungary was conquered, the Mongol program seemed accomplished. Moreover, after the death of Genghiz Khan two sharply divided parties were formed in the Empire. Some wanted to keep the capital at Karakorum and to continue the conquest of the world. On the other hand, another party, dazzled by the splendor of Chinese civilization, wanted to see a period of administrative development succeed the period of expansion. This party triumphed with Kublai Khan, who founded the Chinese Mongol dynasty.

Break-up of Mongol Empire

It resulted that the Mongols faced the Far East and more and more disengaged themselves from European affairs. In 1243 Hungary was slowly evacuated by the Mongol troops, who did not stop until they reached the frontiers of Russia, where the Golden Horde continued in occupation. It was perhaps at this epoch that the Russians adopted the use of the knout, the *terem,* and ceremonial prostration. This conquest displaced the center of activity of the Russian people, whose princes were subject to the Khan; the latter chose as his representative the Prince of Moscow, who, though a vassal of the Mongol Khan, became the chief ruler of the Russian world. Old Russia was torn to pieces. The vague supremacy exercised by the Prince of Kiev barely subsisted. Russia was like France in the eleventh century, having an enormous number of principalities which ceaselessly changed and divided. The Russians began to break up into two branches with different dialects; those of the south, who were at this time more civilized, became the Little Russians. Those of the north, the Great Russians, gradually extended towards the upper and middle Volga, colonizing new territories and forming very numerous populations. It is probable that in this process they encountered an indigenous Asiatic population, for among them the Slavonic type is less pure.

The Great Khan who reigned at Peking became wholly a Chinese prince and had nothing but the most distant relations with his cousins, the feudatories of Turkestan, Persia, and Kipchak. Europe was saved by the indifference of the Mongols themselves, and the situation moderated so that popes like Innocent IV and kings like St. Louis could seriously believe that the Mongols would become converted to Christianity and be made the allies of the west against the Mohammedans.

Rise of Ottoman Turks

At the end of the fourteenth century a new species of Tartar invasion took place, that of the Ottoman Turks, who, unlike the Mongols, were Mohammedans. The Seljuk State had been dismembered by the Mongols in 1258 and a new family arose that made great conquests. These achievements were not the work of a nation, but of a Turkish dynasty, that of the Ottoman or Osman family. Turkish history at this time is nothing but the history of the Osmanli princes, who were Turkoman nomad chieftains. The original element in this movement was not the government, but the army, which was formed of swift light-armed horsemen, the famous corps of the Janizaries, footmen armed with bow and sword, professional soldiers recruited from among the conquered Christian peoples, subject to a very severe discipline and trained by a novitiate of seven years. They did not drink wine, nor were they permitted to marry. Under this iron training the Janizaries possessed a crushing superiority over the armies of Europe. Finally, and this is a capital fact, the Turkish army was democratic. Promotion was from grade to grade according to merit. At this epoch the Turkish army was the best-drilled and most modern army of all Europe. It was the first to adopt new and more scientific methods of warfare, the first to use artillery, and the first to organize a corps of engineers. To keep this army employed and to prevent its becoming dangerous the Sultan waged constant wars.

Weakness of Europe

At this time — we are in the fourteenth century — the Byzantine Empire was in a condition of decrepitude and dislocation. It had never recovered, although "restored" in 1261, from the blow delivered in the Fourth Crusade. The actual Empire included only the tip of the Balkan peninsula and the tip of Asia Minor. In the hinterland behind Constantinople lay two independent Slavonic states, Bulgaria and Serbia, which included also most of the Peloponnesus.

Decrepitude of Byzantine Empire

The Ottomans, having gained access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, at first made no effort to subjugate Asia Minor and the Mohammedan principalities there, but assailed the Byzantine Empire with their sea-power and their armies. To make the distress of the Byzantine Empire worse, the Catalan Grand Company, an army of Catalan mercenaries and pirates, in 1303 landed at Constantinople and terrorized the city and all the surrounding country. The battle of Apros (1307) reduced the Empire to ruin. The Grand Company was not finally overthrown until 1315. The Turks profited by this condition and in 1326 captured Brusa in Asia Minor, over against Constantinople, which became the Turkish capital. The first engagement between the Byzantines and the Turks was in 1329, at Pelekanon. The next year Nicæa, the old city of the council, was taken. In 1339 Bithynia was conquered. In 1341 for the first time the Turks crossed over into Europe, and by 1354 they had gained a foothold on the Gallipoli peninsula. In 1361 Roumania was overcome

Progress of Turks

and Adrianople taken and the seat of Turkish government transferred to it. In the same year the Janizaries were established, so many Christian captives by this time having fallen into the hands of the Turks. In 1393 the battle of Kossova destroyed the Serbian kingdom.

Battle of Nicopolis (1396)

In the lull after the termination of the first period of the Hundred Years' War Europe found time to make an effort to stem the Turkish advance. Thousands of veterans of that conflict, supplemented by Germans and Magyars, marched down the Danube to bar the Turkish advance. Among them were John, son of Duke Philip of Burgundy, and Marshal Boucicault, a famous French commander. The result was the terrible Christian disaster at Nicopolis in 1396, where John of Burgundy gained his sobriquet "the Fearless."

After the Turkish victory at Nicopolis central and even western Europe were in consternation. As for the Balkan peninsula, it seemed on the verge of dissolution. Venice made overtures to the Turks with a view to protecting her possessions in the Archipelago; as for the princes there, an alliance with the Turks seemed the only assurance for them. These princes were divided against themselves and bitterly hostile to one another, which made the task of Bajazet easier. By this time it was clear that the Sultan's purpose was the permanent Ottoman occupation of the Balkans and the subjugation of the states there to Turkish provinces.

Tamerlane

The Balkan peninsula and perhaps even central Europe were saved at this juncture from immediate Turkish conquest by events in western Asia. A strange new fortune had befallen western Asia; for another formidable Mongol conqueror had arisen there. This was Tamerlane, a Tartar chieftain in blood, a Mohammedan in religion, and a ferocious and bloodthirsty conqueror in disposition. Invincible in battle, a warrior of genius, of insatiable ambition, an efficient administrator, Tamerlane terrified his enemies even before he attacked them.

Tamerlane was born in Transoxiana in 1335, married the sister of the Emir of Khurasan and Transoxiana, whom he succeeded in 1369, and established his capital at Samarkand. It was then that he conceived the gigantic project of destroying all the Mongol dynasties that had sprung up after the dismemberment of the Mongol Empire. In succession he conquered Kharasmia, Kandahar, Persia, the countries in the Caucasus, Armenia, Mesopotamia, the steppes between the Caspian and the Black Sea, southern Russia from the Volga to the Dnieper; in 1398 he conquered the Punjab. His empire extended from India to Hungary.

Capture of Bajazet (1402)

The enormous and formidable nature of Tamerlane's conquests foredoomed collision between him and the Turks, with Asia Minor as the bone of contention between them. At Angora in 1402 the Turkish Sultan Bajazet was crushingly beaten and taken prisoner. It looked as if the day of the Turks was over. What saved them was Tamerlane's ambition to excel Alexander the Great and conquer all India. He did not live long enough to accomplish the hope, but left the purpose as a legacy to his sons and grandsons.

Turkish recovery

After Tamerlane's death (1405) the Ottomans recovered power once more and resumed their conquests in Europe, which had blindly failed to profit by the interval. In the West this was the period of the reforming councils, the Hussite war, and the renewal of the wars of England in France. In 1420 the Turks captured Coltaro, in 1424 Salonika was taken, in 1431 Yannina captured. A ring of Turkish territory was being formed around Constantinople, which gradually was cut off more and more by both sea and land. The only Christian victories in these fateful years were the unsuccessful siege of Belgrade by the Turks (1440) and the great victory of John Hunyadi of Hungary over them at Kunobitza (1443). But this Turkish defeat was retrieved by the smashing Turkish victory at Varna in 1444 over another army of crusaders. Only the mountaineer Albanians under George Castriota, dubbed by the Turks Scanderbeg, successfully resisted. Slowly the Turkish ring of fire closed around the city on the Golden Horn. The end came on May 29, 1453, when Constantinople, after nearly two months of heroic resistance, was captured by Sultan Mohammed (1451–81). The residue of Christian territories, continental and insular, fell into Turkish hands in the next half century. A European congress was called at Regensburg to promote a crusade against the Turks, but nobody would come. The truth was that the old Europe had broken down; " many lands were exhausted by war, and most rulers were busy consolidating their own possessions and establishing a firmer rule. Venice feared Sforza, the formidable occupant of the adjoining state, and was anxious to preserve her commerce with the East; so she made a treaty with Mohammed; and Genoa . . . gave her Eastern possessions into the keeping of the Bank of St. George." [1] " Where is the mortal man," wrote Æneas Sylvius, " who can bring England into accord with France? Or Genoa with Aragon? Or conciliate the Germans, Hungarians, and Bohemians in their disputes. Let a great host set forth and its internal enmities will destroy its organization. Behold a true picture of Christendom."

Siege of Belgrade (1440)

Fall of Constantinople (1453)

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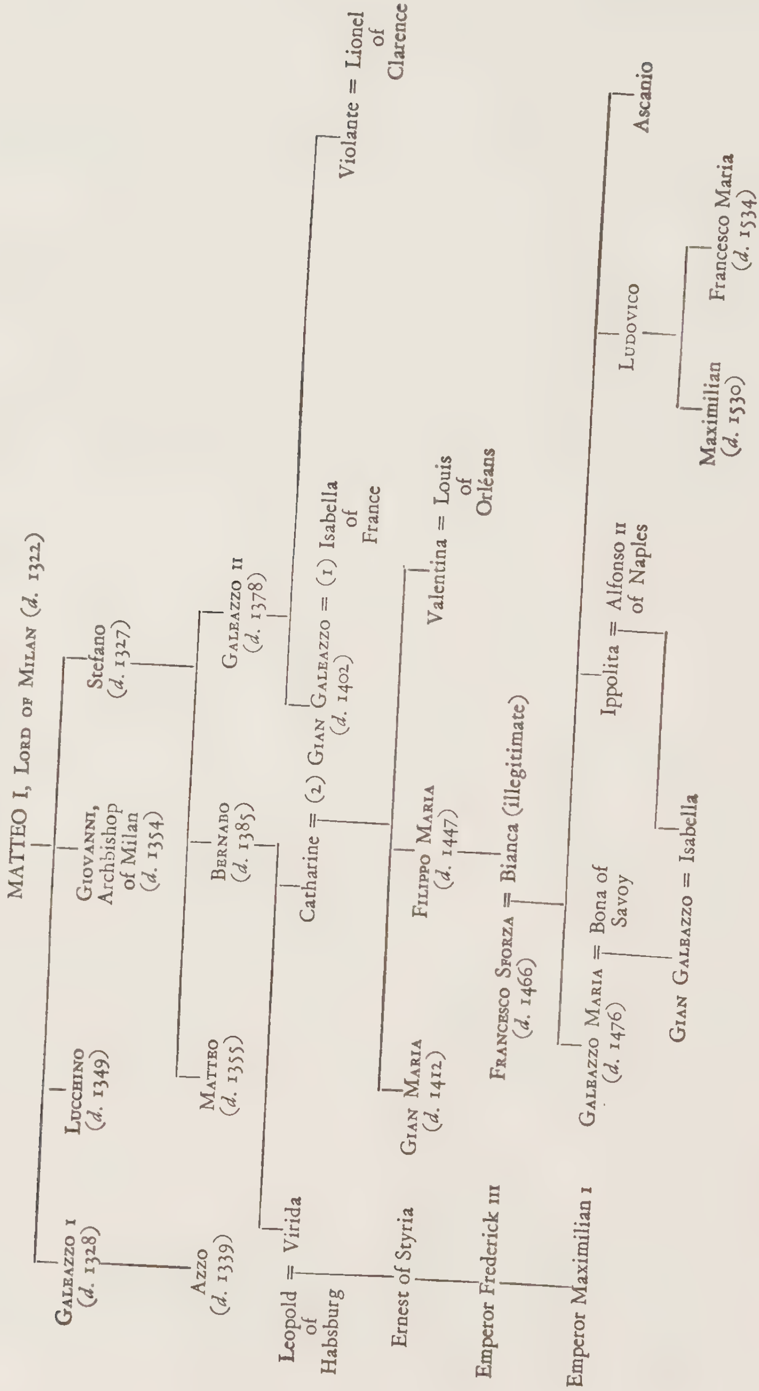
The Houses of Visconti and Sforza in Milan


MATTEO I, Lord of Milan (d. 1322)
Galeazzo I (d. 1328)
Lucchino (d. 1349)
Giovanni, Archbishop of Milan (d. 1354)
Stefano (d. 1327)
Azzo (d. 1339)
Matteo (d. 1355)
Bernabo (d. 1385)
Galeazzo II (d. 1378)
Leopold of Habsburg = Virida
Catharine = (2) Gian Galeazzo = (1) Isabella of France
(d. 1402)
Violante = Lionel of Clarence
Ernest of Styria
Gian Maria (d. 1412)
Filippo Maria (d. 1447)
Valentina = Louis of Orléans
Emperor Frederick III
Francesco Sforza = Bianca (illegitimate)
(d. 1466)
Emperor Maximilian I
Galeazzo Maria = Bona of Savoy
(d. 1476)
Ippolita = Alfonso II of Naples
Ludovico
Ascanio
Gian Galeazzo = Isabella
Maximilian (d. 1530)
Francesco Maria (d. 1534)

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE RENAISSANCE

Meaning of the term "Renaissance"

THE TERM "Renaissance" is an appellative of modern invention, originally intended to be descriptive of the culture and civilization of fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy, but since widened to signify the revolution that took place in Europe in this period. Like many other definitions it has the defect of being much too narrow and indeed is very misleading; for, taken strictly, in the sense of its original application, the word "Renaissance" is merely applicable to the revival of antiquity in the *quattrocento* and the *cinquecento*. But while the revival of classical culture — art and literature — was an important phenomenon of this epoch, actually the Renaissance was far less a rebirth than a new birth. No great culture can be merely imitative. It must be original, creative; and that the Renaissance was in great quantity and high degree.

A second defect of the term "Renaissance" is that it implies that this awakening of Europe was confined to Italy, whereas, as a matter of fact, the movement was common to all Europe in greater or less degree. One may not even say that Italy was the pioneer of it, although it found its intensest and most diverse expression in Italy. A third defect is that it violates the established law of the continuity of history. The Renaissance developed out of and was built upon the culture of previous centuries — the thirteenth, the twelfth, even the eleventh centuries. Its roots, if not its branches, were in the past, and grounded in the soil of many countries.

In short, the Renaissance was not a rebirth, but a new birth. It was a child of the time, but, like every child who grows from youth into adolescence and manhood, it owed much to inherited characteristics and environment. It was evolutional in process, myriad-minded in expression and operation, and revolutionary in its ultimate influence upon the world.

The Renaissance a civilization

The period of the Renaissance was the time when the transition from the medieval to the modern epoch took place. The spirit of the Renaissance was that quality of mind and heart which made that transition possible. Too many people think that the Italian Renaissance was only a literary and artistic manifestation. In reality it was a civilization, with the infinite variety that every great civilization possesses. The Renaissance not only recovered antiquity and brought back the alienated majesty of the art and the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. It gave birth to a new and varied art and literature of its own. It not only revived ancient Greek and Latin humanism and æsthetics; it created a *new* humanism and a new art all its own. It wrought revolutionary changes in the economy and social structure of Europe. It created a new material and a new moral and intellectual civilization. It devised new political theories and new practices of government.

Political condition of Italy during the Renaissance

It is best to begin with a survey of the political structure of Italy, for this will furnish a framework for the picture of the Renaissance. We shall first observe how the various Italian states were formed, and then how these principalities were grouped.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen (1250–68) Italy nominally more than actually still was a kingdom of the Holy Roman Empire. But both Empire and kingdom were in a state of dissolution. During the interregnum (1250–73) the conflict between imperial and papal partisans tore Italy into pieces. The pope triumphed, but the last semblance of Italian unity perished in the struggle. In 1278 Rudolph of Habsburg, whose election with papal approbation had terminated the interregnum, made peace with Charles of Anjou, the French conqueror of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; and in 1279 the Emperor renounced all claim to the Romagna in favor of the Pope.

The Empire thus lost all control over central and southern Italy. But in the north the emperor still preserved some remnant of former imperial rights, although recognition of these rights was often withheld. Occasionally he successfully appointed imperial vicars, conferred titles and offices; but demand for recognition of his regalian rights was generally met with refusal. Enthusiastic advocates of Italian unity and imperial supremacy, like Dante, were passionate utopians who could not reconcile themselves to facts. The " Roman expeditions " of Henry VII in 1312–13, of Ludwig IV in 1328, of Charles IV in 1355 and again in 1368, were mere political gestures without reality. These expeditions were nothing but ceremonial affairs. The factions in Italy attempted to embroil the emperor in their local feuds, but woe betide him who interfered, as Henry VII and Ludwig IV found to their cost.

From 1250 to 1303 the popes had endeavored to substitute themselves in place of the emperor in Italian politics. But when the papacy was removed to Avignon, the papal hold even upon its own territories was precarious, as the revolution in Rome in the time of Rienzi shows.

Excluding the Kingdom of Naples in the south, the States of the Church in central Italy, and the two maritime republics of Venice and Genoa, all of which in origin long antedated the dissolution of the medieval Empire, the states that arose on the debris of the Empire in Italy were city-states, independent, self-governing. The most important were Milan and Florence, with Siena, Ferrara, and Mantua coming next. The governing society in each of these cities was made up of nobles, who had abandoned their *châteaux* in the country and removed to town, where they built enormous fortified palaces and commingled with wealthy bourgeois. The two classes, one of noble, the other of non-noble origin, were fused by marriage and formed a patriciate in the towns, between whom and the lower working-classes a wide gulf was fixed. In Florence this fusion had gone so far that there was no distinction between noble and merchant; whoever was rich enough quartered his shield and called himself a noble.

Forms of government

The government was formed first of the nobles and later by rich merchants who forced their way in and compelled the nobles to share authority with them. The organs of administration were: (1) a council (*credencia*), or the men of public trust, a body analogous to the council of the Flemish towns; (2) a small executive body of men of war; and (3) judges.

In certain towns one finds various governments superimposed. Milan is a type. Formerly there had been two parties, the nobles and the people. The latter split in 1198, and the artisans formed a group, the Credencia of St. Ambrose. In 1215 the podestà of Milan interfered in the discord between the nobles, the upper bourgeois and the credencia. Thus three governments were superimposed. These town governments in theory were subject to the authority of the emperor, but in fact were independent. They made their own laws, administered justice, even warred as they chose. This was the political condition in north Italy clear to the foot of the Alps, of Tuscany, and even of some of the States of the Church.

Interspersed between these city-states, which did not cover all the territory, were territories of nobles, who were proprietary rulers, especially in that part of Italy least civilized and nearest to Germany in the mountains of the Adige and Piedmont. Some remnants of this old feudal authority, however, were still preserved even in the Lombard plain.

In the south the Kingdom of Sicily, organized by the Normans, was an absolute monarchy, but the mountains gave an asylum to warlike barons. Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 pertained to Aragon and not to Italy. After 1382, when the direct lineage of Charles of Anjou expired, the Neapolitan kingdom was torn by the rival claims of the three collateral branches of the Angevin house in France, Hungary, and Durazzo, which tempted Aragon to intervene, with the result that after 1458 Naples, too, was governed by a bastard branch of the kings of Aragon.

The history of the Papal States has already been noticed in the chapter upon the Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For an instant, in 1437, Eugenius IV seemed to have established a real papal authority in central Italy, but it soon all but dissolved. The restoration of the States of the Church began with Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503), and was concluded by the warlike Julius II (1503–13).

Venice was a sovereign city, which did not depend upon the emperor. It had preserved the old institution of the doge, who was dependent upon the Grand Council (1272) and whose position was reduced to a ceremonial one. The government had passed into the hands of the Grand Council of 480 members, who were merchant-nobles, and proprietors. It was aristocratic. The Venetian aristocracy was a close corporation after the famous closing of the Grand Council in 1297. Threatened by the attempted revolution of Tiepolo in 1310, the Grand Council created an extraordinary tribunal, the Council of Ten, which ended by seizing the government. After that the constitution of Venice was absolutely fixed, crystallized, indeed fossilized.

In Genoa there was also a doge and a council. But the political evolution was complicated there by the intervention of powerful nobles from the mountains, the Fieschi and Grimaldi, who were Guelfs, and the Doria and Colonna, who were Ghibellines. The Genoese government in consequence was topsy-turvy, a condition that culminated in French occupation in 1396.

In the fourteenth century the system of government that had prevailed in Italy in the thirteenth was profoundly changed. This transformation was due to the local civil wars that ensued. But a question here arises: were these conflicts the cause or the result of the party divisions found in every city? Although everywhere called by the old names of Guelf and Ghibelline, actually these were new parties representing new issues. In certain towns, like Milan, political unity never had obtained. But had the adverse factions become hostile because they were immemorially at odds, or were they formed as a result and by the effect of their conflicts? It is difficult to say. What is beyond doubt is that each town included two hostile families or two groups of families which battened upon the rivalry between the pope and the emperor, and who continued so to do when this rivalry had lost all reality.

Guelfs and Ghibellines

In Florence the Guelfs expelled the Ghibellines and then themselves divided into two factions. It would seem as if there was sheer necessity of feud between the great families. This phenomenon is observable in other countries besides Italy; but what gives it a peculiar character in Italy is that these families dwelt within the heart of the town. In other countries of Europe such conflicts were fought out in the country districts at the expense of the peasantry, while in Italy they were fought out in the streets upon the backs of the townspeople.

Podestà

It was this condition that had brought about the establishment of the podestà as early as the twelfth century. Frederick Barbarossa created a great number of podestàs, who were originally royal officials. But in the thirteenth century this institution acquired a new character. It was an unwritten law that in a town divided between parties, the podestà should hold aloof from their quarrels, have no relatives in the town, and reside there but a short time. Bologna, a city of lawyers, seems to have provided a model for the institution. An outsider was introduced, appointed podestà for a year, or even for six months only. He brought with him his own officials, took the oath, and contracted to have neither friends nor allies in the town. At Piacenza this staff included seven judges, three knights, and twenty-five soldiers. Every Italian town had its podestà in the thirteenth century except Venice and Genoa. But in the fourteenth century the institution of the podestà lost all its significance.

Rise of condottieri

In the fourteenth century a new power appeared, that of the *condottieri,* or soldiers of fortune. In earlier times the towns had made war with their own knights and their own militia. But the expedition of Henry VII in 1313 into Italy introduced the use of hired companies of soldiery, at first composed of Germans, later of Italians, whose chiefs fraternized with the towns. The use of mercenaries was at this time general in Europe, but it acquired an exceptional importance in Italy. The historians of the age were baffled to explain this phenomenon. They could not understand either the appearance or the nature of these hordes. The Florentine historian Villani believed it to be a symptom of disease organic in society due to a malign conjuncture of the planets. Yet the explanation is simple. These bands of mercenaries were products of the disintegration of the old feudal society in the late Middle Ages. The scum rose to the surface in the universal upheaval. The old feudal noblesse were on their last legs. Chivalry was dead. Even the former patrician constitutions of the cities were falling into decay. The communal spirit of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries lost its high aspirations and ideals. The growth of commerce and industry made the burghers keen to chase the almighty ducat, but indifferent to politics. They preferred to hire mercenaries to fight for them rather than fight their own battles. Then, as the result of numerous and incessant conflicts between the towns, mercenary troops were much in demand. The competition of the towns increased the frequency of their employment, the importance of their services. The *condottieri,* who were indispensable to the Italians, ended by developing a solidarity among themselves and managing things in their own way. The battles became farces. The leaders of the bands were all-powerful in the face of the feeble governments of the Italian cities. Prolonged strife weakened the nobles and exhausted the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, towards the middle of the fourteenth century we find *condottieri* here and there who were bolder than others and converted their authority into a permanent one of absolute or despotic nature. The most

Growth of despotism

notable example is Milan under the Sforza. This new despotism did not destroy the former government; it was imposed upon it.

This institution was a wholly new political development and unique to Renaissance Italy in the north. It was not a feudal contract between the city and the noble, but a delegation of power recalling the delegation to the emperor of the *imperium romanum*. We may recognize in this fact the influence of Roman law, as well as a characteristic trait of the Italian peoples, who have ever had a preference for absolute authority over them. This despot concentrated the power in his own person, made the laws, and governed. He is the first type of the absolute monarch and became the model of the absolute monarchs of 1500. Of these tyrants Bernabo Visconti was the ferocious type, Gian Galeazzo the intelligent type. Shrewd, unscrupulous, resolute, he profited by every occasion. His game was to incite two of his neighbors to war, secretly promising each of them his support, and then, when both were exhausted, step in and despoil both of them. The most celebrated *condottieri* princes were the Viscontis at Milan and the Sforza, who succeeded them, the Gonzaga at Mantua, the Este at Ferrara, the Malatesta of Rimini. But all the Italian towns in the north and north center had tyrants except Venice and Florence. In 1395 the Visconti took the title of duke. The family died out in 1447, and the lordship and the duchy were founded anew in 1450 by the *condottiere* Francesco Sforza. But a part of the territory to the east as far as the Adda River had been torn away and annexed by Venice.

Types

Once such concentration of power became established in a single hand, territorial aggrandizement followed, for power grows upon what it feeds. Hence we find northern Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a world of diplomatic intrigue, dynastic alliances, and war. These phenomena occur and recur with almost monotonous sequence. But no state was ever strong enough to subdue the others; hence Italian unity was unchanged until the rise of national spirit in the nineteenth century (1870–1) overcame the long tradition that Italy was a mere "geographical expression."

Rise of the Medici

In this category of Italian despotisms Tuscany — which is to say Florence — had a unique place for the reason that the concentration of political power there was in the hands of the Medici, who were bankers and not soldiers and gained their ascendancy through clever use of their money power. Moreover, the despotism of the Medici was of a gentler, more subtle type; it was strong without being brutal, and functioned more through influence than through authority. The founder of the Medici house was Giovanni de' Medici, who was a money-lender in Florence in the year 1251. The growth of the house was slow until 1340, when the firm was the only one that survived the financial crash due to Edward III's repudiation of his Italian loans. In 1360 Bartolomeo Medici attempted to overthrow the control of the oligarchy with the aid of the lower working-classes, a policy that culminated in 1379–82 in three years of political and social turmoil, after the subsidence of which the Medici outwardly abandoned politics. In the fifteenth century their fortune enormously increased owing to the unexampled commercial growth of Florence, and then Cosmo de' Medici (1389–1464) became the veritable dictator of the Tuscan state. His was the iron hand in a velvet glove. Under his grandson, Lorenzo de' Medici, called "the Magnificent" (1449–92), the Medici reached the height of power and adopted the pomp of princes.

Gian Galeazzo of Milan

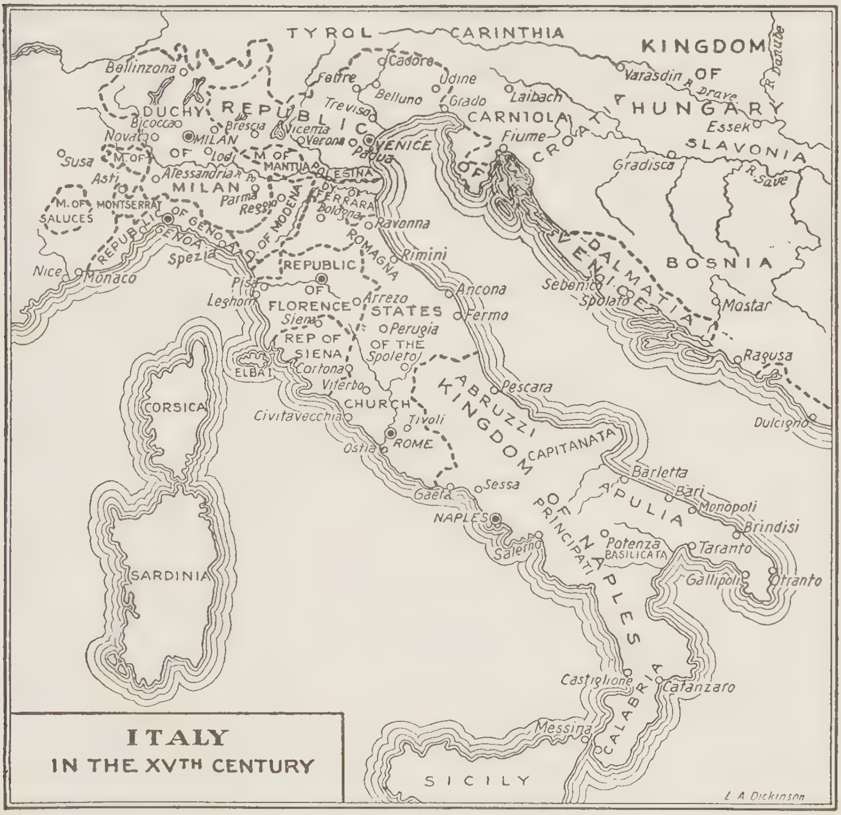
This general review of the principal states of Renaissance Italy has carried us so far forward that it is now necessary to return to the end of the fourteenth century in order to pick up the thread of the most important events and to follow them with some detail. The keys to an understanding of Italian politics in this time are the policy of the divided papacy and that of Gian Galeazzo. All Italy except Venice was torn by intestine strife. The lords of Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, and Rimini were in bitter enmity towards each other, and all of them preying upon the Papal States. Three pretenders were disputing for Naples. Only in Tuscany did there seem to be calm, and even there the peace was more like that of the quarter of a beleaguered city outside the reach of the shells than a real security.

The double election of Urban VI and of Clement VII in 1378 was the primary cause of the strife in Italy. Each pope claimed the rule over the States of the Church, and each pope formed alliances to sustain his interest. Louis of Anjou, brother of Charles V of France, ambitious to repeat the career of his ancestor Charles of Anjou in 1265, in return for French backing of the Pope at Avignon, Clement VII, demanded that a kingdom in Italy be created for him out of the States of the Church, to be called the Kingdom of Adria. Clement VII entered into this political deal with such secrecy that not even the cardinals were informed of it. This secret diplomacy of the Pope was destined to prove of infinite embarrassment later. Anjou did not live to profit by this plan, for in 1382, when Queen Jeanne of Naples expired, he went off into the south with the hope of acquiring that realm and died at Naples.

Three years later Gian Galeazzo of Milan, having strangled his brother Bernabo, was sole lord of the Milanais, and by 1389 had extended his frontiers to Tuscany. He was master of northern Italy. The marquis of Montferrat lived as a prisoner-guest at his court, the lords of Mantua and Ferrara were submissive; the Carrara and Scala houses purchased immunity; Venice was apprehensive lest Visconti reach out for possession of the Adriatic seaboard. The power of the Duke of Milan grew so great that Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Rimini, Padua, and Forli formed a coalition in 1392 at Bologna against him. It was then, although no one knows how he got the information, that Gian Galeazzo acquired knowledge of the secret treaty between Clement VII and the Duke of Anjou. The latter was now dead. But another French prince, Louis, Duke of Orléans, was Gian's son-in-law. Forthwith the Visconti Duke demanded that the Pope create the proposed Kingdom of Adria in favor of Orléans. With a French prince on the throne of Naples, and another — his own son-in-law and regent of France — established in central Italy, Visconti's influence, almost his sway, would extend from the Alps to the Strait of Messina. It was a grandiose project. But there were redoubtable enemies in the path — the Duke of Burgundy, rival of the Duke of Orléans for power in France; the French Queen Isabel of Bavaria, grand-daughter of Bernabo Visconti, whom Gian Galeazzo had murdered; Count Bernard of Armagnac, who had not forgotten that his sister Beatrice, who had made an ill-starred marriage with one of Bernabo's many sons, had been driven out of Milan by Gian Galeazzo, and that his brother, Count Jean III of Armagnac, had fallen in an engagement with Milanese troops. All this French influence combined might counterbalance the designs of the Visconti and his ambitious son-in-law.

But for a time things went well. Charles VI of France, in an interval of returned reason, but ill understanding the issues at stake, in 1393 confirmed the Pope's plan for creation of the Kingdom of Adria. Gian Galeazzo and Louis of Orléans were doing admirable team-work. The alarm of the Italian princes over this prospect of Milanese aggrandizement was great, for the proposed new kingdom was to be formed by the union of the March of Ancona, the Romagna, Bologna, Perugia, Ravenna, and Todi, which were *to be separated from the States of the Church,* reducing the papal patrimony to Rome and its territory, the patrimony in Tuscany, the Campagna, the duchy of Spoleto, and the Sabina. At this moment the revelation of Clement VII's secret diplomacy arose like an offended ghost to plague him. The Pope had acted so secretly that he had not taken the cardinals into his confidence. But the domains of the Church pertained in common to the pope and the college of cardinals. The pope had no legal right to dispose of any territory of the papal patrimony without the consent of the consistory. Not only was the proposed infeudation of the Kingdom of Adria prejudicial to the interests of the papacy, it was also illegal.

An outcry was raised in many quarters. But the most significant voice was that of the sincere advocates of church reform in the University of Paris, led by Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly, who were already advocating the abdication or deposition of both rival popes and the settlement of the schism by a general council. Public opinion in France and Italy veered strongly against the Papal-Visconti-Orléans political project, and in the midst of the excitement Clement VII suddenly died of apoplexy (September 16, 1394). The revelation of these designs so compromised Louis of Orléans that Burgundy acquired the ascendancy at the court of Charles VI. The states that had lately formed an anti-Milanese coalition at Bologna, in which Florence was the strongest member, supported by the dukes of Burgundy and Bavaria, now effected an alliance with France. On September 29, 1396 Charles VI signed an offensive league with Florence against the Duke of Milan. Already, eleven months earlier, Genoa had put herself under French protection against the joint design of Gian Galeazzo and Louis of Orléans. The Visconti Duke was estopped in his great ambition, and the French policy in Italy, which had been controlled by the Orléanist faction, now directed by Burgundy, completely reversed. The death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402 and that of Louis of Orléans in 1407 constituted a turning-point in the history of both Italy and France.


ITALY
IN THE XVTH CENTURY

TYROL
CARINTHIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
R. Danube
Varasdin
R. Drave
Essek
SLAVONIA
R. Save
Gradisca
CROATIA
CARNIOLA
Laibach
Fiume
BOSNIA
Mostar
DALMATIA
Sebenico
Spolato
Ragusa
Dulcigno
Bellinzona
DUCHY OF MILAN
Bicocca
Novara
MILAN
Lodi
Brescia
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
Vicenza
Verona
Padua
VENICE
Treviso
Feltre
Belluno
Cadore
Udine
Grado
Susa
M. OF
Asti
Alessandria
Po
M. OF SALUCES
MONTSERRAT
M. OF MANTUA
POLESINA
DY. OF FERRARA
Parma
Reggio
D. OF MODENA
Bologna
Ravenna
REPUBLIC OF GENOA
Spezia
Nice
Monaco
ROMAGNA
Rimini
REPUBLIC OF FLORENCE
Pisa
Leghorn
Arrezo
Siena
REP OF SIENA
Cortona
ELBA I.
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Perugia
Spoleto
Viterbo
Civitavecchia
Tivoli
ROME
Ostia
Ancona
Fermo
Pescara
ABRUZZI
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
CAPITANATA
Barletta
Bari
Monopoli
Brindisi
APULIA
Gaeta
Sessa
NAPLES
Salerno
PRINCIPATI
Potenza
BASILICATA
Taranto
Gallipoli
Otranto
CALABRIA
Castiglione
Catanzaro
Messina
SICILY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
L. A. Dickinson

From this time until the end of the fifteenth century Italian politics remained relatively settled, and the states that had been formed territorially stable. A new epoch of disturbance opened with the French invasion of Italy in 1494, an event that will be dealt with later. It is better at this juncture to revert to a consideration of the nature of the Renaissance as a cultural manifestation.

Economic and social changes

The Renaissance was no less important as an economic and social transformation than as a political change, which operated to alter medieval city-republics into monarchical despotisms, actuated by the political theories of absolutism and practicing territorial aggrandizement. The decay of feudalism entailed the decline of that landed aristocracy whose power, wealth, and social prestige were based upon proprietorship. The enormous expansion of commerce and industry during and after the crusades created a new bourgeois society. This new aristocracy of wealth in course of time acquired political control in the cities and was courted by the proud but impecunious noblesse, so that intermarriage soon blurred the line of division between them, and the upper classes in the Italian cities became one in texture. At the same time the operation of these new economic and social forces wrought a lateral cleavage in the former united commonalty whereby the upper bourgeoisie became a patriciate, and the lower stratum sank to the condition and status of a proletariat. The gilds fell under the control of rich merchants and bankers, became capitalistic companies in the hands of a few patrician families; and the lower working-classes were wholly shut out, sinking to mere wage-earners. This economic resentment and social antagonism is the key to an understanding of the political turmoil and rioting that so characterizes the internal history of many Italian cities during the fourteenth century. For by the end of that century the patriciate and capitalist class had triumphed. The failure of the Ciompi movement in Florence in 1379–82 may be taken as the turning-point. It is worth observing that the establishment of the Italian despotisms coincides with this economic-social stabilization.

We find the "economic renaissance" also registered in another way. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were an age of "big business" such as the world had not yet seen. Modern double-entry book-keeping, the institution of credit, the use of the bill of exchange, early forms of partnership like the joint-stock company, insurance, negotiable instruments, etc., all date from the Italian Renaissance.

Art and literature

The Renaissance was both a material and a moral revolution. In its greatest aspect it was the development of a new mental attitude, of new mental processes, of new ideas, of new tastes in Europe. The ideology of the Middle Ages was religious; that of the Renaissance was humanist. Thought in the Middle Ages was regulated by authority. The Renaissance mind was critical and skeptical. For the medieval man certain values were fixed and constant, like belief in the total depravity of man and the doctrine of original sin. In the Renaissance, values were fluid and personal to one's self without reference to authority. One's authority was in one's self. Tradition had little weight, imagination and invention were given large scope. Like all values, Renaissance values began in the best heads and ran down to the populace; but the Renaissance did not become a popular movement until the invention of printing.

Periods

The intellectual Renaissance — that is to say, the literary, æsthetic, and humanist movement — was both a revival and a new birth; it was at first imitative of antiquity, then splendidly natural and original. Without stressing distinctions of time too much, the epoch of the Renaissance may conveniently be divided into four periods: (1) the proto-Renaissance, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the death of Dante (1321) and Giotto (1337); (2) the trecento, or fourteenth century, in which the greatest names are those of Petrarch (died 1374) and Boccaccio (died 1375); (3) the quattrocento, or fifteenth century, extending from Ghiberti (1401) to 1503; (4) the golden age, from the accession of Julius II in 1503 to the sack of Rome in 1527. In this last epoch the spread of Italian influence to other countries made the Renaissance general to Europe.

Before entering into a consideration of the culture of each of these periods, however, it is important to observe that in consequence of the divided political condition of Italy in these centuries, all Renaissance manifestations were intensely localized. This isolation, this provincialism, accounts for the formation of various " schools " of art, as the Sienese, the Florentine, the Perugian, the Venetian. Renaissance art more than Renaissance literature was susceptible to this influence. Why and how these manifestations should have been first made in Italy is difficult to say, for the Italian Renaissance was the resultant of many forces, a blend of many colors. Land, race, environment, tradition, heritage, all had a part in its formation.

Dante, for all that he was so deeply medieval in his psychology, caught a vision of the dawn of the Renaissance, a foregleam of the advancement of learning that was to come to pass. The poet was not speaking merely dramatically or archaically when, recounting the voyages of Ulysses, he puts into his mouth the words: " Consider the seed from which you are sprung. You were not made to live as the brutes live, but to follow virtue and knowledge " (*Inferno,* xxxii, 26).

Revival of antiquity

The revival of antiquity is the easiest to understand. Besides the affinity that united the Italian peoples in blood and language with ancient Latin culture and Roman historical tradition, it must be borne in mind that upon the soil of Italy still stood in more or less decent preservation hundreds of monuments of antiquity — amphitheaters, baths, aqueducts, triumphal arches, all commemorative of a great past — and that buried in that soil were thousands of Roman and Greek remains in the form of statues and other objects of ancient art, and coins. The very earth had a voice that spoke from the past. The memory of the vanished grandeur of ancient Rome came to haunt the Italian imagination. It is not so astonishing that the revival of antiquity originated in Italy as that this feeling did not appear earlier than it did. Glimpses of this new sentiment may be discerned as far back as the twelfth century, but it was not until about 1270 that it became clearly manifest. The first artistic and intellectual manifestations were strongly marked with a Northern spirit. This is doubtless explained by the relations of Italy with northern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially with Germany. Thus Italy received and retained for a long time the influence of Gothic art. At the same time through its commerce it was turned towards the East, which accounts for the penetration of Byzantine influences. These influences are manifest in the Church of St. Mark at Venice, in the Duomo, the Baptistery, and the Campanile of Pisa.

The Middle Ages were a long time in dying, but by the end of the thirteenth century the spirit of the Middle Ages had passed away. Morality and mystery died because they had been abused by the subtleties of scholasticism and attenuated into dry abstractions. They were killed by the theology and logic of the schools. The Renaissance came as a protest against the old order of things. It was the radiant revelation of a civilization for which the ancients had lived and of which the Middle Ages never dreamed. The Renaissance was not original in the use of Latin, in the study of ancient languages, in the making of statues and the painting of pictures. It was new in the new conception of these studies, in the spirit with which the artists and writers worked.

The men of the Middle Ages studied the ancients as masters of erudition, as depositories of universal wisdom, as those who had known the truth. They studied the content rather than the form of the works of antiquity. The men of the Renaissance, on the contrary, studied the ancients as masters of art, with an appreciation of form rather than of thought. They worked in an individual fashion for glory, a purpose unknown to their predecessors. The man of the Middle Ages, whether he worked with chisel, brush, or pen, worked for the cause of ecclesiastical truth and not for the cause of an ideal born in his own mind, of his own imagination. With the Renaissance appreciation of form and the use of imagination were born again. The world of antiquity was unveiled.

In a little city despoiled of its past splendor lay some curious monuments of ancient art. In Pisa, in the Campo Santo, there was found a mutilated sarcophagus upon which were chiseled pictures of the funeral rites of the Queen of the Amazons and of Hippolytus. Inspired by these revelations of ancient sculpture, Nicholas of Pisa (1207–78) carved scenes from the Old and the New Testament on the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa, not in a medieval fashion, but after ancient form. It has been asserted that this instance is exceptional; that Nicholas was lost in a time that did not understand him and did not follow him; for after him one sees artists who are purely Gothic. Yet, on the other hand, in this same epoch, even in fully Gothic countries we find imitations of antiquity, as at Reims and Amiens in France; but the statues of Reims are an exception. The works of Nicholas were the first links of the chain. If by himself he proves nothing, when associated with Dante (died 1321) he acquires great significance and confirms certain revelations in the case of the poet.

Dante (1265–1321)

Dante's *Divine Comedy* is a very complex work — personal, scholastic, Italian, Gothic; but certain features of it were inspired by antiquity. This is most evident in the influence of Vergil. Dante, although indecisive, feels the influence of the new inspiration born of antiquity. One would err, however, in thinking that Dante was a figure of the Renaissance. Apart from his use of the Tuscan dialect as the vehicle of expression of his thought, Dante is almost entirely medieval in spirit. He was the last wholly medieval-minded man, like his great contemporary and enemy Boniface VIII. The trilogy *Purgatory, Hell, Heaven* is an Iliad of the medieval soul. Like Lucretius, Dante was able to contemplate the universe with a calm mind; unlike Lucretius, he was a hope-filled Christian, not a pagan skeptic.

Giotto (1276–1337)

The best thing that can be said of Pope Boniface VIII is that he exhibited a feeling for ancient art and even got so far as to make a collection of ancient marbles for the museum of the Lateran Palace, an interest which was curiously seized upon by his enemies to accuse him of being at heart a pagan and a worshiper of Greek idols. The glory of Boniface VIII's pontificate was the employment of the painter Giotto (1276–1337) by the Pope's nephew Cardinal Stefaneschi, who adorned the tribune or apse of St. Peter's with frescoes which were demolished when old St. Peter's was torn down to make room for the present imposing edifice. The Lateran, however, still preserves faint traces of wall-paintings done there by Giotto in commemoration of the jubilee of 1300. In Giotto Italian art was emancipated from Byzantine rigidity. In spirit, line, and composition it became thoroughly Italian. Giotto was the first artist of genius of the Renaissance. His composition is natural, with a sense of movement and with picturesque and dramatic feeling. The influence of antiquity is evident in the costumes of his soldiers, which are imitated from ancient sculpture.

The most glorious revelation of the new spirit in art, however, was not in Pisa nor in Rome, but in Assisi, where Giotto limned those exquisitely beautiful frescoes in the upper chapel commemorative of the life of St. Francis, and in Florence, where Giotto lives both as an architect and as a painter; for it was he who designed the west façade of the cathedral and the campanile or bell-tower, which was not completed until long after his death. His paintings in Florence are in the chapels of Santa Croce. But the full bloom of the Renaissance did not come to Florence until 1401, for from that year date the "Abraham's Sacrifice" of Jacopo da Empoli and the bronze doors of the Baptistery by Ghiberti.

Petrarch (1304–74)

The proto-Renaissance was the dawn of the Renaissance and was expressed in Nicholas Pisano, Dante, and Giotto. The trecento was the morning glow of the Renaissance. In literature it was dominated by Petrarch and Boccaccio; in art by the flowering of the Tuscan school. But the influence of the former was more conclusive than that of the latter. It was, *par excellence,* an age of humanism. The chief seat of this double activity was Florence. Petrarch, who died in 1374, was "the first modern man" in the sense that he was the first person since the classical period who may be said to have possessed a truly humanistic spirit. "After Petrarch," wrote Æneas Sylvius, "literature emerged. After Giotto rose a group of painters, and now we see art and literature at their height." He had a profound knowledge of the Latin classic writings. He penetrated their spirit; he understood the particular genius of Latin literature. He was inspired by it. He wrote Latin poems and studied the institutions of ancient Rome. He was an archæologist; he collected Roman medals and coins, and finally, through his correspondence, he sowed the seed of Latin classicism throughout Europe. He sent manuscripts to Charles IV of Luxemburg, medals, coins, and sketches of ancient monuments to Charles V of France. Above everything else, Petrarch was penetrated with the idea that the Middle Ages were an epoch of barbarism; that antiquity ought to be the only model of culture. Through all these traits Petrarch becomes the first man of the Renaissance. To form a judgment of him is to judge the Renaissance. In one single respect he was lacking. He had no knowledge of Greek. He knew Homer through Latin translations, but was obliged to secure the assistance of Greek scholars from Constantinople to get a glimpse of the original. Nevertheless, in spite of this deficiency Petrarch created the taste for Hellenism as he did that for classical Latin literature.

Boccaccio (1313–75)

From Petrarch one passes to Boccaccio (1313–75). He was a realistic and original writer, but also a humanist and a scholar. He was more modern and less classical than Petrarch. He was the author of a series of lives of the ancients, of a treatise *On the Genealogy of the Gods,* which took him thirty years to write, and of the immortal tales of the *Decameron.* Like Petrarch he wanted to learn Greek and boasted of being the first Tuscan who pursued this study. He died in 1375, one year after Petrarch. It is not exaggerating to date the first complete manifestations of the literary Renaissance in Italy from these two. Later years developed new divergences.

In the fourteenth century art was not yet at all points connected with humanism. It was divided between medieval reminiscences, mystical traditions, and imitation of antiquity. Literature was more advanced, and already the Renaissance in a literary capacity was quite realized, although there was a suspension of energy after the death of Petrarch and Boccaccio, during the Great Schism and the period of the councils. Nevertheless there is a continuity of movement, a steady progress towards antiquity, represented by teachers and archæologists and by a certain number of secondary artists.

But early in the fifteenth century a new generation of great men revived the traditions, and Italy forged forward into a double Renaissance, at once a revival of antiquity and of new and original development.

Complexity of art

In the matter of art it is necessary to distinguish the various kinds, as architecture, sculpture, and painting — which was the first to be strongly marked by humanism. In each of these three arts one finds in unequal degree three constituent elements: the mystic element, the Italo-Christian, which dates from the fourteenth century, and which is so powerful in Giotto; the element imparted by humanism — that is to say, antiquity; a fertile element of realism, a sort of return, in default of every ideal, to the pure, simple, and strong imitation of human or picturesque nature.

Architecture

In architecture humanism is represented by Brunelleschi (1379–1446), Michelozzo (1391–1472), Alberti (1404–72). The first, of strong character and powerful individuality, threw himself into the movement of the Renaissance and at one stretch went to an extreme. He built the Church of St. Mary of the Flowers in Florence (the Duomo). The dome was then built, except the lantern, which was finished in 1451. It is, however, to certain of the monuments, like the sacristy of the Church of St. Lawrence, which dates from 1429, the Chapel of the Pazzi, after 1420, and the Pitti Palace, that it is necessary to refer to find those architectural types of the Renaissance that best recall Vitruvian architecture. Brunelleschi had been in Rome and he had there made careful measurements of the ancient monuments. Michelozzo is more ingenious, more florid, and less directly imitates antiquity. Alberti was a universal genius, humanist, scholar, mathematician, who wrote works on optics, mechanics, and sculpture; he was a medalist, an architect, a didactic author, and papal secretary in 1433. He had a great gift of assimilation, but was less creative. Among his works is a Latin comedy, *Philodoxis* (1425), which some have attributed to ancient authorship, a treatise on painting and architecture, based on Vitruvius, and one on medals. As an architect he was wholly Vitruvian and theoretical. He began much that he never finished. A designer more than a constructor, he was fond of drawing façades, which were striking illustrations of his plastic ideas.

Sculpture

The sculptors are realists, mystics, and humanists in one. The chief after the Pisani are Ghiberti (1378–1435) and Donatello (1386–1466). Ghiberti was an intellectual idealist, but his mysticism differed essentially from that of Giotto. His most famous work is the gates of the Baptistery at Florence, done between 1402 and 1424. Donatello followed every form of sculpture and was at once delicate, strong, vigorous, naturalistic, creative, and yet a close imitator of antiquity. His realism stamps him strongly as a man of his time. Fra Angelico (1387–1455), the painter, was a Christian mystic and an artist in one. He explains Savonarola, and Savonarola him. Both were the expression of that real survival of the mystic sentiment in Italy into late times.

Humanism

The humanists of the quattrocento were numerous, but their work was more pedagogical than literary. They are to be judged rather by the action which they inspired than by the interest that they afford today. By this time classicism was so deeply ingrained that Latin was written by cultured Italians with as much ease as in Rome's palmy days, and with almost as much accuracy and style. Archæology and a knowledge of Greek were less advanced. But after 1396, when the Turks got a foothold in Europe, Greek teachers came to Italy in numbers. A remarkable influence was exerted at this time by Greek refugee scholars, like Manuel Chrysoloras at Milan in 1396, Cyriac of Ancona, John Argyropoulos, who came to Italy in 1434, Theodore Gaza, who came about 1430, and George of Trebizond. This is the period of humanism in education. The scholasticism of the preceding centuries had devoted itself chiefly to ecclesiastical matters and to the study of Latin, with special emphasis on form. With 1400 there began an era of general education, with emphasis on content and broader training. The interest now was in the whole individual. The classics were studied for their meaning rather than form. In Italy, Vittorino da Feltre illustrates the new spirit. Among Italian scholars the most eminent were Leonardo Bruni, the translator; Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459); and Lorenzo Valla (1407–84). Their work consisted first in searching for ancient manuscripts, accompanying scientific or political missions, purchasing manuscripts, causing them to be copied, etc. Italy became a regular market of manuscripts.

There were certain drawbacks and deficiencies to all this culture, however. Form was sacrificed to spirit and imagination; imitation became the order of the day. Originality declined and there was a universal and deep detestation of medieval culture. Ancient philosophy, especially a pseudo-Platonism, was cultivated in academies of *literati*. Plato succeeded Aristotle, and long and violent quarrels ensued. George of Trebizond advocated Aristotle, Marsiglio Ficino advocated Plato. Between the two was Cardinal Bessarion, the conciliator. Such was humanism during the first half of the fifteenth century. It was singularly stimulated in the Hellenistic sense by the Council of Florence in 1439, which developed very close, though momentary, relations between the Greek and the Latin Church.

One of the curious results of enthusiasm for the classics was that among some writers it inspired a contempt for the Italian language. Such writers wrote in Latin, so that from the time of the classical revival there was a cleavage in the literature of the epoch, part being written in Italian, part in Latin. Of the historians of Florence, for example, of whom there were many, about half wrote in Italian, the other half in Latin. Humanism manifested itself in two fashions — by the use of the Latin language, which enjoyed high place with scholars and litterateurs, and by the appeal to the spirit of antiquity. Later a reaction developed against the contempt of the preceding generations for the Italian tongue and it became considered as a language parallel to Latin in literature. The two were animated by the same spirit, but Italian had more originality, particularly in the field of history and political philosophy, of which the chief writer was Machiavelli. The same complexity is to be found in art. There were numerous schools, each of which had a characteristic of its own; prominent among these were Perugia, Venice, Rome, Florence.

The conditions of artistic and literary life in the earlier period of the Renaissance, contrary to general belief, were very hard. Artists and writers did not live amid a crowd of admirers and flatterers. The lot of most of them was usually a miserable one, and most of them had to support themselves by work of another sort. It almost moves one to tears to know that Andrea del Sarto had to earn his livelihood, before recognition came to him, by painting panels and tabards and by interior decorating. University professors were in much the same condition, except those in law, medicine, and theology. A teacher of the arts got only eight ducats, whereas his more professional colleagues got a thousand ducats, per annum. Artists were better off than writers, for they belonged to a gild; but there was no gild of *literati*. Like ordinary craftsmen, artists had to serve a term of apprenticeship, in which the labor was arduous, such as grinding colors, stretching canvas, preparing the board surface on which many pictures were painted, making picture-frames, etc. The artist worked, too, without anatomical instruction and had neither museums nor models. Even Raphael, when he painted the Virgin, had to ask his lady friends to pose for him.

Patronage of art and letters

This adverse condition of art and literature improved in the fifteenth century — especially in the latter half of it, when the rich Italian princes, lay and clerical, acquired an interest in art and literature and lent their patronage. Sixtus IV (1465–71), Julius II (1503–13), and Leo X (1513–23) were great patrons of art, but little interested in literature. In their pontificates Rome became the central point of the Italian Renaissance. On the other hand, the Medici, the Visconti, the Sforza, the Malatesta, the Este, and the Gonzaga were patrons of both literature and art. While patronage had its good effect in supporting and stimulating the talented writer or artist, it had its bad side in that it often developed flattery and sycophancy. This is especially evident in poetry and panegyrical effusions. One of the striking results of patronage was the stimulation of portraiture; for these rich patrons loved to have the portraits of themselves, their wives, their children, painted. We owe to this vanity, more than to the so-called "individualism" of the Renaissance, the large number of marvelous portraits that have come down to us.

Between the generation that filled the first half of the fifteenth century and the golden age of Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Titian was a period very difficult to characterize and very complex. It was an age that was inconclusive and indecisive, like the work of the artists who filled it. By 1460, to take a date, many things were already fixed in the Italian Renaissance, particularly the revival of antiquity. There were some men, however, who, though inspired with these principles, still guarded their originality, and whose personality is more difficult to define than any in the earlier period.

Centers of Renaissance culture

In politics the principate develops everywhere. In the equilibrium of the powers there is little variation, though some transformation. The most marked instance is in the papacy, where the pontifical power was restored by Nicholas V and Pius II and enlarged by Sixtus IV, Paul II and Alexander VI. Rome finally became the artistic center of Italy, but Florence, until the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, held first place. Competing points were Padua, Mantua, and especially Venice and Milan. More and more the Renaissance manifested itself in great intellectual and artistic centers, so that the culture map of Italy is almost identical with the political map.

What men belonged to this period? It is not easy to say. There was little unity in the epoch. Between 1460 and about 1500, however, one can distinguish a certain number of writers and artists born before 1450, or, though born after that date, dead at the century mark. But Perugino, born in 1446, flourished to 1523; Bramante, born in 1444, to 1514; and Leonardo da Vinci, born in 1453, died in 1519. These three therefore were telescoped into the golden age of Michelangelo and Raphael.

Golden age

It is difficult to assign precise terms to that period often called the golden age. It may be said to commence about 1490, but when does it end? At 1520, when Raphael died? Or in 1527, when Rome was sacked? Each of these dates has been proposed, but it is to be noted that if one adopts these limits, many artists of great eminence lived beyond them. Michelangelo died in 1564, Titian in 1576; and yet between 1494 and 1527 there is a particular and intimate combination of things. During these thirty-three years Italy was the theater of numerous political events. These were the interior conflicts and the repeated invasions of French, Spanish, and Germans. Moreover, in each state we observe the continuation of that progress towards centralization. The popes — Alexander VI (1492–1503), Julius II (1503–13), Leo X (1513–21) — were absolute at Rome.

Rome and the Renaissance

Venice

As for the Renaissance, Rome succeeds Florence as mistress of art and letters. Florence was incontestably second; then Milan and Ferrara. Venice must be distinguished apart, both for its intellectual history and because of the number, originality, and eminence of its artists. Here the wealthy nobles were great collectors, and Venice became a center of art as well as of learning. It was here that Aldus Manutius established his famous printing-press. The Venetian school of painting was influenced by particular conditions. In the first place, Venice politically always had less to do than other states with Italian politics. Secondly, geographically Venice was a half-way house between the north and the south, and the east and the west. Its relations were intimate with Germany and Constantinople, but it was without classic traditions. It was freer politically, and its people were consequently more spontaneous. It combined the Oriental and the Gothic. In painting, the Venetian school was realistic, but not, as in the North, harsh and severe. In color and landscape it led.

But the more the Renaissance became humanistic, the more the lure of Rome, with its hoary monuments of ancient grandeur and its memories so redolent of the past, attracted men of culture. While attention was thus increasingly focused upon Rome, in Florence between 1492 and 1498 the fanatical Dominican friar Savonarola in the name of Christianity revolted against the paganism and the license, not to say licentiousness, of the Renaissance and provoked a political, moral, and social revolution. It was not greatly successful, but it arrested humanism in Florence, whose artists and scholars found refuge in Rome, where the immense wealth of the papacy was poured out upon them. With the advancement of scientific knowledge, the artists now began to study perspective, like Leonardo da Vinci, and anatomy, notably Michelangelo. Moreover, artists, scholars, and *literati* now acquired a higher social position and lived in intimacy with popes, cardinals, and great nobles and enjoyed large incomes.

Art, Greek and Latin literature, archæology, Italian literature, mere erudition, all were widely cultivated in the fifteenth century. Yet in spite of its learning and its technique, the fifteenth century was barren of imagination and original ideas when compared with the preceding century.

Academies

The diffusion of the Renaissance gave rise to groups of scholars, the formation of learned academies, and a wide but superficial amateurism in literature and art. But it would be wrong to think that these influences penetrated vertically downward among the masses. Diffusion the Renaissance had, wide extension, but little depth. Versatility and dilettantism were evident everywhere; remarkable technique, especially in the last phase, was almost common. But these qualities too often were but the veneer of the surface of a society that in many ways was much inferior to that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Renaissance was devoid of moral ideals and without any constructive philosophy. The cultivated classes toyed with Platonism and the search for a philosophy of love, but had no philosophy of their own beyond the moment, beyond a selfish gratification of their own wishes and tastes. To find expression in power, glory, self-assertion, self-preservation, was the sum of Renaissance philosophy. To the man of that age a philosophy — or a religion — of devotion, of self-sacrifice, of a duty above interest, was as distant as the stars. It was not that the Renaissance was immoral, but rather that it was unmoral. Politics was the art of getting and maintaining political power, no matter how, and political theory and law were bent to that end. This is the doctrine of Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513), in which he summed up the political philosophy of the epoch. The Renaissance State was a work of art; it was not an organic social entity.

Platonism

Science

One must not omit to notice the rise and development of science during the Renaissance. Here Italian genius was not of most influence. The Italian scholars until very late who were interested in science, were more interested in natural history, zoology, medicine, and the applied or technical sciences than in pure science. Mathematics was applied to bookkeeping, architecture, and engineering; chemistry to dyeing; botany to gardening and medicine. The tendency of Italian scientific thought was practical, not theoretical. Machiavelli's treatise on government was a practical manual for statesmen, not a theoretical treatise on political science. For all his brilliance, Leonardo da Vinci, the most myriad-minded man of the Renaissance, apart from the technical sciences, was a brilliant amateur, working more by intuition than by experiment.

For the origin of the development of pure scientific thought in the last centuries of the Middle Ages one must look to Germany, not Italy. There, from Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century forward to Copernicus may be found an unbroken line of great scientific thinkers. The line runs through Jordan of Saxony, a pupil of Albertus Magnus, Conrad of Megenburg, Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64), Georg Peuerbach (1423–61), Regiomontanus (or Johannes Müller of Königsberg, 1436–76), Albertus Brudzewski (1445–97), to Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543), the last two of whom were Germanized Poles, both of them deeply indebted to Regiomontanus. In the last part of the fifteenth century the University of Cracow was ahead of Prague or Heidelberg; Poland ever was in close relation with Italy (Padua University); and it was German science, though via Polish scholars, that at last awakened the spirit of pure scientific research in Renaissance Italy in the sixteenth century, of which Galileo and Jerome Cardanus were the great expression.

The most remarkable of these German scientists were Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Regiomontanus. Cusanus was a mathematician, astronomer, physicist. He studied deep-water pressures and invented the bathometer; he foreshadowed the law of inertia long before Galileo; he discovered the movement of the earth on its axis; he declared that "the earth cannot be fixed, but moves like the other stars," although he did not say — perhaps he may have so thought — that the earth revolved around the sun. Cusanus was therefore a progenitor of Copernicus.[1] At least "he annulled the geocentric theory without substituting the heliocentric." Nicholas of Cusa was a philosopher, too, as well as a scientist. He said that nature was an "*evolutio*," an "*explicatio*" — an evolution or unfolding. "In his idea of motion as the combining principle of nature, and as that which constitutes the world into a totality, not less than in his idea of the development of the world as a progressive process of 'explication' and 'evolution,' Cusa anticipated future scientific theory."[2] Regiomontanus was a mathematician, the author of the first treatise on trigonometry; he introduced the sine and cosine as mathematical functions; he compiled a series of astronomical tables based upon the Spanish Alphonsine Tables of the thirteenth century, but immensely improved and expanded. This work exercised a potent influence upon discovery. Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan had each a copy of this work in their chart-houses when on their epoch-making voyages.

Exploration and discovery

The advance in cartography, the progress of mathematical science, the use of the mariner's compass, all hang together as simultaneous developments in the epoch of the Renaissance. This brings us to a brief survey of exploration and discovery, one of the most important manifestations of the Renaissance. The awakening of the spirit of exploration was coeval with the crusades, which gave Europe information about new lands and new peoples and broadened both the physical and the intellectual horizon of the West. Other contributory factors were trade and the appetite for the luxuries of the Far East, and the missionary expeditions of Franciscan friars, first in the Near East and then in the Far East. The Franciscans were the pioneers of the age of discovery. St. Francis had cherished the idea of converting the Moslem world and so putting an end to the wars of the crusades, and established some Franciscan missionary houses in the Near East. In 1245, at the time of the Mongol invasions, Innocent IV (1245), with the hope of forming an alliance between Christendom and the Mongols against their common foe, Islam, sent a Franciscan friar named Carpini to Karakorum. His official *Relation* of this early expedition is the earliest example of what may be called the literature of the discovery epoch. Eight years later Louis IX of France sent another Franciscan, Rudbruck, on a similar mission, and his *Relation* also is preserved. Marco Polo's *Travels* are too well known to enlarge upon, but it is to be observed that he was the third and not the first Westerner to bring back knowledge of the Far East to Europe. He was in China for seventeen years (1277–95), during the reign of Kublai Khan. Whether missionaries or merchants, these three brought back a world of information of a geographical, ethnological, and historical nature. By 1300 alert minds in western Europe were keenly interested in discovery and exploration of new lands. Dante voiced it in a famous line in the *Inferno* (xxxvi, 112):

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[1] "The Copernican system was hinted at in a manuscript of 1322 and a few decades later was mathematically developed by the Paris Occamists, Buridan, Albert of Saxony, and Oresme." — Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, II, 301.

[2] Höffding, *History of modern philosophy* I, 88.

> "Our eyes are wakeful only for a little space. Let us win for them a sight of the unpeopled world south of the sun."

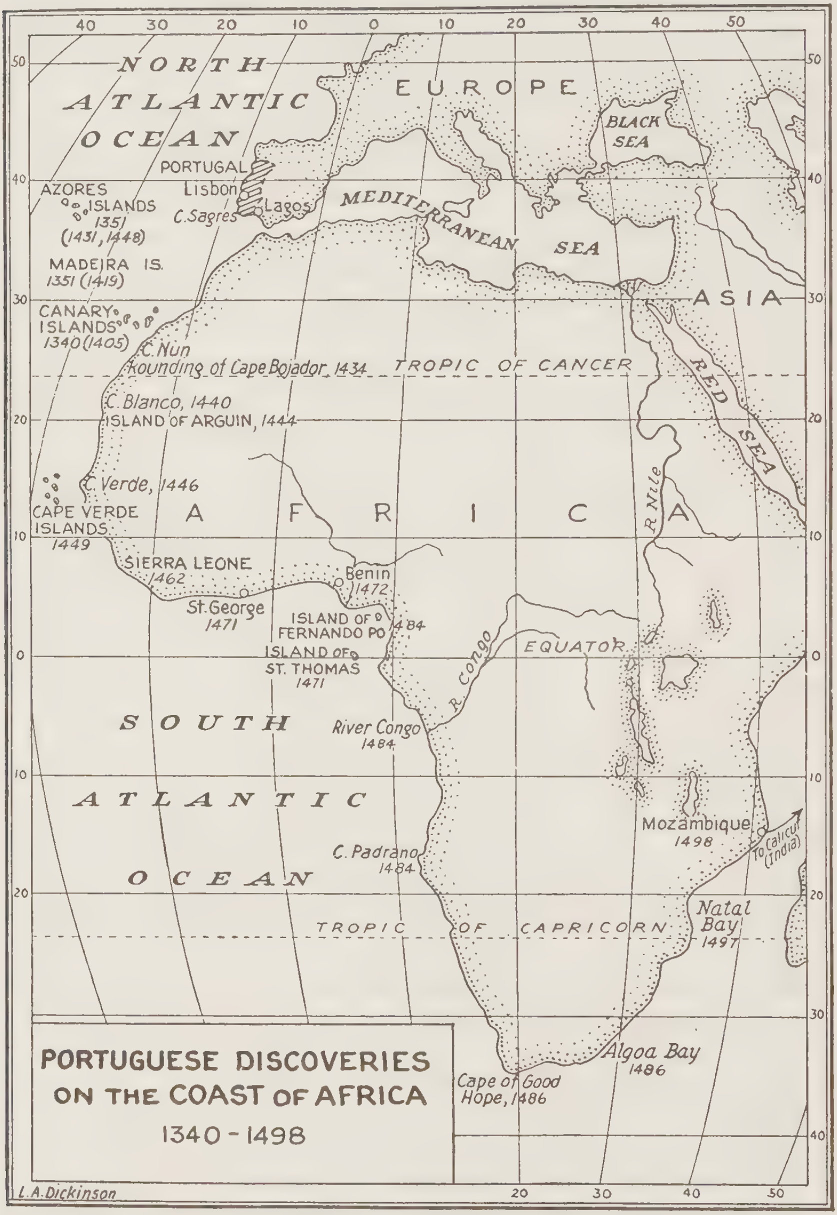
In the fourteenth century knowledge of western Asia was enormously broadened by the travels of missionaries, merchants, ambassadors. But that of the Far East was wholly due to the Franciscan friars. The greatest of these were John of Monte Corvino, whom Pope Nicholas IV sent to China in 1294, and Friar Odoric (died 1331), who was sent by John XXII. The former established the first Catholic missions in China; he was archbishop of Peking, with seven suffragan bishops under him. He returned in 1328, a worn old man, but lived long enough to write his *Relation*. These intrepid souls compassed thousands of miles under great hardships, traveling with caravans or by ship, usually going out overland across Asia and returning by sea around the Malay peninsula, Ceylon to the Persian Gulf, and thence to Europe — for the Mongol Empire in Baghdad was not hostile to Christians as the Mohammedan government in Egypt was. The history of these far-flung Catholic missions in China is among the most unfamiliar and romantic tales of medieval history. Unfortunately they were overthrown in the Ming revolution in China in 1368, which was a Chinese rebellion against the Mongol domination. The rise of Tamerlane called forth new activity on the part of the European powers, which were keenly interested in Tamerlane's success, in hope that it would ruin the Ottoman Turks. We have the *Relation* of a Spanish envoy, Clavigo, who was sent to Tamerlane's court between 1403 and 1406, and a highly interesting document it is.

European penetration of Africa was much less successful. Ramon Lull, a native of the Balearic Islands and a tender and beautiful Franciscan mystic, endeavored in vain to establish Christian missions in Barbary, and was murdered at Bougia in 1315. The arrest of the endeavor to penetrate the heart of the Dark Continent stimulated the effort to accomplish by sea what was impracticable by land. Hence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the great movement of exploration by sea began. The front of Europe slowly began to be turned to the west, to face no longer on the Mediterranean, but on the Atlantic. It is significant that this movement was coeval with the rise of the national monarchies in western Europe, France, Portugal, Spain, and — very late — England. In 1364 a hardy Norman captain, in whose veins the blood of old Norsemen must have run, coasted the Guinea coast and seems to have learned of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands. But the renewal of the Hundred Years' War stopped this French initiative, and the honors of maritime exploration fell to little Portugal. Here Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) founded a school of cartography, gathered all the scientific knowledge available, and spared no money in equipping expedition after expedition to explore the west coast of Africa. In 1402 the Canary Islands were found; in 1418 Porto Santo was discovered; in 1441 Cape Blanco was rounded; in 1443 Cape Bojador was passed; in 1445 the Cape Verde Islands were picked up out of the sea. Prince Henry did not live to learn of the discovery of the Azores (1477); nor could he have survived so long as to see the reward of all his efforts in Bartholomew Diaz's discovery of the Cape of Good Hope (1486) and Vasco da Gama's great voyage around the cape to India (1498), which revolutionized Oriental trade and commerce by providing an all-sea route to the Far East free from either Turks or Mongols. In the interval between these dates Columbus had made his memorable voyage in 1492. In 1498 Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Henry VII of England, discovered the northeast coast of America, and in 1521 Magellan circumnavigated the globe.

These great discoveries vividly stirred the imagination of Europe, though they exerted little material influence upon European history until the middle of the sixteenth century. Authentic adventures such as these killed the taste for the romances of chivalry and the once fashionable medieval epics. For this was epic history that was true.

The Renaissance is also distinguished from the period preceding it in the progress made in inventions: the mariner's compass, gunpowder, printing. The Chinese, deep in the Middle Ages, had perceived the directive property of the magnetic needle. Mohammedan sailors in the Indian *Inventions*

Ocean were using it late in the eleventh century, but its employment in Europe for purposes of navigation was not before the fourteenth century.



PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES ON THE COAST OF AFRICA 1340 - 1498

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
BLACK SEA
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Lagos
C. Sagres
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AZORES ISLANDS 1351 (1431, 1448)
MADEIRA IS. 1351 (1419)
CANARY ISLANDS 1340 (1405)
C. Nun
Rounding of Cape Bojador 1434
TROPIC OF CANCER
ASIA
RED SEA
C. Blanco, 1440
ISLAND OF ARGUIN, 1444
C. Verde, 1446
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS 1449
AFRICA
R. Nile
SIERRA LEONE 1462
Benin 1472
St. George 1471
ISLAND OF FERNANDO PO 1484
ISLAND OF ST. THOMAS 1471
EQUATOR
R. Congo
River Congo 1484
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Padrano 1484
Mozambique 1498
To Calicut (India)
Natal Bay 1497
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Algoa Bay 1486
Cape of Good Hope, 1486
L. A. Dickinson
40
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50

Without the compass it is obvious that the great voyages of Da Gama and Columbus would have been impossible.

The importance of the introduction of gunpowder has been much exaggerated. For two hundred years its invention hardly changed the art of war — neither armor, chivalry, infantry, nor siegecraft. On the contrary, infantry and the art of siege reached their highest point of development in the sixteenth century. At that time, too, as good armor as ever before known, if not better, was made. The best infantry in Europe in 1500 were the Swiss and German pikemen, and they continued to be such for a hundred years. In the sixteenth century the thickest and highest city walls were built and made to brave all assaults; as, for example, those of Florence, built by Michelangelo, or those of Siena. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the invention of gunpowder had only secondary consequences. The cannon were insignificant, being tubes bound with iron hoops, and the arquebus was a poor weapon. Even in the seventeenth century Maurice of Nassau organized the Dutch army on the model of the Roman legion. In truth it was not until the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) that fire-arms and artillery acquired a vast importance.

The reader does not need to be told that far and away the most important invention of the Renaissance was that of printing, or, rather, that of movable metal type — for " printing " was known from high antiquity. Preliminary stages in the invention of printing were the printing of playing-cards and calicoes and the making of block books, the oldest known bearing the date 1423. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone for many years that the cutting up of a block-cut inscription or Bible verse into its component letters would marvelously facilitate the production of printed matter, but such is the truth; for only when the letters of the alphabet were freely and flexibly used in composition of a sentence did movable type emerge. We may put aside the claims made that the Dutchman Laurence Coster of Haarlem was the inventor of movable type, for the claim rests on no good authority. Even the claims made for Gutenberg (about 1455) are impeached today. There is reason to believe that for some years before Gutenberg the art of using movable type was known, but that it was kept secret for fear of the opposition of the gilds of copyists and calligraphers in the employ of the Church and of every government official, whose livelihood would at once have been jeopardized. The first (unknown) printers printed surreptitiously and imitated manuscript lest they arouse suspicion. But the invention was too good a one to be kept, and eventually the secret leaked out. Once revealed, printing by movable type rapidly spread over Europe and wrought a revolution in education, in learning — indeed, in almost everything. What the discovery meant may be understood when it is said that Vespasian da Bisticci, a professional manuscript book-dealer in Florence, had forty-five copyists in his employ, who required twenty-two months to produce two hundred manuscripts, the price of every one of which was far beyond that of any printed book. Between 1455, the date of the so-called Gutenberg Bible, and 1500 between seven and a half and nine million books were printed! By 1490 there were a hundred printers in Venice alone. It is important to add that the invention of movable type, like so many other inventions, would have been nearly valueless if it had not been for the precedent invention of linen paper in the fourteenth century; for vellum and parchment would have been impracticable. The success of printing also depended upon another earlier invention — namely, that of printer's ink. As originally devised, this was not an ink at all, but a thick oily pigment that was employed by painters. This was an invention, according to the best evidence, of the Low Countries, and the two Flemish painters, the Van Eyck brothers, are credited with it. But it was not long before the printers perceived its value for their purposes — indeed printing would have been impracticable without it. Thus the so-called "invention of printing" was really a composite of three technical discoveries of the age of the Renaissance.

A last word of caution in understanding the Renaissance may be given. The Renaissance was a civilization, a highly developed, complex civilization. It was the product of many forces, of the thoughts and labors of many men. Each had his own place in the society of the time, churchman, noble, burgher, peasant; some were rich, most were poor; some were learned, most were not. The most myriad-minded of the men of the Renaissance could not have been interested in every phase of it, even had he so wished. Even the most versatile, like Pico della Mirandola and Leonardo da Vinci, were interested in only a few manifestations of it. This fact must be borne in mind if one is to get a true understanding of the Renaissance. Erasmus, who died in 1536, is a case in point, and he was certainly a child of the Renaissance if any man was. Yet this is what his latest biographer writes of him:

> "Erasmus cared little for the inventions and discoveries of his age; he was not even aware of the main economic and political changes. . . . The most glorious artists of the whole world — Leonardo and Titian, Michelangelo and Raphael, San Gall and Bramante — were his contemporaries, and he had opportunity to see their works, but not once (I believe) does he mention any of them in his pages. . . . Again, a new world was discovered during his lifetime. . . . But Erasmus, though he met the son of Columbus in 1520, hardly let an allusion to the New World pass his pen. . . . At Florence Erasmus was at the very heart of the Renaissance. . . . But Erasmus has not mentioned the Duomo or the Badia, Santo Spirito or Santa Maria Novella, the Campanile or the Baptistry, or the various palaces and public squares. . . . At Venice as at Florence, Erasmus was blind to the wonderful art of his contemporaries, Bellini, Carpaccio, Giorgione, Palma Vecchio, and Titian, none of whom he seems to have met and whose works he never mentions. . . . In the spring of 1509 Erasmus went to Rome. . . . It is remarkable that while Luther's

table-talk has many references to the antiquities he saw in 1510, Erasmus seldom speaks of them. . . . He did not know where the site of the Capitol was."[1]

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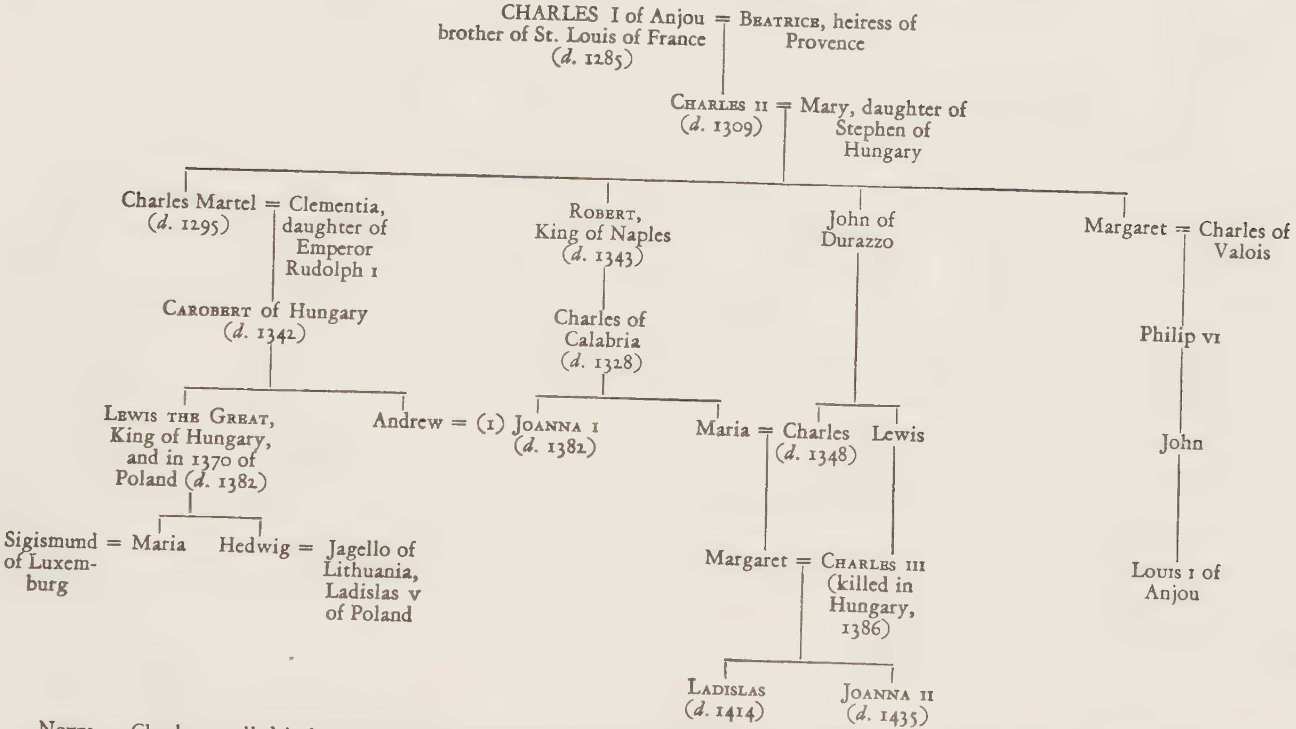
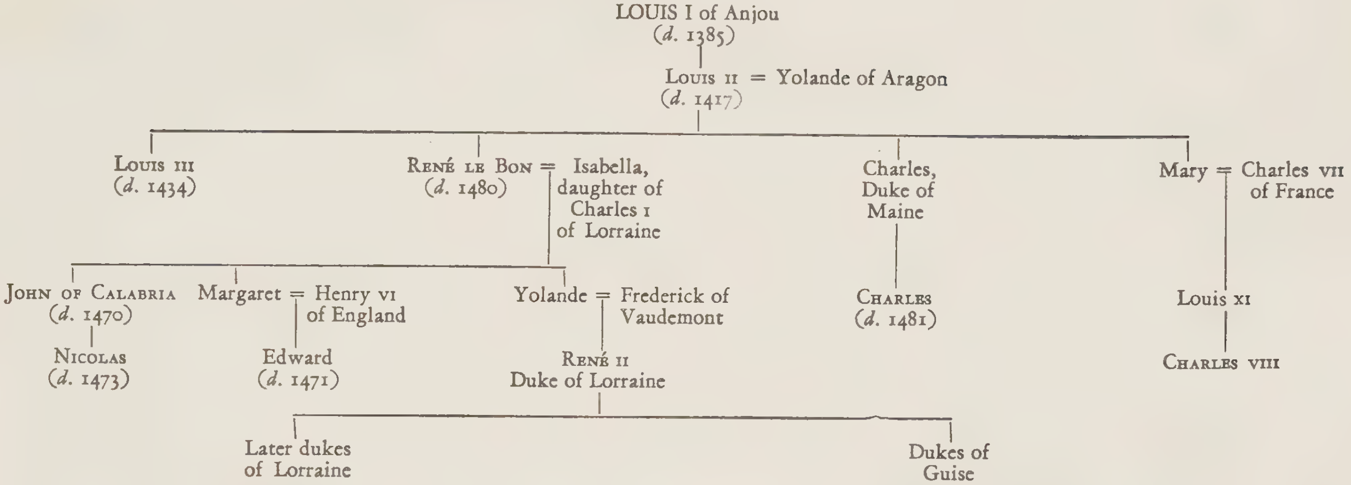
[1] Preserved Smith, *Erasmus,* 3, 34, 35, 104, 109, 112.

The First House of Anjou in Naples and Hungary


CHARLES I of Anjou = Beatrice, heiress of Provence
brother of St. Louis of France (d. 1285)
Charles II (d. 1309) = Mary, daughter of Stephen of Hungary
Charles Martel (d. 1295) = Clementia, daughter of Emperor Rudolph I
Robert, King of Naples (d. 1343)
John of Durazzo
Margaret = Charles of Valois
Carobert of Hungary (d. 1342)
Charles of Calabria (d. 1328)
Philip VI
Lewis the Great, King of Hungary, and in 1370 of Poland (d. 1382)
Andrew = (1) Joanna I (d. 1382)
Maria = Charles (d. 1348)
Lewis
John
Sigismund of Luxemburg = Maria
Hedwig = Jagello of Lithuania, Ladislas V of Poland
Margaret = Charles III (killed in Hungary, 1386)
Louis I of Anjou
Ladislas (d. 1414)
Joanna II (d. 1435)

Notes.—Charles I, called in by the popes, acquired both Naples and Sicily, but lost the latter in the Sicilian Vespers (1282). Joanna I, in order to disinherit her nephew, afterwards Charles III, adopted as her heir Louis of Anjou, who could claim a distant descent from Charles II. Louis obtained possession of Provence, but he and his descendants carried on a long and unsuccessful struggle for the crown of Naples.

THE SECOND HOUSE OF ANJOU IN NAPLES


LOUIS I of Anjou (d. 1385)
Louis II (d. 1417) = Yolande of Aragon
Louis III (d. 1434)
René le Bon (d. 1480) = Isabella, daughter of Charles I of Lorraine
Charles, Duke of Maine
Mary = Charles VII of France
John of Calabria (d. 1470)
Margaret = Henry VI of England
Yolande = Frederick of Vaudemont
Charles (d. 1481)
Louis XI
Nicolas (d. 1473)
Edward (d. 1471)
René II Duke of Lorraine
Charles VIII
Later dukes of Lorraine
Dukes of Guise

René of Provence disinherited his grandson, René of Lorraine, and left his possessions to his nephew, Charles of Maine, with remainder to the French crown. This enabled Louis XI to annex Provence in 1481 and also gave rise to the claim upon Naples which was put forward by Charles VIII in 1494.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Transformation of Europe by 1500

WE have reached the end of the Middle Ages and the threshold of modern times. By a long process of transformation and change, almost as indiscernible as the weathering of a great building, medieval government, institutions, law, social structure, economic conditions, manners and customs, had slowly changed until a new Europe had supplanted the old Europe. Even the Church, oldest and most conservative of institutions, was profoundly changed at the end of the Middle Ages.

The beginnings of this process are found as far back as the twelfth century, and the process operated with increasing acceleration and intensity with each succeeding century. The Middle Ages began to topple with three supreme events: the fall of the house of Hohenstaufen, bringing with it that of the medieval Empire; the collapse of the medieval papacy with Boniface VIII before national monarchy; and the fall of medieval theology upon its own sword of scholasticism because it could not reconcile theology and metaphysics. By 1300 the lineaments of the Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be clearly perceived. By 1500 Europe was a new Europe.

These changes were of both a material and an intellectual or moral nature and touched government, institutions, law, the Church, society, commerce, trade, industry. They are reflected in the literature, the art, the philosophy, the theology of the age. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "what was really breaking up was medieval society, medieval institutions, the medieval world."[1]

Monarchy prevailing as a form of government

The most easily observed and the most manifest change in Europe in the fifteenth century was the political change. National monarchy succeeded localized and particularistic feudal government. However, it was not equally so everywhere. Monarchical authority and power was greatest in France, England, and Spain; less in Italy, and least in Germany. The last two were without national sentiment. Political attachment was dynastic. But everywhere in Europe there was a pronounced tendency towards the concentration of territory and political authority in the hands of a few families. In France, England, and Spain these families were the sovereigns. In Italy, where kingship and imperial power were merely nominal, these dynasts were the great princes, like the Visconti in Milan, the Medici in Florence, the Angevins in Naples, the Este in Ferrara; nor may one omit the popes, who were temporal princes, and the republics of Venice and Genoa. In Germany the Austrian Habsburgs, who by the fifteenth century had acquired permanent control of the crown, divided rule with the Wittelsbach dukes of Bavaria, the Hohenzollern margraves of Brandenburg, the counts palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, a swarm of lesser princes, and the bishops, who, as nowhere else, were prince-bishops.

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[1] HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, VI, 114.

Each and all of these princes or dynasts labored to create an absolute and hereditary monarchy; they aimed at the dynastic permanence of their houses. They organized their power around a standing army and by and with a highly trained civil service. Their courts not only enhanced the brilliance of their rule, they exerted influence. All the great rulers of the fifteenth century conform to the Italian type, whether of elective origin, like the pope and the emperor, or of hereditary nature, like the king of France, or of predatory origin, like the Visconti and Sforza in Milan. The victory of absolute monarchy at the end of the fifteenth century in France, Spain, England, and Germany (in its several states, but not in the kingship) was a victory of Italian despotism over Europe. "When feudal history collapsed, dynastic history arose."[1] Everywhere in Europe except in Germany the burgher class was caught in the coil of monarchy along with the feudal noblesse. In Germany the free cities held out against the process, in France and Italy they were incorporated with the State.

The development of national monarchy is best exemplified in the history of the French and Spanish monarchies in the fifteenth century, although the theory and the political philosophy of monarchism may best be studied in the enlightened despotisms of Renaissance Italy.

Death of Charles the Bold in 1477 the end of an epoch

The futile endeavor of Charles the Bold to form a great state by the fusion of his heterogeneous and disparate possessions — Burgundy-Flanders and the swarm of lesser principalities between or clustered around these larger territories — was the last effort of feudalism to hold its own against the rising tide of monarchy. His death in 1477 in the battle of Nancy when trying to conquer the Swiss in order that he might rule the midlands of Europe from the Alps to the sea is one of the important dates that terminate the history of the Middle Ages.

French monarchy

In the fourteenth century the king of France was the nominal sovereign of the whole realm. But in reality his power was very much reduced by the practically complete independence of great noble families like the dukes of Burgundy, the counts of Provence, the counts of Foix; and it is not to be forgotten that the English kings possessed a galaxy of provinces in the southwest to which they claimed possession in fee simple after 1360. These provincial dynasts had their own men-at-arms, their own fortresses, their own treasury; their own local states-general. United together, these great families might hold the king in check, as happened after the death of Philip IV in 1314. The fact is writ large in the League of the Public Weal against Louis XI, in 1464, that conspiracy formed by the dukes of Brittany, Bourbon, Lorraine, Alençon, and Berry, to which Charles the Bold lent his support. It is customary to say that Louis XI destroyed these princely families and put an end to feudalism *en appanage*. Too great a rôle in history has been attributed to Louis XI in this particular. Louis XI only destroyed lesser feudal houses, like the Saint-Pol, the Nemour, the Alençon. Nevertheless, it is true that the union of the great independent provinces of France began under him. But this process was a simple coincidence by which the crown profited, and was not due to a shrewd statecraft on the part of the King. The plain truth is that numbers of the great feudal families of France died out at the end of the fifteenth century.

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[1] Spengler, *op. cit.*

This extinction first befell the dukes of Burgundy. But of the vast and agglomerated territories of the house of Burgundy, only the duchy of Burgundy reverted to France. The rest escaped French clutches and were acquired by the Habsburgs, Then followed the extinction of the houses of Anjou, Maine, and Provence. When Louis XII (1498–1515), who was Duke of Orléans, succeeded the childless Charles VIII, the duchy of Orléanais was united with the crown. And when the same King married Anne, Duchess of Brittany, the last great and still independent province of France came into possession of the crown. So difficult was the process of territorial annexation that it required three marriages to accomplish the union of Brittany with the crown. Charles VIII had first married Anne; upon his death Louis XII married her; finally Francis I married their daughter, who was heiress to the duchy.

The dynastic nature of government in the fifteenth century and the political importance of dynastic marriages in the acquisition of territory and the extension of monarchical power are striking. In no instance is it more apparent than in the upgrowth of the power of the Habsburgs, to whom fell the lion's share of the lands of the Burgundian house when Charles the Bold was killed in 1477. Louis XI and Maximilian (who became emperor in 1493) were competitors for possession of these rich and populous provinces, which besides French ducal Burgundy also included Franche-Comté, or the free county of Burgundy, Flanders, Namur, Brabant, Limburg, Hainaut, Holland, Zealand, Luxemburg, Gelderland, and Zutphen. Charles the Bold's only daughter, Margaret, was heiress of all of these territories and married Maximilian, to the vast chagrin of France, which, as said, succeeded in acquiring only the duchy of Burgundy.

Spanish monarchy

The development of the Spanish monarchy, allowing for local differences, was not unsimilar to that of the Valois and the Habsburgs. In the fifteenth century the Spanish peninsula had not yet reached territorial and political unification. The kingdoms themselves, except Portugal and Navarre, were complexes of kingdoms. The realm of Aragon was composed of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia; the realm of Castile had been formed out of the union of León and Castile. Finally, in the south was the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The three chief kingdoms roughly correspond to historical and even national differences — Castilian, Catalan, Portuguese. The kingdoms could not be fused, but Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of their sovereigns, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in 1469. Portugal held aloof. The union of southern Spain was effected by conquest. The crusade in 1492 conquered Granada, and the Moors were expelled from Spain. Later, in 1512, Ferdinand wrenched Spanish Navarre by war from the possession of the French house of Albret — which henceforth retained French Navarre only, and from which sprang Henry IV of France, known to history and romance alike as Henry of Navarre. Thus four kingdoms entered into the formation of modern Spain: Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Granada.

International politics and diplomacy

The competition of the great European dynasts for territory and advantageous marriages was so keen that neither racial nor national differences nor language were considered. Territories which were thus the objects of ambition often were not even contiguous to the territory of the prince who coveted them. Maximilian planned to marry Anne of Brittany after the death of Margaret of Burgundy and might have done so if Louis XII had not thwarted his design. The Low Countries, which Margaret of Burgundy brought to the Habsburgs, were far removed from Austria. Charles VIII of France tried to conquer Naples in 1498 as the heir of the extinct Angevin house, and the kingdom finally was acquired by Ferdinand of Aragon, which had possessed Sicily, the insular half of the former Norman Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, since 1282. The supreme example, however, of this subtle and rapacious policy of territorial and dynastic aggrandizement is the marriage of Philip of Austria-Flanders, the only son of Maximilian and Margaret of Burgundy, with Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; from whom was born that Charles V who at the beginning of the sixteenth century inherited Spain, Naples and Sicily, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and the Austrian lands and in 1519 was elected king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor.

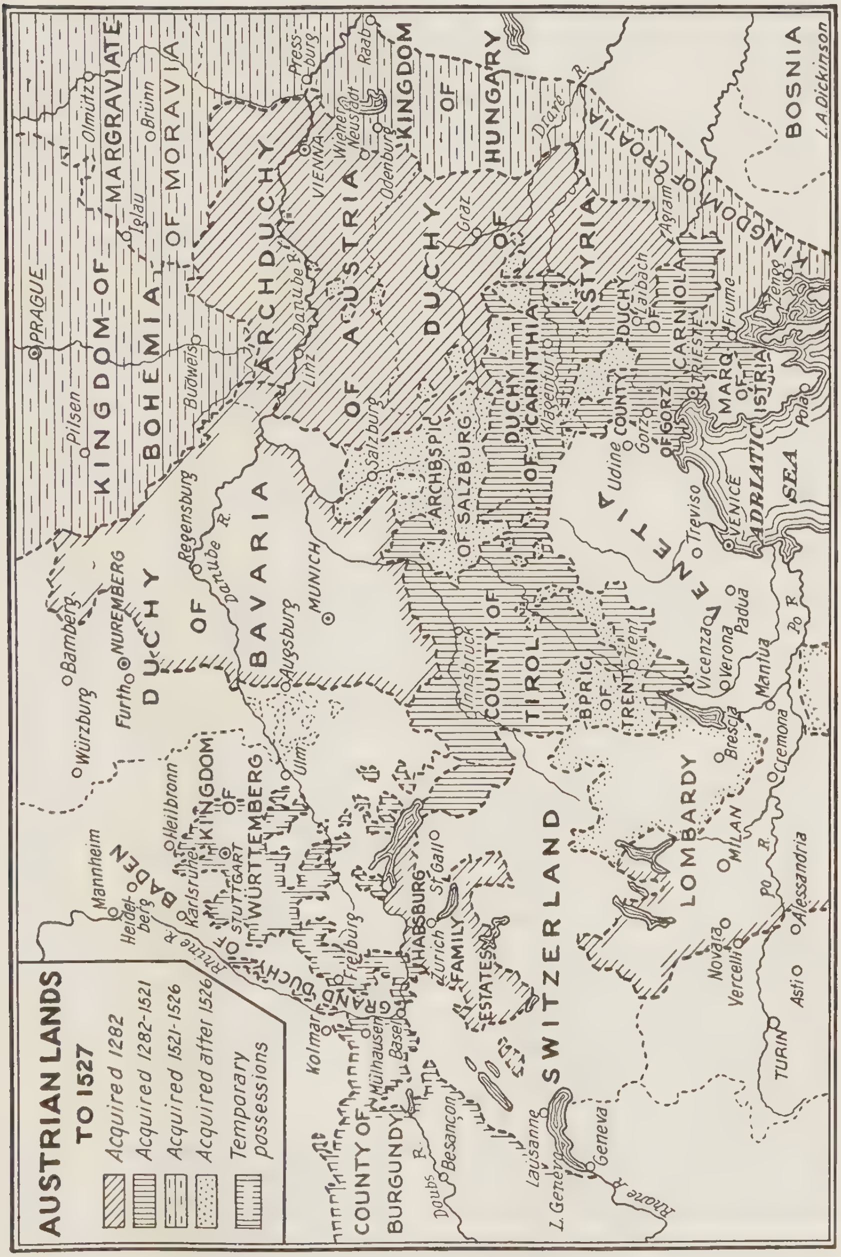
Wars of succession and territorial aggrandizement

The collapse of the medieval Empire, the decay of the crusading-ideal, and the rise of these national monarchies in western Europe combined to revolutionize international relations. Instead of the older form of universal European movements we see the appearance of wars of succession, territorial aggrandizement, and commercial expansion. Examples are: the conflict between France and Aragon over Sicily in 1282; the wars of the English in France in the fourteenth century, nominally to assert

Edward III's right of succession to the French crown, actually to establish political and commercial control in Flanders; the conflict in Italy between Ludwig IV of Bavaria, the Emperor, and Pope John XXII, who was allied with the King of France; the second prolonged war of the English in France in the fifteenth century, in which the Duke of Burgundy-Flanders was allied with England; the conflict between France and Austria over the heritage of the Low Countries; the French invasion of Italy in 1494 by Charles VIII, who attempted to assert right of succession to the Kingdom of Naples. One may add the War of the Roses in England between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, which terminated with the succession of Henry VII, Tudor (1485), and the war of succession in Castile, which was ended in 1469 by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. The international alliances that grew out of these wars of the great rulers gave rise in the sixteenth century to the doctrine of the "balance of power." Until the French Revolution every great European war was either a war of succession or a war to preserve or to upset the balance of power.

Changes in administration

The rise of these strong monarchical governments, with an inclination towards absolutism in them both in theory and in practice, revolutionized the administrative systems of Europe, too. Everywhere the kings impose upon their subjects, even upon the greatest nobles, implicit obedience to royal command. The king speaks with finality and acts with promptness and effect. This fact mightily impressed keen political observers of the time, like foreign ambassadors. Everywhere the king appoints provincial governors, who are not vassals, as in the feudal age, but salaried officials, who were responsible to the crown and liable on the least suspicion or offense to lose their appointments, and even to be cast into prison or sent to the block. The king appoints judges, privy councilors, tax and fiscal agents. The number of law-courts with technical jurisdiction multiplies and the number of lawyers and legists employed in administration increases, like registrars, surrogates, notaries, bailiffs, sergeants, law-clerks. It is characteristic of these changes that written procedure supplants oral procedure in the law-courts, and that Roman law tends to efface customary law. In the same way new methods of accounting were introduced in the tax and fiscal bureaux. This development takes place everywhere in Europe, although not in equal degree. The English kings did not feel so much as those on the continent the need of such new officials, for there these functions were fulfilled by the sheriffs and justices of the peace. In France and Spain, on the contrary, a complicated administrative and judicial machinery was instituted, with a numerous personnel. Accordingly France and Spain became a paradise of functionaries and place-hunters. By a natural evolution these offices — in France even judgeships — became for life and then hereditary. This tendency had its evils, but one good effect was that it constantly trained up a new generation of technically proficient officials, who in course of time developed almost a family pride and sense of honor for the work. It may be added that all these administrative offices were filled by bourgeois. Few nobles were trusted with the most important offices of administration.


AUSTRIAN LANDS TO 1527
▨ Acquired 1282
▥ Acquired 1282-1521
▤ Acquired 1521-1526
░ Acquired after 1526
▥ Temporary possessions
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
MARGRAVIATE OF MORAVIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF CROATIA
BOSNIA
ARCHDUCHY OF AUSTRIA
DUCHY OF STYRIA
DUCHY OF CARINTHIA
DUCHY OF CARNIOLA
COUNTY OF GORZ
MARQ. OF ISTRIA
ARCHBSPIC OF SALZBURG
COUNTY OF TIROL
BPRIC OF TRENT
DUCHY OF BAVARIA
KINGDOM OF WÜRTTEMBERG
BADEN
GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN
HABSBURG FAMILY ESTATES
SWITZERLAND
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
ADRIATIC SEA
PRAGUE
Pilsen
Budweis
Olmütz
Brünn
Iglau
Pressburg
Raab
VIENNA
Wiener Neustadt
Odenburg
Linz
Danube R.
Graz
Drave R.
Agram
Laibach
Klagenfurt
TRIESTE
Fiume
Zengg
Pola
Gorz
Udine
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Trent
Regensburg
MUNICH
Augsburg
Ulm
Bamberg
NUREMBERG
Furth
Würzburg
Heilbronn
STUTTGART
Karlsruhe
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Rhine R.
Freiburg
Kolmar
Mülhausen
Basel
Zurich
St Gall
Besançon
Doubs R.
Lausanne
L. Geneva
Geneva
Rhone R.
Treviso
VENICE
Vicenza
Verona
Padua
Mantua
Brescia
Cremona
Po R.
MILAN
Novara
Vercelli
Alessandria
Asti
TURIN
L.A. Dickinson

Modernity of taxation and finance

In the matter of taxation and finance we observe the same phenomenon of centralization under royal authority. Only petty local taxes remained feudal. Taxes once consented to as extraordinary measures of relief became permanently of royal imposition, like the taille in France after 1439. Protests of provincial states-general, and even of the States-General or Cortes of the nation, went for naught. The king might promise to abate taxes, or not to levy them without consent of the estates, but he forgot the promise as soon as made. He was safe from rebellion against such action since he had also an army at his command, whose pay was good and assured, and he no longer had to deal with feudal contingents, whose terms of service were short and always conditional.

Court life

At the same time the courts of the monarchs acquired new importance. In feudal times a king's court not infrequently was inferior in wealth, splendor, and personnel to that of some of his vassals. In the fourteenth century the court of Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, surpassed that of the Valois kings. The chronicler Froissart lavishes pages in description of its glory. In the next century the court of the dukes of Burgundy was the most splendid in Europe, exceeding in splendor and magnificence that of the French kings, the emperors, or even the pope. Burgundian court etiquette and ceremonial, Burgundian fashions of dress, Burgundian cookery ruled Europe and were imitated everywhere—in England, in France, in Spain, in the Italian courts. But when Charles the Bold fell at Nancy and his power was dissipated, the courts of the kings of France, Spain, England, and the Habsburgs acquired supremacy. The royal courts in turn were imitated by the rich nobles, but they shone by the light reflected from the thrones. In such form the court was an important institution of monarchy, for it taught the noblesse to look to the king for favor and promotion. We see the apogée of the court as a monarchical and royal institution in France in the reign of Louis XIV.

Roman Law

Intimately connected with the development of the new political theory of absolutism was the revived study of Roman law, which experienced a new advancement and had a different application from the revival of it in the twelfth century. Then Roman law had owed its cultivation to the papal monarchy and the new imperialism of Frederick Barbarossa. Now it was sedulously promoted by the Italian despotisms and the increasingly absolute monarchies.

After the beginning of the fourteenth century the spirit of the study of Roman law changed. Towns and princes founded universities and consulted their jurists upon cases of litigation. The latter made response to these practical questions, but often abandoned the established text or interpreted it and modified it in the light of its application. Thus was formed the modern Roman law taught by Bartolus of Sassoferrato and his followers. This teaching was modern, pragmatic, though not devoid of scholastic characteristics.

Taking things as a whole, there are certain differences to be remarked according to countries. In the countries of the written law, like Spain and France, the introduction of the Roman Law consisted in modifying the ancient Roman law by the classic law. In the countries of customary law the change was more considerable. In England the customary law resisted, and the common law remained supreme. English scholars like to pretend that their law is an indigenous national law. In reality the canon law, preserved in the courts of the Church in England is identical with every other canon law.

The " reception " of the Roman law in Germany was an event of much later occurrence than in most other European countries. There were several reasons for this delay. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries the German Empire remained during a large part of the time little more than a loose confederation of political units without an effective central government. Feuds among the numerous counts, dukes, bishops, and abbots widely prevailed. Jurisdiction and law came to be infinitely subdivided, so that in the end each principality, lordship, or town followed pretty much a law of its own. Besides, there were several varieties of law springing from differences in social status. The law of knights was distinct from manorial law, gild law, and peasant law. The political disruption of the Empire made it impossible for the central government and its tribunals to reduce these several bodies of customary law to uniformity.

Gradually, however, by the middle of the fourteenth century a tendency towards legal consolidation is discernible. The need for a common law became particularly imperative as a result of the flourishing commerce of German towns with Italy, the Levant, Flanders, Scandinavia, and Russia. This end was facilitated by the spread of authoritative treatises on the customary law, followed very soon by text-books and compilations of the Roman law. About the middle of the century Johann von Buch published a treatise substantiating the rules of Saxon law by comparison with similar Roman rules. And shortly afterwards Johann of Brünn compiled a regular text-book of Roman law for German practitioners. In addition there was the example of the Church, which by this time had developed an elaborate body of law of its own. In 1495 the diet of Worms, swayed by the influence of Bartolus of Sassoferrato, substituted Roman law for the old Saxon and Swabian codes. The old common law of Germany was overlaid, if not crushed, by a superimposed stratum of Roman law.

Finally, the universities played an important part in introducing the civil law into German usage. Under the changed political and economic conditions, jurisconsults, ecclesiastics, and barristers manifested a preference for the written common law of Rome to the heterogeneous customary law of their own country. But knowledge of Roman theory and practice was almost wholly confined to the Italian professors of law in the universities. Accordingly, officials in doubt as to complicated administrative problems, as well as barristers representing parties to involved suits, began to seek the advice of the doctors of law. This prerogative of advising public authorities must have greatly increased the prestige of the university doctors, and enhanced the popularity of law as a branch of learning.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century university graduates became officials in the service of princes or notaries and officials in town councils. They had learned the Roman law and applied it in preference to customary law. Magistrates did not oppose this practice, owing to the prestige that Roman law now enjoyed. Moreover, the princes often consulted university professors in order to settle doubtful cases and processes. Without doubt there was a certain amount of complaint against the Roman law, but there was no national protest against the invasion of a foreign law, only a conflict between local custom and general law, not between Roman law and German law.

Important modifications resulted from this change. In a general fashion it may be said that in the matter of persons customary law resisted with success, and that in the matter of property the Roman law triumphed. In the matter of procedure a revolution took place. The reorganization of the courts was the first change. Under Roman law sentence was passed by a single professional judge; justice was a justice of officials and was pronounced according to established rules of judgment. The judge rendered his sentence according to rules, of which he only made application. He was bound by the prescriptions of the law. Criminal procedure was also modified. In customary law there was no difference between criminal processes and private processes. Sentence was rendered without appeal. In Roman procedure the judge's function was to search out crime *ex officio*. He sat in secret, made an inquest, and reported in writing. He had power of imprisonment and the rights of recourse to torture. When he pronounced sentence, appeal lay to his superior. This system was little by little reached. In the thirteenth century inquisitorial procedure, the Inquisition, already existed, but it was necessary as a preliminary step to obtain the consent of the parties. In the fifteenth century, however, the practice of *informatio ex officio,* upon simple denunciation, obtained. There was no necessity of formal accusation, and witnesses were not confronted with proof. Torture still obtained.

Thus the change of law modified the organization of the tribunals and the procedures. A professional judiciary was formed, which in France became hereditary as the result of venality in office. Moreover, one sees the appearance of lawyers of a private class — advocates and counselors, who became very powerful because they held in their hands the life and honor of their clients. This class was recruited from the bourgeoisie, whose dignity and influence were thereby raised.

Church at end of Middle Ages

Turning to a consideration of the Church at the end of the Middle Ages, again we find profound change. It was not a revolution in Christian dogma, but a complete reversal of the relation of Church and State, whereby the State acquired temporal jurisdiction over organized religion. The concessions made to the kings of France by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438 are the most striking example of this revolution, but everywhere in Europe in greater or less degree the Church lost temporal jurisdiction to the secular rulers. This phenomenon was part of the general trend of the times in matters ecclesiastical, but the process was accelerated by the example of the popes, who were far more interested in promoting their power as Italian princes than their ecclesiastical authority as vicars of Christ. Sixtus IV, Alexander VI, and Julius II were not edifying spiritual exemplars.

But the transformation of the Church struck deeper. The religious ideals of the Middle Ages were vanishing away. The new generation shrugged its shoulders to words and teachings which had thrilled their fathers. The idea of catholicity died just as the idea of the crusades had died. So far as the authority of theology was concerned, the influence of Ockham had been destructive. It cannot be demonstrated, he held, that God knows anything outside of himself. This meant the end of faith for the pious and of moral skepticism for the thinking class. The diarchy between faith and reason brought the downfall of scholasticism and sapped the Church of authority.

Moreover, "in the fifteenth century the great inventions, the geographical discoveries, the extension of commerce, the growth of capital, the rise of the middle class, the revival of learning, the growth of great dynastic states, destroyed the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience."[1] The Church had failed to reform itself, and no one else was interested in reforming it. The Church had ceased to be an object of reverence and veneration. In addition, the Church was poor when compared to what its previous wealth had been in the feudal epoch. The thrifty bourgeoisie, who counted their pennies, were chary about making gifts as the rich landed proprietary class had bestowed endowments earlier, and the sophisticated and sometimes cynically-minded upper classes, especially when imbued with Renaissance learning, were indifferent to the welfare of the clergy. The *literati* and illuminati with few exceptions despised the clergy for writing crabbed and uncouth "medieval" Latin, for reading dry-as-dust tomes of obsolete theology and metaphysics, for being indifferent to the glories of the recovered classical literature. It is scarcely to be denied that intellectually and morally the clergy had deteriorated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Black Death had been largely responsible for this initial condition, for with thousands of church vacancies the empty places were filled with ignorant and incompetent or immoral incumbents, and the evil was accentuated by the vicious practice of nepotism and pluralities. "The motives both proximate and remote, which led to the Lutheran revolt, were largely secular rather than spiritual."

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[1] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways.*

Economic and social changes

The changes in social texture, in economic conditions, in commerce, in industry were no less important. The clergy, as always, remained the first estate. But the clergy had lost caste and were of diminished social prestige. The same observation is true of the nobility. It had largely become a dependent instead of an independent nobility, as in feudal times. This change, as has been pointed out, was partly due to the gradual impoverishment of the formerly rich proprietary class, which could not compete with the rising bourgeoisie of the towns and had little aptitude for trade. Moreover, many of the old-line families which dated from the crusades and even earlier died out in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and while the titles were preserved, these titles were worn by *nouveaux riches* — ambitious merchant princes or bankers, who paid the king for the patent — or by petty nobles who had won royal favor by flattery or abject obedience. Thus, much of the noble class, when analyzed, is discovered to have been made up of parvenu families. One must clearly distinguish between families that were noble by birth and those that were ennobled by royal patent. The first did not consider the latter as their equals unless possessed of great wealth.

Social preferment in the later Middle Ages went to two classes of men especially — lawyers and rich burghers. In Italy the noblesse almost completely disappeared by fusion with the bourgeoisie. In Germany it shaded off by inferior intermediate classes, cheap barons and ministerials, into the common people. England and France preserved more of the aristocratic tradition attached to noble society, but even there parvenu families were numerous.

More important and more impressive than the decline of the ancient feudal aristocracy in Europe is the rise in social scale, economic importance, and political influence of the bourgeoisie. Town life and trade went hand in hand. The great cities, almost without exception, became self-governing communities of burghers who were merchants and artisans, and shook off every vestige of ancient feudal lordship. This is especially true of the cities of Italy, Germany, and Flanders. In many ways the passing of the Middle Ages was registered in the rise of the towns and the bourgeoisie more than in any other phenomenon. Certainly this is true if mere numbers of population be considered. A great German writer has declared that this movement was a revolution " more important than any later revolution, even than that of the Renaissance, with the invention of printing and the discovery of the compass, or than that of the nineteenth century and all the revolution in industry which flowed from it. For both these revolutions are but secondary consequences of the great economic and social transformation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[1]

The formation of the bourgeoisie, the rise of the towns, the growth of commerce, the expansion of industry were four different forms of development and expression of the same thing. The phenomena are so completely interwoven that separation of them is impossible. The commercial operations were of two characters — grand international commerce as exemplified in Venice, Genoa, Flanders, and the cities of the Hanseatic League; and provincial, urban, or interprovincial and interurban commerce. In the dissemination of this trade the significance of the Mediterranean to southern Europe and of the Baltic and North Sea to northern Europe must be observed. In these bodies of water the lines of commerce and navigation were lateral, running from east to west, connecting Asia and Egypt with Europe. Examples are the routes between Alexandria and Venice or Genoa, between Constantinople and the Black Sea ports with Venice and Genoa; between Novgorod and Lübeck, Bruges and London. Other transverse, vertical routes crossed Europe knitting north and south together, like the Alpine passes and Rhine route; the Rhone-Saône-Meuse route from Marseilles to Flanders; the Varangian route between the Black Sea and the Baltic. Through middle Europe from east to west also ran two long lateral routes, one from Kiev to Budapest and Vienna and thence up the valley of the Danube; the other from Cracow or Prague through central Germany via the valleys of the Eger and Main rivers to the Rhine at Mainz or Cologne.

All industry in medieval Europe was performed by serf artisans and craftsmen dwelling on the manors of clergy and nobles until the rise of the towns and the formation of the bourgeoisie. Speaking broadly, the emancipation of industry was not so general and widespread as that of commerce. Merchants of servile status disappeared well before the end of the Middle Ages, but a good deal of industry was still plied by servile artisans as late as 1500, especially on monastic lands. The greater monasteries ran shops, the wood-turners, leather-workers, ironmongers, etc., in which were skilled serfs. The working-classes in the towns were free, but many rural artisans still were serf.

Gilds

Throughout all Europe in the later Middle Ages we find the phenomenon of social organization among merchants and craftsmen known as the gild; and as commerce and industry developed, a sharp differentiation appeared between merchant gilds and craft gilds. These associations, instead of being of remote origin, as once was supposed, were of late medieval origin, and post-date the emergence of commerce and industry in large volume. There is no nexus between the ancient Germanic drinking gilds or the old frith or peace gilds and the later merchant and craft gilds. The use of the mere name *gild* is not proof of continuity of association. The gilds were the medieval solution of the labor problem. In passing, it may also be said that there is no connection between the medieval gild and the modern trade-union, which is of nineteenth-century origin, a product of the "industrial revolution."

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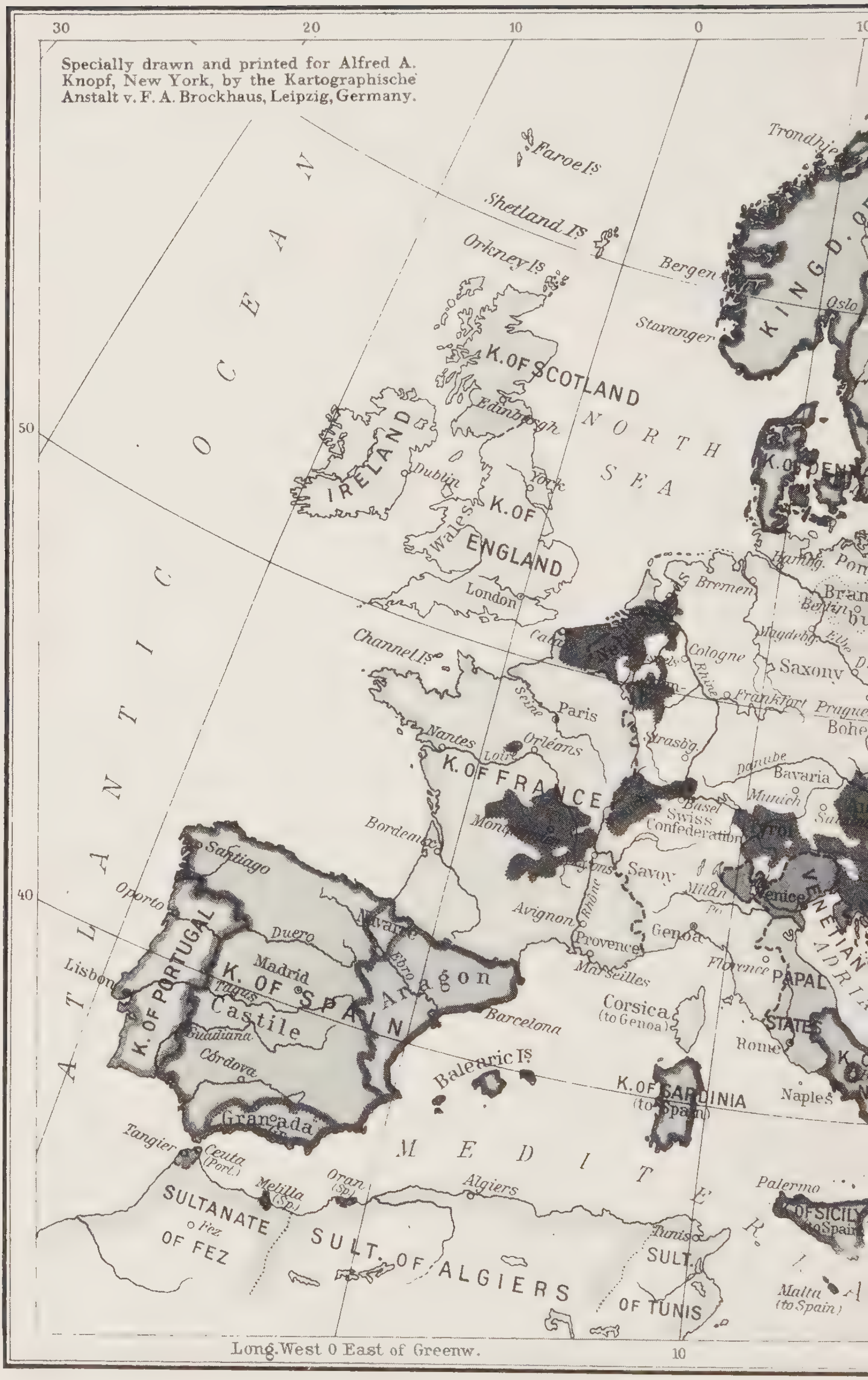
[1] Schmoller, *Strassburgs Blute,* p. 16.

Beginning, perhaps (for there are various theories of gild origin), as a sort of mutual benefit association, the gild grew into a voluntary association of the commercial and industrial classes, and then into an obligatory form of economic organization, required by law. In the early stages of evolution no clear distinction existed between merchants and craftsmen; for the artisan became a merchant when he sold his own wares. But in course of time a separation took place, and the trade gilds were cleft off from the merchant gilds. Priority of gild organization was with the merchant gilds, and the craft gilds were differentiated from them. The principle that dominated the craft gild was its exclusiveness. No one who was not a gild member was permitted to ply his trade or craft. The right to labor in every kind of work above the most menial — that is, all skilled labor — was the privilege of this or that gild. The gild controlled purchase of raw materials, hours of work, wages, length of apprenticeship, selling-prices. The purpose was to abolish competition and to keep prices up. The gild system is the narrowest form of economic regulation known to history except slavery.

Within the craft gild three classes of workman are to be distinguished: (1) masters; (2) journeymen — artisans who were not allowed to labor on their own account, but who received wages — and (3) apprentices, who were boys indentured to a master craftsman by their parents for a term of service varying from three to five, and even seven years, during which they were taught the craft and given clothing, food, and lodging, but no wages. Intended to teach industrial proficiency and improved technique, the apprentice system often was a form of industrial serfdom and cruel exploitation. In medieval industry there was no liberty; everything was minutely regulated. In process of time, as capitalism grew, an important lateral cleavage developed within the gilds. The masters acquired complete control of the gild and became a monopolistic corporation, whose offices were passed on from father to son, while the body of the workingmen were shut out from the administration of the gild, which thus became a close holding company. The working classes thus became mere wage-earners, employees hired and discharged at will, subject to the vicis-

Capitalism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30
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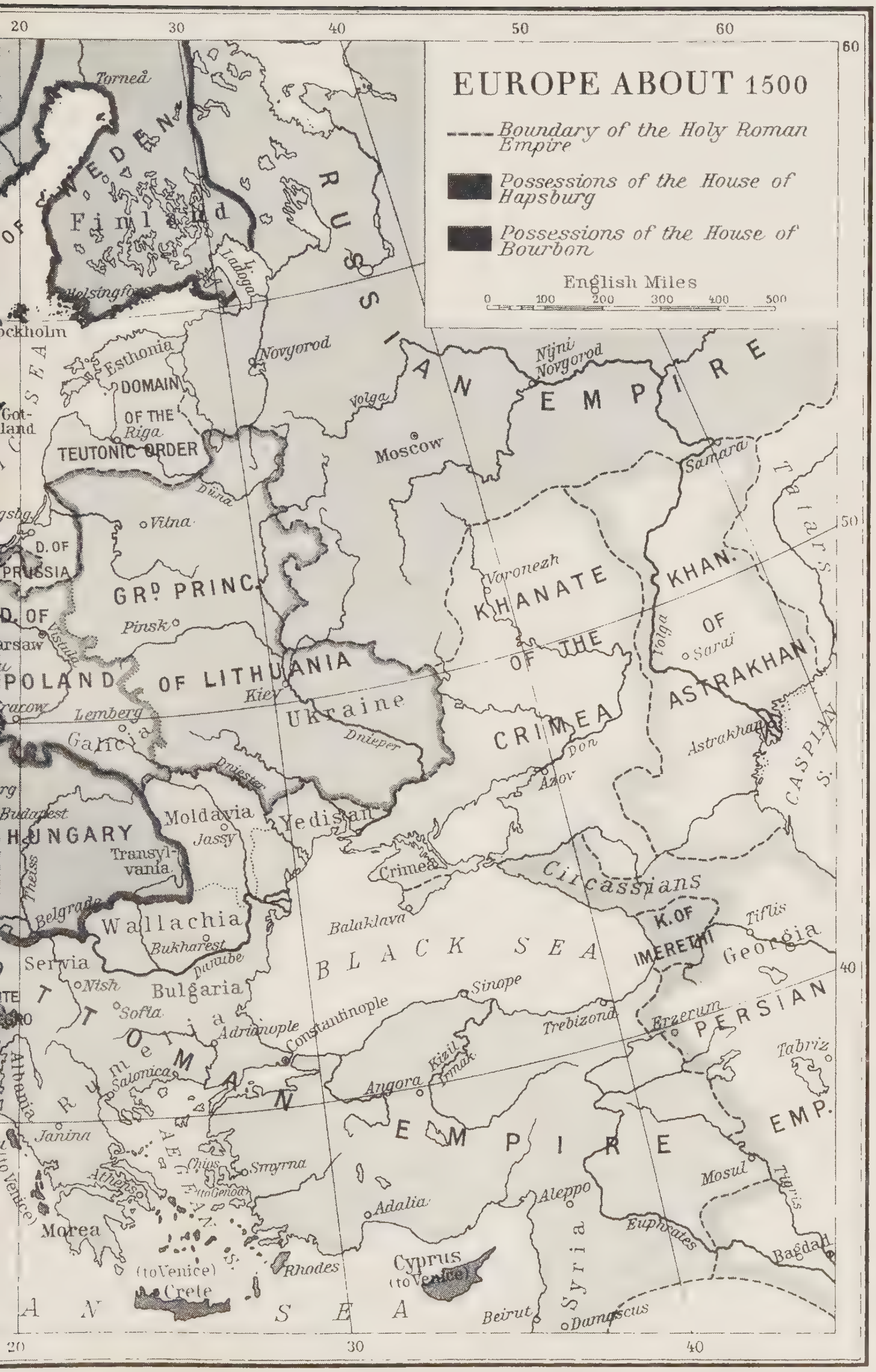
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stavanger
Oslo
KINGD.
K. OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Dublin
York
K. OF ENGLAND
Wales
London
Channel Is.
Calais
Bremen
Hamburg
Cologne
Rhine
Magdeburg
Elbe
Berlin
Saxony
Frankfort
Prague
Bohe
Paris
Seine
Orléans
Loire
Nantes
K. OF FRANCE
Strasbg.
Danube
Bavaria
Munich
Basel
Swiss Confederation
Tyrol
Bordeaux
Montpellier
Lyons
Savoy
Milan
Po
Venice
VENETIAN
Avignon
Rhône
Provence
Genoa
Marseilles
Florence
PAPAL STATES
Corsica (to Genoa)
Rome
Naples
Santiago
Oporto
K. OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Duero
Madrid
K. OF SPAIN
Navarre
Ebro
Aragon
Tagus
Castile
Guadiana
Córdova
Granada
Barcelona
Balearic Is.
K. OF SARDINIA (to Spain)
MEDITERRANEAN
Tangier
Ceuta (Port.)
Melilla (Sp.)
Oran (Sp.)
Algiers
SULTANATE OF FEZ
Fez
SULT. OF ALGIERS
Tunis
SULT. OF TUNIS
Palermo
K. OF SICILY (to Spain)
Malta (to Spain)
ADRIA



EUROPE ABOUT 1500

---- Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
■ Possessions of the House of Hapsburg
■ Possessions of the House of Bourbon
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
20
30
40
50
60
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Finland
Torneå
Helsingfors
Ladoga
Novgorod
Nijni Novgorod
Volga
Moscow
Esthonia
DOMAIN OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER
Riga
Düna
Got-land
D. OF PRUSSIA
Vilna
GRD PRINC. OF LITHUANIA
Pinsk
Warsaw
Vistula
POLAND
Cracow
Lemberg
Galicia
Kiev
Ukraine
Dnieper
Dniester
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
Voronezh
Don
Azov
KHAN. OF ASTRAKHAN
Volga
Sarai
Astrakhan
Samara
Tatars
CASPIAN S.
HUNGARY
Budapest
Theiss
Transyl-vania
Moldavia
Jassy
Yedisan
Belgrade
Wallachia
Bukharest
Danube
Servia
Nish
Sofia
Bulgaria
Crimea
Balaklava
Circassians
K. OF IMERETHI
Tiflis
Georgia
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Trebizond
Erzerum
PERSIAN EMP.
Tabriz
Adrianople
Constantinople
Rumelia
Salonica
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Albania
Janina
Angora
Kizil Irmak
AEGEAN S.
Chios
Smyrna
(to Genoa)
Athens
Morea
(to Venice)
Crete
Rhodes
Adalia
Cyprus (to Venice)
Aleppo
Syria
Beirut
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Mosul
Bagdad
SEA
50
40

situdes of market conditions, in slack times out of work, and continually liable to the imposition of lengthened hours of labor or a lowering of wages. The problems of capital and labor as they exist today have their origin, not in the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but in the industrial revolution of the fourteenth. Machinery and "big business" have only aggravated and magnified conditions that were in existence before the "industrial revolution." The history of Ghent after 1345, of Florence, Paris, Rouen, Cologne, and many another city about 1380, when industrial strikes were widespread and general, is evidence of this new economic condition.

If now it is remembered that these far-reaching changes and transformations occurred simultaneously with that unfolding of the human spirit we call the Renaissance, when new ideas widened the medieval man's intellectual and spiritual horizon as the new discoveries widened his vision of the natural world, and new inventions enlarged his technical skill, then we get some measure of the change which Europe had experienced between 1300 and 1500. When Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494 to enforce the claims of the French monarchy to the Kingdom of Naples he opened the Renaissance to Europe beyond the Alps, and all Europe was speedily modernized.

Spread of Italian Renaissance over Europe

> "The Italian expedition of Charles VIII was a turning-point of the intellectual and political life of Europe. It revealed at once the glory and the helplessness of Italy. The peoples of the North had just reached the point of intellectual development when they could understand, if they were incapable of creating, the beauties and refinements of Italian life and thought. The earthly paradise, once discovered, was never again free from the foot of the invader. Charles pointed out the splendid prey which lay before the strongest, and Italy became the battle-field of the newly organized nations of Europe. . . . In another way also Italy spread her influence over Europe. The League which was formed against Charles was an extension into European politics of the principles which had been developed in Italy. A deliberate check was planned against French aggrandizement, and the artificial balance which prevailed in Italian politics was introduced into a larger sphere. Round Italy gathered dynastic jealousies which were strongly interwoven with national aspirations, and in the struggles for the possession of Italy a new system of European states slowly emerged." [1]

Impending of the Reformation

In addition, Italian culture like a flood poured over the Alpine passes into central and northern Europe and made the Italian Renaissance a general European Renaissance, while in the sky over Germany might be heard the first low mutterings of the storm of the Reformation. "In this part of the world," wrote Erasmus in 1517, "I am afraid a great revolution is impending." He was right.

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[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 246–7.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

James Westfall Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages,* chap. xxix; R. Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages,* preface; *Cambridge Modern History,* I, introduction; H. D. Sedgewick, *Italy in the Thirteenth Century,* II, chaps. xx, xxiii; W. Cunningham, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects; Middle Ages,* 146–61; E. Emerton, *Beginnings of Modern Europe,* preface.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF POPES AND EMPERORS

Year of Accession A.D.	*Popes*	*Emperors*	*Year of Accession* A.D.
1254	Alexander IV	*Interregnum*	1250–73
		Richard[1] (earl of Cornwall), Alfonso[1] (king of Castile) (rivals)	1257
1261	Urban IV		
1265	Clement IV		
1269	Vacancy		
1271	Gregory X		
		Rudolph I[1] (of Habsburg)	1273
1276	Innocent V		
1276	Hadrian V		
1277	John XX or XXI		
1277	Nicholas III		
1281	Martin IV		
1285	Honorius IV		
1289	Nicholas IV		
1292	Vacancy	Adolph[1] (of Nassau)	1292
1294	Celestine V		
1294	Boniface VIII		
		Albert I[1] (of Habsburg)	1298
1303	Benedict XI		
1305	Clement V		
		Henry VII (of Luxemburg)	1308
1314	Vacancy	Ludwig IV (of Bavaria)	1314
		(Frederick of Austria, rival)	
1316	John XXII		
1334	Benedict XII		
1342	Clement VI		
		Charles IV (of Luxemburg)	1347–78
1352	Innocent VI	(Günther of Schwartzburg, rival)	
1362	Urban V		
1370	Gregory XI		
1378	Urban VI	Wenzel[1] (of Luxemburg)	1378
	(Clement VII, antipope)		
	Beginning of the Great Schism		
1389	Boniface IX		
1394	(Benedict, antipope)		
		Rupert[1] (of the Palatinate)	1400
1404	Innocent VII		
1406	Gregory XII		

[1] Never actually crowned at Rome.

Year of Accession A.D.	*Popes*	*Emperors*	*Year of Accession* A.D.
1409	Alexander V		
1410	John XXIII	Sigismund (of Luxemburg) (Jobst, of Moravia, rival)	1410
	End of the Great Schism		
1417	Martin V		
1431	Eugene IV		
		Albert II[1] (of Habsburg)	1438
1439	(Felix V, antipope)		
		Frederick III	1440
1447	Nicholas V		
1455	Calixtus IV		
1458	Pius II		
1464	Paul II		
1471	Sixtus IV		
1484	Innocent VIII		
1493	Alexander VI	Maximilian I[1]	1493

[1] Never actually crowned at Rome.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

1250–73	The great interregnum.
1252	The Alphonsine tables published by Alfonso X of Castile.
1253	Ottocar II of Bohemia seizes Austria.
1255	Inquisition introduced in France by formal royal authority.
	Teutonic Knights found Königsberg.
	Manfred, ruler of the Two Sicilies.
1257	Founding of the Sorbonne.
1258	Mongol conquest of Baghdad.
1259–77	Mongol conquest of Syria and Egypt.
1259	Kublai Khan in China.
1260	Manfred overruns Tuscany.
1261	Fall of Latin Empire of Constantinople.
1265	Birth of Dante and Duns Scotus.
	First English Parliament.
	Defeat and death of Manfred by Charles of Anjou.
1266	Roger Bacon's *Opus majus.*
1268	Conradino defeated at Tagliacazzo by Charles of Anjou and executed at Naples.
	Founding of Angevin Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.
1270	Death of St. Louis before Tunis.
1271	Acquisition of county of Toulouse by French crown.
1272–1307	Edward I of England.
1273–91	Rudolph of Habsburg.
1274	Creation of the conclave.
1276–1337	Giotto.
1278	Battle of the Marchfeld. Founding of Habsburg power in Austria.
1280	Mongol conquest of China completed.
1282	Sicilian Vespers. Massacre of the French in Sicily.
	Great inundation of North Sea in Holland. Formation of Zuyder Zee.
1283	Conquest of Prussia by Teutonic Knights completed.
1284	Pisa nearly destroyed by the Genoese.
1285	Accession of Philip IV of France.
1289	Battle of Campaldino, in which Dante fought. Overthrow of Ghibellines in Florence.
1291	Capture of Acre by Malek-al-Ashraf, Sultan of Egypt, the last Christian holding in the Holy Land.
	League of Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden against the Habsburgs.
1292	Adolph of Nassau, emperor.
1293–8	War between Edward I of England and Philip IV of France.
1294	Death of Kublai Khan.
	Masoud II, last Sultan of Inconium, slain by Mongols and sultanate divided.
1295	Return of Marco Polo to Venice from Far East.
1296	Boniface VIII issues the bull *Clericis laicos.*
	Conquest of Scotland by Edward I.
1297	Boniface VIII's feud with Colonna family begins.

1298	Closing of the Grand Council in Venice.
1300	Papal jubilee.
1301	The bull *Ausculta fili*. Quarrel between Boniface VIII and Philip IV begins. Extinction of Arpad dynasty in Hungary.
1302	Battle of Courtrai.
	The bull *Unam Sanctam*.
	First States-General in France.
1303	Expedition of Nogaret to Rome and Anagni. Fall of Boniface VIII.
	Catalan Grand Company arrives at Constantinople.
1304	French victory over Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle.
1307	Battle of Apros. Victory of Catalan Grand Company over Byzantine army.
1307–14	Destruction of the Order of the Knights Templar in France and Europe.
1308	Death of Duns Scotus, " the last of the Schoolmen."
1308–82	Angevin kings of Naples rulers in Hungary.
1308–13	Henry VII of Luxemburg emperor.
1309	Removal of papacy to Avignon.
	Swiss cantons receive confirmation of their immediate relation to the Empire.
1310	Conquest of Rhodes by Knights of St. John.
1311–31	Mansa Musa, King of Melle, conquers the Songhay kingdom and captures Timbuctoo, which becomes a great center of Mohammedan influence in central Africa.
1312	Philip IV annexes Lyons and the Lyonnais to France.
1314	Death of Philip IV.
	Battle of Bannockburn. Scotland recovers its liberty.
1315	Battle of Morgarten. Victory of Swiss over Leopold of Austria.
	Kiev, Volhynia, and Chernigov pass to Lithuania.
	Final defeat of Catalan Grand Company.
1320	Insurrection of peasantry — the *Pastoureaux* — in France.
1322	Battle of Ampfing.
	Battle of Mühldorf. Frederick of Austria captured by Ludwig of Bavaria, who is excommunicated (1324) by Pope.
1325	The Ban of Bosnia, Kotromanic, conquers Herzogovina.
1326	Turkish capture of Brusa.
1328	Extinction of Capetian house in France. Accession of Philip VI of Valois. Salic law.
1329	First engagemtnt between Byzantine army and Turks at Pelekanon. Founding of Ottoman Empire at Brusa.
1330	Turkish capture of Nicæa.
1331	Stephen Dushan proclaimed emperor of the Serbs at Skopyle.
1333	Casimir the Great, king of Poland.
1335	Annexation of Carinthia by Habsburgs.
1337	Edward III claims French crown.
1338	Declaration of Rhense.
1339	Campaign of Edward III in Flanders.
	Conquest of Bithynia by Turks.
1340	Battle of the Sluys.
	Halich passes to Poland.
1341	First passage of Turks into Europe.
1341–64	War of succession in Brittany.
	Petrarch crowned in the capitol.
1342–82	Louis the Great in Hungary. Introduction of French culture. Union of Hungary

	and Poland through marriage of Louis's daughter to Ladislas II (Jagello) of Poland.
1344	First English gold coinage (florin).
	Discovery of Madeira Islands.
	Battle of Salado. Defeat of Moors by Alfonso IV of Portugal.
1345	Murder of Jacob van Artevelde in Ghent.
	Expedition of Earl of Derby in Guienne.
	Discovery of Canary Islands.
	Serbian code of Stephen Dushan, earliest monument of Serbian language.
1346	Battle of Crécy.
	Esthonia conquered by Teutonic Knights.
1347	English capture Calais, which is held until 1558.
1347–54	Rienzi in Rome.
1348	University of Prague.
1349	Black Death.
	Acquisition of Dauphiné by France.
1350	Venice seizes Cattaro, which she holds until 1420.
1352	Victory of Genoese over Venetians and Greeks.
	Negro king of Dongala becomes Mohammedan. Great extension of Mohammedanism along Guinea Coast.
1353	First expedition of Turks across straits into Europe.
1354	Naval code of Pedro IV of Aragon — "the Consulate of the Sea."
1355	War between England and France renewed.
	Arabic numerals used by Petrarch.
1356	Battle of Poitiers.
	Golden Bull of Charles IV.
	Wiclif publishes his *Last Age of the Church.*
1357	Turks capture Gallipoli and Rodosto.
1358	The *Jacquerie* in France.
	Revolt of Etienne Marcel in Paris.
	Gheg emigrants from the northern mountains capture Janina and Arta.
	Tosk emigrants plant colonies in Bœotia, and Sparta.
1359	English campaign in France.
1359–92	The Thopa family rule region around Durazzo and Kroya.
1360	Treaty of Brétigny. Devastation of Free Companies in France for several years.
	Leo Pilatus, first teacher of Greek, at Florence.
1361	France acquires duchy of Burgundy.
	Turks conquer modern Roumania. Establishment of the Janizaries.
	Death of John Tauler.
1363	Philip the Bold of France made duke of Burgundy.
	The Habsburgs acquire Trentino and Tyrol.
1364–80	Charles V of France.
1364	Battle of Auray.
	University of Cracow.
1365	Turks capture Adrianople.
	Guinea Coast discovered by Portuguese.
1366–1421	The Balsha family rule a part of Upper Albania, but the Venetians establish themselves in Scutari, Antivari, etc.
1367	Anglo-French rivalry in Castile. Battle of Najera.
	Foundation of the Kremlin in Moscow.

1368	University of Geneva.
	Ming dynasty in China.
1368–82	Trieste under Venice.
1369–80	Renewal of English war in France. Sack of Limoges (1370).
1370–1405	Tamerlane. Conquest of Persia (1380–93), Syria (1400).
1370	Death of Casimir the Great of Poland. Marriage of John of Gaunt with daughter of Pedro the Cruel.
1371	Turkish victory on the Maritsa.
1372	Victory of Spanish fleet over English off Rochelle.
1374	Habsburgs acquire Istria.
1376	The Ban, Stephen Tvrtko, styles himself " king " of Bosnia with Hungarian consent.
1377	Death of Edward III of England.
1378	Death of Emperor Charles IV. Bohemia and Silesia left to his son Wenzel; Moravia separated and given to Charles's brother John.
	Beginning of Great Schism.
1380	Russian victory over Mongols at Kulikova.
	Death of Charles IV of France and of Du Guesclin.
	Wiclif's *New Testament.*
1381	Peasant revolt in England.
1382	Victory of French over Flemings at Roosebeke.
	Death of Louis the Great of Hungary. Union of Hungary and Poland.
	Habsburgs acquire Trieste.
1383	" Crusade " of Bishop of Norwich in Flanders.
1384	Death of Wiclif. His translation of Bible into English completed.
1385	Battle of Aljubarotta; victory of John I of Portugal over John I of Castile.
1386	Tamerlane invades Persia.
	Swiss defeat Austrian Habsburgs at Sempach. Arnold von Winkelried.
	Establishment of the Jagello, a Lithuanian dynasty in, Poland.
	University of Heidelberg.
1387	Treaty between Genoese and Turks at Pera.
1389	Battle of Kassova. Great defeat by Turks of united Serbs, Bulgarians, and Hungarians.
	Immigration of Serb refugees into Hungary.
	Battle of Nafels. Swiss victory over Habsburgs.
1389–91	Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia extends sway over Dalmatia.
1390	First siege of Constantinople by Turks.
1391	Turkish conquest of Asia Minor completed.
1393	Fall of Second Bulgarian Empire. Trnovo taken by Turks.
1394	Truce between England and France.
	Nicholas of Clemengis publishes his *De ruina ecclesiæ.*
1395	Milan raised to a duchy for the Visconti.
	Tamerlane invades Russia.
1396	Battle of Nikopolis. Utter defeat of European forces by Turks. Scutari sold to Venice.
1397	Union of Calmar. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway united.
1398–9	Tamerlane invades India, capture of Delhi.
1399	Henry IV of Lancaster king of England.
1400	Death of Chaucer.
1401	Statute against heretics in England.
1402	Bajazet, the Turkish Sultan, captured at battle of Angora by Tamerlane.

1405	Death of Tamerlane.
1407	Beginning of Burgundian-Armagnac feud.
1409	Rival popes deposed by Council of Pisa.
1410	Battle of Tannenberg. Great defeat of Teutonic Knights by Poles.
1411	Henry IV of England sends troops to Duke of Burgundy.
1412	Henry IV of England makes a pretended alliance with the Armagnac party in France.
1413–22	Henry V king of England.
1414	Opening of Council of Constance (November 5).
1415	John Huss burned for heresy.
	Rival popes deposed.
	Battle of Agincourt.
	The Hohenzollern house in Brandenburg.
1416	Jerome of Prague burned for heresy at Constance.
	John I of Portugal captures Ceuta from the Moors.
1417	Earliest mention of gypsies in Europe.
1418	Massacre of Armagnacs at Paris by Burgundians. English capture Paris. First expedition of Prince Henry the Navigator.
1419	Madeira rediscovered by Portuguese.
	Ziska commander of revolted Hussites in Bohemia. The war lasts until 1436.
	Murder of Duke of Burgundy in France.
1420	Treaty of Troyes in France. Henry V of England regent.
	Pope declares crusade against the Hussites. Ziska captures Prague.
	Embassy of Greek Patriarch to Pope at Florence.
	Venetians seize Aquileia and most of Dalmatia.
	Turks capture Coltaro.
1421	Terrible inundation of sea in Holland.
1422–35	Regency of Duke of Bedford in France.
	Siege of Constantinople by Turks.
1423	Defeat of French at Cravant by English. Venetians occupy Salonika.
	Council of Siena (transferred from Pavia) opened.
1424	Defeat of French by English at Verneuil.
	Council of Siena transferred to Basel.
	Death of Ziska. Hussite raid in Silesia.
	Turks capture Salonika.
1429	Siege of Orléans by the English. Appearance of Jean Darc. Talbot defeated at Patay.
1430	Capture of Jean Darc by English.
1431	Trial and death of Jean Darc at Rouen.
	Great victory of Hussites at battle of Taas.
	Turks capture Janina.
1432	Azores colonized by Portuguese.
1435	Treaty of Arras by which the Duke of Burgundy makes peace with France and abandons his alliance with England. Death of Duke of Bedford.
1436	French recover Paris.
	Council of Basel grants the *Compactata* to the Hussites.
1437	Founding of Khanate of Kazar.
1438	Council of Ferrara convoked in opposition to that of Basel by Pope Eugene IV.
1439	Pragmatic Sanction in France, which limits papal prerogative.
	Council of Ferrara transferred to Florence. Ineffectual endeavor to unite the Greek and Latin churches. Cardinal Bessarion settles in Italy.

1440	Unsuccessful siege of Belgrade by Turks.
1440–53	Frederick III of Habsburg. Imperial title virtually becomes hereditary.
1442	Naples taken by Alfonso of Aragon. Expulsion of René of Anjou. Union of Naples and Sicily as the Two Sicilies under Aragonese rule.
1443	Victory of John Hunyadi of Hungary over Turks at Kunobitza.
1444	Ten years' truce between Hungarians and Turks.
	Great Turkish victory at Varna.
	George Podebrad seizes power in Hungary.
	Revolt of Albania under Scanderbeg (George Castriota).
	Portuguese begin African slave-trade.
	Charles VII of France makes war on Swiss. Siege of Zürich.
1445	Marriage of Henry VI of England with Margaret of Anjou.
1447	Pope Nicholas V, founder of Vatican Library. End of Visconti in Milan.
1448	Accession of Constantine XI, Palæologus, last Emperor of Constantinople. French recover Anjou and Maine.
	Stephen Vukcic shifts his allegiance from King of Bosnia to Austrian Habsburgs and is made duke (*Herzog*) of Herzogovina.
1449	French conquer Normandy.
	Many Tosk refugees from Turkish invasion settle in Sicily.
1450	Francesco Sforza establishes his dynasty in Milan.
	Copperplate engraving by Maso Finiguerra about this time.
1451	French recover Gascony.
1452	Birth of Leonardo da Vinci and of Savonarola.
1452–55 (?)	Invention of printing.
1453	Complete defeat of English under Talbot at Châtillon. Loss of all English possessions in France except Calais.
	Capture of Constantinople by Turks. Austria made an archduchy.
1455	War of Roses begins in England.
1456	Turkish siege of Belgrade frustrated by John Hunyadi.
1458–1504	Wallachia overrun by Turks.
1458	Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary. Stephen the Great prince (*voivode*) of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia.
	George Podebrad king of Bohemia.
	Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius).
1459	Death of Poggio Bracciolini. Turkish conquest of Serbia.
	University of Basel founded.
1460	Death of Prince Henry the Navigator. Christian I of Denmark becomes duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein.
1461–83	Louis XI of France.
1461	Trebizond taken by Turks.
1461–6	Victories of Scanderbeg over Turks.
1463	Unsuccessful attack of Turks on the Banat.
1463	Bosnia captured by Turks.
1464	League of Public Weal in France. Civil war.
1466	Teutonic Knights in Prussia subject to Poland. Second Peace of Thorn. West Prussia ceded to Poland; East Prussia becomes a Polish fief.
1467	Death of Scanderbeg, who leaves his conquest to Venice.
1468	Charles the Bold marries Margaret of York.
	War between Louis XI of France and Charles the Bold.
1469–90	Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary. Union of Aragon and Castile.

1470	Ivan III conquers Kazan and Novgorod.
	Conquest of Negropont by Turks.
1471	Birth of Albrecht Dürer.
1472	Birth of Copernicus.
1475	Invasion of Burgundy by Swiss. Siege of Neuss.
	Birth of Michelangelo. University of Bordeaux.
1476	Second unsuccessful attack of Turks on Banat, which is not conquered until 1552.
	Moldavia ravaged. Crimea conquered.
	Caxton printing at Westminster.
	Battle of Granson.
1477	Death of Charles the Bold at battle of Nancy.
1478	University of Upsala.
1479	Turkish conquest of Kroya and Scutari, which Scanderbeg had left to Venice.
1480	End of power of Golden Horde in Russia.
	Spanish Inquisition established.
1481	Provence annexed to France. Beginning of Spanish war against Moors. Turkish siege of Rhodes. Otranto recovered from Turks.
1483	Turkish conquest of Herzogovina.
1483	Charles VIII king of France.
	League of Italian states against Venice.
	Birth of Raphael and Martin Luther.
	Torquemada inquisitor-general in Spain.
1485	Henry VII Tudor comes to English throne.
	Matthias Corvinus captures Vienna.
1486	Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomew Dias.
	Ivan III frees Kazan from Turkish rule.
1489	Death of John Wesel.
1490	Death of Matthias Corvinus, Maximilian recovers Austrian lands.
1491	Charles VIII of France marries Anne of Brittany, by which Brittany is annexed to French crown.
1492	Fall of Moorish Kingdom of Granada. Union of Spain.
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	Martin Behaim's globe.
1493	Pope Alexander VI's bull of demarcation.
	Columbus's second voyage.
1494	French invasion of Italy and brief occupation of Naples.
	Savonarola in Florence.
1495	Battle of Fornova shows weakness of Italy against foreign invaders.
1497	The Cabots discover Newfoundland and explore northeast coast of America.
	Birth of Melanchthon.
1498	Vasco da Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope and reaches India.
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